

European Post-Medieval  
**TAPESTRIES**  
and Related Hangings  
in The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art

EDITH APPLETON STANDEN

VOLUME

**I**

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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# FOREWORD

TAPESTRY MAKING flourished in the major centers of western Europe from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Thousands of tapestries were woven as special commissions for Church, Crown, and nobility. Sometimes these were separate panels, but more often they were created as part of ambitious allegorical or historical series or to function purely decoratively as wall coverings, with complementary tapestry-woven upholstery, for the interiors of noble residences.

Of the vast numbers of tapestries reputed to have been produced in the leading workshops, only a small percentage remains. Unlike frescoes or even large-scale paintings, tapestries could easily be taken down from the walls, rolled up, and transported from one royal residence to another, even to the temporary setting of tents on the battlefield or to an exterior locale for decoration during religious holidays. Their peripatetic existence took its toll: many were destroyed through vandalism and looting or simply through use. Many of the tapestries distinguished by a lavish use of gold and silver thread were burned to extract the precious metal. Of the hangings that have come down to us, most require considerable care in handling and limited exhibition because of their fragility and sensitivity to light.

Tapestries are thus no longer permitted to travel without special care and planning. In fact, we are now the ones who, most often, journey to view the magnificent collections in Madrid, Vienna, and Cracow. The collection at the Metropolitan Museum rivals the much vaster holdings of major European museums in its diversity and in its possession of several complete sets, which are a great rarity. For example, visitors to the Metropolitan can experience the full beauty and decorative impact of such a set when they enter the gallery adorned with the Gobelins tapestries with medallions designed by François Boucher that were woven for the room at Croome Court in Worcestershire, England.

Only a fraction of the Museum's collection of tapestries can be exhibited at one time. Their size demands considerable space for proper viewing, and their age dictates that they be rotated often to limit the deleterious effects of exposure to light and the stress on the aging threads from hanging. With this publication, students, interested laymen, and visitors can now appreciate the richness, quality, and extent of the collection for the first time. The tapestries are presented in terms of their subject matter, iconography, composition, technical production, sources of artistic inspiration, and function, enhancing our understanding of the manufacture and use of tapestries in Europe from the early sixteenth century.

Edith Standen is clearly the most competent authority to realize this scholarly assessment. As associate curator in charge of the Textile Study Room of the Metropolitan Museum from 1949 until her retirement in 1970, Miss Standen was responsible for the care, growth, and study of the collection. Since 1970 she has devoted her considerable energy to compiling this catalogue. Her vast knowledge encompasses the Museum's strong holdings as well as tapestry collections in this country and abroad. She imparts a lifetime of research and reflection in a style that is graceful and informed, making this publication an indispensable work for anyone interested in this field of study.

We are indebted not only to Miss Standen for her commitment to completing this work, but also to Margaret Aspinwall and Polly Cone for their editorial contributions, and most significantly to the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities for the funding that allowed publication for this important study.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

*Director*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

# INTRODUCTION

THIS CATALOGUE includes tapestries, large pictorial embroideries, and fabrics in knotted pile made in Europe, or after European designs, from the beginning of the Renaissance until the present century. Tiny pieces in tapestry technique, such as book covers, and costume accessories, such as bags, gloves, and shawls, have been omitted, as have carpets in tapestry weave or with knotted pile.

Though the collection in the Metropolitan Museum is small compared to the great accumulations of tapestries in Vienna and Madrid, it is remarkably inclusive geographically. The chief manufacturing centers, Flanders and France, are well represented and there are examples from most of the less productive countries, namely, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Russia.

The varied uses of tapestry are also well illustrated in this collection. Though there is only one complete set (or “chamber,” as it was called in England) of sixteenth-century tapestries, the four pieces of the *Twelve Ages of Man*, there are three examples of complete eighteenth-century sets: the Gobelins made for Croome Court, the Beauvais *Italian Village Scenes* (*Fêtes italiennes*), and the *Four Continents*. The Gobelins set and the *Four Continents* include all the tapestry furniture upholstery made to accompany the wall hangings. The Croome Court tapestries are still in the room for which they were commissioned and so provide what is rarely found, the aesthetic experience that a set of tapestries can give the viewer who stands surrounded by them.

Most of the tapestries in the Museum have now lost some or all of their companions, but there are also instances of panels that never had any. These include religious works, portieres, table covers, and even portraits. Some little panels seem to have been made as tours de force, woven to be sold as curiosities. The subject matter of the pictorial tapestries is very varied, with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, classical history and mythology, allegory, romance, history, poetry, and fiction.

The first tapestries to come to the Metropolitan Museum were three small Italian eighteenth-century pieces, tourists' souvenirs from another age, that were part of a substantial gift from Coudert Brothers in 1888. Four years later there were two important groups in the bequest of Elizabeth U. Coles: five pieces of a seventeenth-century Brussels *Antony and Cleopatra* set and four *Scenes from Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata*, woven in Rome between 1732 and 1739. The first Museum purchase of a tapestry was in 1906, two fragments of a Grammont verdure, bought through the recently received Rogers Fund. The great J. P. Morgan collection, given this same year, included many tapestry-upholstered chairs, and in the large bequest of Benjamin Altman in 1913,



also more famous for other things, were two important tapestries, the sixteenth-century Brussels *Adoration of the Kings* and the Beauvais *Vertumnus and Pomona* after Boucher.

In the 1920s, the Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift provided funds for purchase of what was then modern decorative art; the two pieces from William Morris's manufactory and the Beauvais screen panels of 1922–23 were bought with this gift. Some interesting pieces were also received as gifts and bequests in the 1920s, but the collection really began to grow in the following decade. Many great American houses, which often contained splendid tapestries, especially if they had been decorated by Stanford White, were now being exchanged by their owners for more modern residences with lower ceilings. In 1932, the bequest of Julie Heidelberg brought the Museum an extensive and rare group of small French eighteenth-century panels. A set of French furniture given by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1935 has Beauvais tapestry upholstery of as fine quality as the woodwork; the suite was made for a Danish statesman, Baron Bernstorff, in 1754–56, and by an extraordinary coincidence it joined in the Museum two of the tapestries that were part of the same commission, scenes from the *Loves of the Gods* after Boucher, the gift of Ernest G. Stillman in 1922.

Another great benefactor to the Museum, George Blumenthal, included several fine tapestries in his bequest of 1941; the two sixteenth-century Brussels pieces of *Mercury and Herse* are among the greatest treasures of the entire collection. The same can be said of the French sixteenth-century pair made for Diane de Poitiers, given in 1942 by the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney. Mr. Rockefeller continued his munificence with the ten pieces of the Gobelins *Months of Lucas*, in 1944, and in the same year two tapestries were bought with the Fletcher Fund, the sixteenth-century Brussels *Passion* scenes, once owned by the ruling house of Saxony.

This last acquisition was published in the Museum *Bulletin* by John Goldsmith Phillips, who later became curator of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts (to use its present title) and to whom is largely due the wealth of fine tapestries and embroideries that came to the Museum in the 1940s and 1950s. Many were single pieces, which cannot all be mentioned here, but there was also the set of embroidered hangings made for Mme de Montespan about 1683, bought by means of the Rogers Fund in 1946. The annus mirabilis was 1953. Its accessions large and small, listed in full, were: a curious French eighteenth-century horse trapping given by James Hazen Hyde, a seventeenth-century Gobelins portiere from Mrs. Lionel F. Straus (recently, most regretably, lost through theft), two English "chinoiserie" tapestries from Mrs. George F. Baker, a Beauvais *Stag Hunt* from Thomas Emery, a panel of the Beauvais *Blue Draperies* series from Mrs. Byron C. Foy, the *Twelve Ages* from the Hearst Foundation, and, from the bequest of Julia A. Berwind, six Gobelins from the seventeenth-century *Fables* series and twelve small copies of paintings owned by Catherine the Great, woven in Saint Petersburg. Many a small museum would be proud to own, as its tapestry collection, the accessions of this single year.

Later acquisitions of the 1950s cannot be listed in such detail, but they include three pieces of one of the rarest kinds of tapestry, ecclesiastical vestments. These are a sixteenth-century Flemish

chasuble and dalmatic and an eighteenth-century Polish cape for a statue of the Virgin, bought through the Rogers Fund. At the end of the decade came a spectacular gift, the thirty-three pieces that make up the wall coverings and furniture upholstery of the Croome Court Room, woven at the Gobelins between 1764 and 1771, which were given by the Kress Foundation in 1958. In the same year the remarkable Lewknor table carpet, dated 1564, was purchased by means of the Fletcher Fund.

The 1960s and 1970s did not bring as many tapestries to the Museum, but the huge gift of Irwin Untermyer in 1964 included a few choice pieces among a great wealth of small embroideries. In this gift was what may be the only Dublin tapestry outside Ireland, a portrait of George II. Also in 1964 another complete set of tapestries came to the Museum, the Beauvais *Italian Village Scenes* in eight pieces, given by Mary Ann Robertson. Comparable gifts are the five Beauvais *Grotesques* from John M. Schiff in 1977, and the *Four Continents*, with the upholstery for two sofas and twelve chairs, woven for Louis XVI, from Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow in 1978. The largest set of Brussels sixteenth-century tapestries, six pieces of a *Story of Jacob*, was a gift of the estate of Amy Warren Paterson in 1983, and with the Robert Lehman Collection in 1975 came one of the greatest Renaissance tapestries in America, the *Last Supper* after Bernaert van Orley.

## FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

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Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1

Fenaille, Maurice. *Etat général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1600–1900: Les ateliers parisiens au dix-septième siècle [1601–1662]*. Paris, 1923.

Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2

Fenaille, Maurice. *Etat général . . . : Période de la fondation de la manufacture royale des meubles de la couronne sous Louis XIV, en 1662 jusqu'en 1699, date de la réouverture des ateliers*. Paris, 1903.

Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3

Fenaille, Maurice. *Etat général . . . : Période du dix-huitième siècle, première partie, depuis la réouverture des ateliers en 1699 jusqu'à la mort du duc d'Antin en 1736*. Paris, 1904.

Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4

Fenaille, Maurice. *Etat général . . . : Période du dix-huitième siècle (deuxième partie) [1737–1793]*. Paris, 1907.

Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5

Calmettes, Fernand. *Etat général . . . : Période du dix-neuvième siècle, 1794–1900*. Paris, 1912.

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Göbel, Heinrich. *Wandteppiche: I. Die Niederlande*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1923.

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Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2

Göbel, Heinrich. *Wandteppiche: III. Die Germanischen und Slawischen Länder, West-, Mittel-, Ost- und Norddeutschland, England, Irland, Schweden, Norwegen, Dänemark, Russland, Polen, Litauen*. Berlin, 1934.

Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*

Hunter, George Leland. *The Practical Book of Tapestries*. Philadelphia, 1925.

Each catalogue entry gives a list of publications in which that particular tapestry or set of tapestries is actually mentioned. Shortened forms of the titles of these publications are then used in the notes that appear at the end of each entry. In the notes to any one entry, full details of other publications referred to are given only once, shortened forms being used for later references in the entry, but full titles are repeated when the same publication is quoted in a succeeding entry.

For description of the structure and fabrication of tapestries, as well as the history of their manufacture, the reader should consult the works by Göbel and Hunter listed above, as well as Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967), and Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MY GREATEST DEBTS are to two directors of the Metropolitan Museum. James J. Rorimer asked me what I would do when I retired and was enthusiastic and helpful when I said I should like to write a catalogue of the post-medieval tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum; he planned to catalogue the medieval pieces himself, an undertaking thwarted by his early death. It is indeed satisfactory that this project has now been assigned to the scholar most fitted to accomplish it, Adolph S. Cavallo. The present director of the Museum, Philippe de Montebello, is the person chiefly responsible for the actual publication of my catalogue; it would certainly never have appeared in print without his steadfast support.

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E.A.S.

**European Post-Medieval TAPESTRIES  
and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art**



# THE NETHERLANDS

## Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries

FLANDERS, with Brussels as its chief city, was the leading center of tapestry manufacture in the sixteenth century; here the arrival of Raphael's cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* in 1519 may be said to have marked the end of the Middle Ages. The four pieces of the *Twelve Ages of Man* (2) were woven not long after this date, but probably before the ordinance of 1528 obliged the heads of tapestry workshops to put marks on large pieces; the style and quality of these tapestries indicate Brussels as the place where they were made. This set is probably not the first weaving, which would presumably have contained gold thread and possibly coats of arms, but some of the figures can be related to Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands from 1507 to 1530; the first set may well have been commissioned by a member of her court. Neither the designer nor the weaver is known, though the two pieces of the slightly later *Medallion Months* (3) are probably after the same artist.

The *Adoration of the Kings* (4), too small to have required a city or a weaver's mark, can be confidently attributed to Bernaert van Orley, the leading tapestry designer of the period, as can the *Last Supper* in the Lehman Collection (6); the *Crucifixion* (5) can also be associated with him or his workshop. Similarly, the studio of Quentin Massys probably provided the design for *Christ Shown to the People* (8) and possibly for the *Ecce Homo* (9); all these tapestries, like so much Flemish art of the period, show the influence of Albrecht Dürer. No weaver has been identified for any of the early sixteenth-century tapestries, but Pieter de Pannemaker, in all probability, was responsible for the *Last Supper* (6).

With the two scenes from the set of eight illustrating the *Story of Mercury and Herse* (10), the middle of the century is reached. Both have the mark of the Brussels weaver Willem de Pannemaker, the leading manufacturer of his day, who furnished tapestries to the emperors Maximilian and Charles V and to King Philip II of Spain. The set belonged to the Spanish dukes of Medinaceli and may have been made for one of them; it has gold thread and must have been commissioned by a person of great rank and wealth.

Flemish tapestries in the sixteenth century were, in fact, sent all over Europe. The blue-ground *Grotesques with Minerva* panel (11) has the inserted arms of the famous Genoese admiral Andrea Doria. The set was woven in Brussels but was probably designed by an Italian artist, perhaps Perino del Vaga, who worked at one time for the admiral. It is not known who first owned the two small



pieces with grotesques on a red ground (12); they are bed furnishings, similar to parts of the set probably made for Philip II in 1566, now in the Escorial. The designs are close to the prints of Cornelis Floris. Pieter Coecke van Aelst designed *Gluttony* (13) as one of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, though this is a late weaving of the famous series, of which early sets are in Vienna and Madrid. A Brussels weaver, Willem de Kempeneer, put his mark on the *Scene from the Old Testament* (14).

The Electors of Saxony were among the purchasers of Brussels tapestries in the sixteenth century. Two pieces from a *Passion* set (15), the *Last Supper* and the *Ascension*, belonged to these rulers from at least 1565 and were inherited by their descendants, the kings of Saxony, until the last king abdicated in 1918. The weaver's mark on these pieces has not been identified, but the designer was probably Michiel Coxcie. One of a pair of smaller tapestries, two scenes from the *Story of the Romans and the Sabines* (16), has the weaver's mark IVH (probably Joost van Herzeele); both have coats of arms of a member of the Italian Peretti family, and one piece, what is so seldom found on a sixteenth-century tapestry, the monogram of the designer. He was Nicolas van Orley, a nephew of the great Bernaert. The six pieces of the *Story of Jacob* (17) were made in Brussels about the same time, but, though they have a weaver's mark, his name is not known; it is rare to find so many pieces of a set together in an American museum.

The mark of Brussels and another unidentified weaver's mark are found on the *Colosseum* (19) from a set of the *Wonders of the World*, made toward the end of the sixteenth century; the design was taken from three prints after Maarten van Heemskerck. The crowded design and high horizon are typical of Brussels tapestries of the period and are seen also in the two scenes from the *Life of Saint Paul* (21). These have the Brussels mark and that of an unidentified weaver; their poor quality illustrates the decline of the tapestry industry in Flanders at this time of political upheaval in the Low Countries and, indeed, much of Europe.

Flemish cities other than Brussels are represented by a piece from the simple pastoral *Story of Gombaut and Macée* (23); though this tapestry is unmarked, the many sets with the same border are known to have been woven in Bruges in the late sixteenth century. Two fragments of a large-leaf verdure (24) are unusual because they have the mark of a small manufactory, Grammont (Gerardsbergen).

A dated tapestry with a completely documented history is named from the family who commissioned it: the Lewknor table carpet of 1564 (25). It contains sixteen coats of arms of English families, but though unmarked, it is thought to have been made in Flanders, probably at Enghien. The *Moon and Her Children* (27) from a set of the *Planets* is also certainly provincial work, but it might be French; the design is adapted from a woodcut by a German, Barthel Beham. The northern Netherlands was the place of origin for two tapestry-woven vestments dated 1570 (29), with the arms of the van der Geer family of Utrecht, and what may well be a complete set of cushion covers, six pieces with scenes from the life of Abraham and Isaac (30), must have been woven somewhere in Flanders toward the end of the century.

The drastic change of style caused by Rubens's tapestry designs is illustrated by the five tapestries of a set of the *Story of Antony and Cleopatra* (32). They were designed by Justus van Egmont, a Rubens pupil, and woven in the prolific workshops of Jan van Leefdael and Geraert van der Strecken, who often worked together on sets of these powerful baroque designs. A much less frequently found weaver's name is that of Daniel Abbeloos, who specialized in landscapes like the one in this collection that has his name (33). An unmarked *Autumn* (34) from a set of *Four Seasons* was designed by Lodewijk van Schoor and woven by a member of the van den Hecke family, probably early in the eighteenth century. The *Arms of William and Mary* (35) is one of a set of eight ordered by William III of England from four Brussels weavers; one of them was Hieronymus Le Clerc, whose name is on this piece. The designer may have been Daniel Marot or Johannes Christoph Lotijn.

The Brussels weavers Urbanus Leyniers and his brother Daniel put their names on a tapestry of peasant life, the *Harvest* (36); it must come from a set of the very popular "Teniers" tapestries, so called because of the similarity of the designs to the paintings of David Teniers II. *Flora* (38), from an eighteenth-century set of classical deities, was probably woven by one of the van der Borcht family in Brussels.

The northern Netherlands in the seventeenth century produced many tapestry-woven table carpets, which are represented in this collection by a typical example (39).



# 1 Interior scene

## Fragment

Flemish (probably Brussels); designed and woven about

1520–25.

Wool and silk.

5 ft. 10 in. x 4 ft. 11 in. (1.78 m x 1.5 m).

15–16 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

(32.100.390).

## DESCRIPTION

A young woman with loose fair hair places her hand on a portrait. She wears a red and brown cap, a blue dress over red, slashed sleeves, a yellow necklace, and a red chain. The woman holding the portrait has a red, blue, and yellow headdress, a blue dress with a red lining to the wide sleeve, and a green cloak fastened across the breast with a red band. The portrait, in a red and yellow frame set with pearls and blue gems, shows the head of a young man wearing a blue hat with red and yellow ornaments (perhaps a coronet) and a blue jacket with a red and yellow collar. At the left, a man in a blue cap, red dress, and blue cloak stands looking at the portrait. Below, on the right, is a fair-haired man in a blue hat with white jeweled plumes, a white shirt, and a blue coat with a wide green collar of a watered fabric, worn over a red costume. He has yellow-gray gloves and a red and yellow necklace and sword. The two women partly seen in the lower center wear pale yellow and red caps and red, blue, and yellow costumes; both have red and yellow chains. The wall behind the figures is in shades of blue, yellow, red, and gray, with dark and light green panels, ornamented in red and yellow on the right. On the left is a bed with blue and green coverings and curtains, with red and yellow tassels. A glazed window with an open shutter with blue ironwork is in the center background; there is a bench with a red cushion below it. On the right is an opening revealing a landscape in shades of blue and green. An elaborately decorated column in red, yellow, and gray stands to the left, and there is an ornamental panel in blue, green, red, yellow, and gray in the upper left corner.



FIG. 1. *Emperor Maximilian I*, by Hans Weiditz, after Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund (26.64.1).

## CONDITION

The piece is a fragment of what was probably a much larger tapestry. The missing portions on the left were at one time filled in to complete the rectangle; these additions were removed in 1932.<sup>1</sup> There are many areas of repair.

## SUBJECT

The subject has been described as possibly Margaret of Austria showing the portrait of her betrothed, Philibert II,



FIG. 2. *Margaret of Austria*, by Bernaert van Orley. Oil on wood. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (inv. no. 1133).

duke of Savoy, to her father, Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>2</sup> The resemblance of the man on the left to portraits of the emperor (fig. 1) gives some support to this interpretation. But Margaret married Philibert in 1501, and the style of the tapestry shows that it could not have been designed so early in the century. There is not enough individuality in the heads of the women in the center to enable either of them to be identified, but the features of both are not unlike Margaret's (fig. 2); they are, however, standard for feminine figures in tapestries of this period. The young man of the portrait is also somewhat characterless, but he can be compared to other representations of Philibert.<sup>3</sup> However, if the portrait was meant to represent Philibert, the woman holding the picture is Margaret, as the other has her hair loose and so, according to contemporary custom, must be unmarried; Margaret, though only twenty-one, was, at the time of this marriage, a widow. It is also

possible that the portrait represents her first husband, Don Juan of Spain, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, whom she married in 1497; in this case, she would be represented by the woman turning toward Maximilian. But conclusions based on portrait identifications in tapestries are seldom convincing except when the resemblances are very obvious, and the subject of this piece cannot be conclusively determined. It may conceivably represent a scene from a romance, with the emperor's well-known features used for an important character.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A woodcut of Maximilian I (fig. 1), related to a Dürer drawing dated 1518, or Lucas van Leyden's very similar engraving of 1520, may have been the source for the head of the man on the left.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The quality of the tapestry suggests Brussels as the place of origin, but there is no evidence to support an attribution to any workshop. The style and costumes are consistent with a date of about 1520–25. The piece may be a later version of a much finer example commissioned by one of the persons represented.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

No tapestry from the same set or series has been identified. Other tapestries with small framed portraits being presented are known. The *Annunciation* panel of the *Paños de Oro* set in the Spanish National Collection has two such scenes, one with a portrait of a young man, the other with a portrait of a couple embracing; they have been interpreted as referring to the marriages in 1497 of Margaret to Juan and of her brother, Philip the Fair, to Juan's sister, Juana.<sup>4</sup> The *Coronation of the Virgin* in the same series shows a young man presenting a portrait to a young woman; this is thought to represent Philip giving a portrait of himself to Juana.<sup>5</sup> One of a set of three very crude tapestries in the Philadelphia Museum of Art includes a woman showing the portrait of a young man to another man.<sup>6</sup> This set has been associated with the marriage of Margaret and Philibert, but the design and execution are far too coarse for any identification of the people to be possible. Another Brussels tapestry of the beginning

of the sixteenth century in which a small portrait of a man wearing a crown is held by a young woman was in the Count Oriola sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, April 13, 1932 (no. 103, illus.), and was owned by the Galerie Ostler, Munich, in 1975.

#### HISTORY

Michael Friedsam collection, New York, probably before 1924.  
Bequeathed to the MMA, 1931.

#### PUBLICATION

Breck, Joseph. "Tapestries and Textiles." *The Michael Friedsam Collection*. In *MMA Bulletin* 27, no. 11, section 2 (1932) p. 70. Mentioned.

#### NOTES

1. Information from a photograph made in 1932 in MMA files.
2. Breck, "Tapestries and Textiles," p. 70.
3. Octave le Maire, "Identification d'un portrait de Philibert de Savoie," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 24 (1955) pp. 233–50; Yvonne Hackenbroch, "A Jewel of Philibert the Fair of Savoy," *Pantheon* 29 (1971) pp. 401–05; Constance Lowenthal, "Conrat Meit's Portraits of Philibert the Fair of Savoy," *Studien zum europäischer Kunsthandwerk, Festschrift Yvonne Hackenbroch* (Munich, 1983) pp. 123–28.
4. Elías Tormo Monzó and Francisco J. Sanchez Cantón, *Los Tapices de la Casa del Rey N. S.* (Madrid, 1919) p. 10, illus.; Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la Corona de España* (Madrid, 1903) vol. 2, pl. 4.
5. Geneviève Souchal, "Les Paños de Oro," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1975, pp. 145–57, 151–57.
6. Philadelphia Museum acc. no. 55.104.1–3. The set was in the Gaston Le Breton sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 6–8, 1921, nos. 334–36. The identification of the subjects was considered doubtful by Jean Paul Asselberghs, *Les Tapisseries flamandes aux Etats-Unis d'Amerique* (Brussels, 1974) p. 51.

## 2 The Twelve Ages of Man

Set of four tapestries

- a *The First Three Ages* (birth–18) or *Spring*
- b *The Second Three Ages* (18–36) or *Summer*
- c *The Third Three Ages* (36–54) or *Autumn*
- d *The Last Three Ages* (54–72) or *Winter*

Flemish (Brussels); designed about 1520–23, woven about 1525–28.

Wool and silk.

Each 14 ft. 6 or 7 in. x 23 ft. 6 in. to 24 ft. (4.42 or 4.45 m x 7.16 to 7.32 m).

16–20 warps per inch, 6–8 per centimeter.

Gift of The Hearst Foundation, in memory of William Randolph Hearst, 1953 (53.221.1–4).

### DESCRIPTION

Each tapestry illustrates three ages in the life of man, and consists of three vertical sections which make up a season of three months. In the center section of each hanging is a classical deity, with two attendants, who is identified in a Latin elegiac distich on a scroll in the border immediately below; these inscriptions connect the deity with the season. A bird is perched above each deity. Each of the three vertical sections includes a roundel at the top, surrounded by twenty-four hourglasses in red supports on a ground that is light above and dark below, in varied proportions, according to the seasons. Each roundel contains a sign of the zodiac and a figure symbolizing a month. The roundels are seen against the sky, which is dark blue at the top, and are flanked by winds, usually with their names inscribed on their bellows or elsewhere. Below the two outer roundels on each tapestry, and on 2d, also below the center roundel, is a representation of an occupation of a month. Below the occupations and the center roundels are episodes from classical history or myth, or the Old Testament, or biblical myth, each illustrating one of the twelve ages of man. The two outer episodes have framed Latin distichs, supported by pedestals, between them and the occupation of the month above; the center episode has a similar inscription between it and the deity below. The verses refer to the story illustrated. In the upper border, on scrolls held by winged boys, are three Latin

distichs connecting each month with an age in the life of man. In the lower border, flanking the inscription below the deity, are two medallions containing an animal, bird, or object. The foregrounds of all the scenes are filled with flowering and fruiting plants.

The color scheme is dominated by the strong blues, reds, and greens used for the robes of the principal figures. The conspicuous highlights on these are white for blue, pink for red, and yellow for green. The outlines are mostly in dark brown or blue and, occasionally, red.

The borders have dark blue grounds with scrolling sprays of red roses, blue or white grapes, pale blue and dull lavender irises, and white honeysuckle. Each upper border has eight sitting, kneeling, or sprawling winged boys, the two at the corners holding grapevines, the others, the inscribed scrolls. The lower borders have a pair of intertwined boys at each corner, who support the candelabra-like uprights of the side borders, two winged boys holding the central inscribed scroll, and four with vases or cornucopias from which the sprays of vegetation issue. The side borders have each two red-and-yellow-winged half-length figures amid the vegetation. The scrolls are red backed with blue and the inscriptions white, except in the lower border where the scroll is blue backed with red. The guards (partly renewed) are red.

### CONDITION

Minor areas of repair are visible, especially in silk passages. For major repairs, see discussion of individual entries.

### SUBJECT

The inscriptions show that the subject is the life of man divided into twelve ages, each six years long. These are

correlated with the months of the year, beginning with January. Each tapestry also represents a season, the first showing spring. The twenty-four hourglasses framing the roundels presumably refer to the hours of the day; the backgrounds to these are light and dark, varying according to the season. The eight medallions in the lower borders do not seem to represent a coherent set of ideas appropriate to the general subject; they may refer, each one singly, to some characteristics of the scene above or the age illustrated.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The workshop of Bernaert van Orley, or the artist known as Aerdt Ortkens, or Adrian or Pieter van den Houte have been suggested as the source of the designs.<sup>1</sup> The designs for 3 and the sixteenth-century originals for the *Months of Lucas* (see 50) may have been made in the same shop.<sup>2</sup>

It is highly probable that the editio princeps of the series was made for an important person at the court of Margaret of Austria at Malines; the empress in 2d resembles the regent,<sup>3</sup> and the man standing behind her is the Saint Gommaire of a stained-glass window now in the Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels (fig. 3), but made for the chapel of the Fencers' Guild in Malines Cathedral. Both figures may well be portraits of one of the noble members of this small but influential guild.<sup>4</sup>

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The attribution to Brussels is supported by the quality of the weaving, but there is no evidence for any particular workshop. As there are no city marks, the set was presumably made before 1528; a date of 1520–23 for the design is based on the resemblance to the *Honores* set in Madrid, which can be attributed to this period.<sup>5</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Two sixteenth-century tapestries in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, show various elements of *June, August, September, January, November, and October*, much altered; the inscriptions are in French.<sup>6</sup>

A set of twelve tapestries from the second half of the sixteenth century in the Seo and the Museo del Cabildo

Metropolitano, Saragossa, have the same or very similar stories connected with the same months; each has a Latin distich, generally the same as the central inscription for the same month in 2. The borders are later in style. They were the gift of Don Andres do Santo, archbishop from 1578 to 1587.<sup>7</sup>

For isolated pieces from other sets, see discussion of each tapestry.

#### HISTORY

Acquired by French & Co., New York, from Raimondo Ruiz, when they were cleaned and repaired.

William Randolph Hearst collection; acquired from French & Co., 1930.

Offered for sale by Saks Fifth Avenue, 1941.

Given to the MMA by the Hearst Foundation in memory of William Randolph Hearst, 1953.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Art Objects and Furnishings from the William Randolph Hearst Collection*. Sale catalogue. Saks Fifth Avenue in cooperation with Gimbel Brothers, under the direction of Hammer Galleries, New York, 1941, p. 277, nos. 1141-3–1141-6. Called Brussels, 1505, symbolic of the Months.

Standen, Edith A. "The Twelve Ages of Man." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 12 (1953–54) pp. 241–48, all four illus. Described, deities and stories identified, Jan van Roome suggested as designer, dated about 1520.

*MMA Annual Report 1953*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 24. Mentioned.

Comstock, Helen. "Tapestries from the Hearst Collection in American Museums." *Connoisseur Year Book*, 1956, pp. 43, 46, figs. 5–8.

Standen, Edith A. "The Twelve Ages of Man: A Further Study of a Set of Early Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries." *MMA Journal* 2 (1969) pp. 127–68, illus. All inscriptions transcribed and translated, other versions listed, Jerome van Busleyden suggested as author of iconographical scheme; connection with Margaret of Austria's court at Malines proposed.

Standen, Edith A. "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas' Tapestry Series." *Master Drawings* 9 (1971) pp. 5, 6. Mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. "Tapisseries Renaissance, Maniéristes et baroques: nouveaux développements." *Revue de l'Art*, no. 22 (1973) p. 92, fig. 3. Head of man in *October* compared to stained-glass panel from Malines.



Souchal, Geneviève. “*The Triumph of the Seven Virtues: Reconstruction of a Brussels Series.*” In *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, pp. 116, 117, 125, 132, 141, 143, 148, 149. Dated about 1520; kneeling woman in *October* identified as Placilla, wife of the emperor Theodosius I; standing warrior in *June* identified as Lucius Sicinius Dentatus.

Delmarcel, Guy. “*The Triumph of the Seven Virtues and Related Brussels Tapestries of the Early Renaissance.*” In *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, pp. 158, 160, 165, 167, 168. Placilla identified as a portrait of Margaret of Austria; set dated 1525–28.

Standen, Edith A. “Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: III. Renaissance and Mannerism.” *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 20–23, figs. 1–7.

Forti Grazzini, Nello. *Gli Arazzi dei Mesi Trivulzio, il committente, l'iconografia*. Milan, 1982, pp. 38–40. Mentioned as example of representing May as a king.

## 2a *The First Three Ages of Man or Spring*

### DESCRIPTION

Left section, *The First Age* (birth–6) or *January*: The roundel shows, at the top, a half-figure of a nude man pouring water from two blue jugs (Aquarius); below, a two-faced man (Janus) in a lavender and red cap and a red dress with a blue cape sits at a table in a blue and white landscape. In his right hand he holds two blue keys and a red-yellow serpent with its tail in its mouth (a symbol of Eternity), and with his left raises a red-yellow goblet to his lips.

On the left, a flying figure in blue with a red hood works a pale yellow bellows inscribed “Trasecas” (for Thrascias, NNW wind). Another in red and blue is on the right; his bellows is inscribed “Aquilo” (NE wind).

Below the roundel and winds is a bleak landscape with pale gray buildings and a bare brown tree. Rain is falling and water pours from a red-yellow spout. In the center, a running man in blue, green, and red, with a large yellow pouch, holds a huge red cloth over his head.

The lower half of the section illustrates the Test of Moses. In the center, the youthful Moses in gray shirt,

red-yellow jacket, blue skirt and cloak, with dull red and yellow leg coverings, and a red and yellow purse, holds his blue hat in his right hand and places his left on the smoking coals; these rest on a short blue and gray pillar with a red-yellow grapevine twisted around it. He ignores the blue and yellow dish of gold and jewels on a small pale brown table in the foreground. Pharaoh’s yellow and blue crown, with two finials missing, lies on the ground beside the table. On the left is a bearded man in red, with pale blue sleeves, red and green turban, and yellow collar, sitting in an elaborate dull yellow chair; two men and a woman in reds, blues, and yellows stand behind it. On the right is Pharaoh, richly dressed in blue, ornamented in red and yellow, with a white scarf round his blue hat, and a red-hilted sword. He leans forward on his throne which has a pointed yellow and pink baldachino and draped red curtains; the pale pink cloth of state has a pale “blue pomegranate” pattern, with interspersed birds in pale yellow, and a yellow and brown border with dark brown two-headed eagles. Behind Pharaoh is a woman, presumably his daughter, in red with a white turban. The head of a man in blue with a red and pale brown turban is seen behind her.

The medallion in the lower border shows a pale gray ram.

Inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Ut riget informis sub Aquari sydere tellus,  
Sic primis annis mente stupescit homo.

(As the ugly earth freezes under the constellation of the Water-bearer, so man is benumbed in mind in his first years.)

In the center:

Disciderat Moses raptam de fronte coronam.  
Sed puerū insontem prunula morsa docet.

(Moses had broken the crown stolen from [Pharaoh’s] brow, but the bite of a burning coal shows the boy innocent.)

Center section, upper part, *The Second Age* (6–12) or *February*: The roundel has two blue and white fishes (Pisces) and a seated man in red and blue, warming his hands at a gray fireplace. On the right is a bed with blue curtains.

Flying half-length figures with bellows are seen to left and right. The one on the left is in red, the one on the right,

in blue and orange, with "Notus" (S wind) inscribed above, against a dark blue sky. Below, rain or snow falls.

Immediately beneath the roundel is illustrated the story of Papirius. He kneels in the center; he holds a red cap and is dressed in blue, with a pale brown speckled cape and red and yellow belt and purse. Four elderly senators in green, blue, and red stand on the right in front of a pink and gray tower with a medallion containing a helmeted red-yellow head. Four women in blue and green, the kneeling one presumably Papirius's mother, are seen on the left. A courtyard with a checkered red and gray pavement, a round-arched blue and gray portico, and other buildings form the background.

Center section, lower part, *Spring*: Venus sits holding a gray and red-yellow bow in her left hand and places her right on a large red, pink, and yellow quiver at her side. She wears a red hat, a green robe, necklace, chain, and a red and blue jeweled belt. Cupid, in an orange cloak, with red and blue leg coverings, brown, red, and blue wings, and carrying a small blue and red quiver hanging from a cord, clambers onto her shoulder. A young woman in blue, with a red and yellow cap, on the right, holds a bough with green and yellow leaves. A bird perches on the right side of the framed inscription. The background consists of a trellis with green and yellow foliage and an elaborate brown and yellow support for the inscription.





Inscriptions are, in the upper border:

At gemini sensim dissolunt [for dissolvunt] pascua Pisces,  
Annus ut obtusum septimus ingenium.

(But the twin Fishes gradually thaw out the meadows, as  
does the seventh year the dull mind.)

In the center:

Dū tractata cupit mater rescire senatus.  
A Pretextato luditur illa suo.

(When the mother wishes to know what has been discussed  
in the Senate, her boy, in his youthful *toga praetextata*,  
mocks her.)

In the lower border:

Subdita lascive Veneri si tempera nescis,  
In placido regnat candida vere Cypris.

(If thou knowest not the season ruled by wanton Venus,  
the radiant Cyprian reigns in tranquil Spring.)

Right section, *The Third Age* (12–18) or *March*: The roundel has a pale brown bull (Taurus, in error for a ram, Aries) and a man in red and blue, with a knife between his teeth, working in a vineyard. On the right, a flying figure in red holds a bellows with “Circius” (WNW wind) above it.

A landscape is seen below. On the left is a large brown leafless tree, with some of its branches lopped. A man in red, blue, and brown holds a pruning hook in his left hand and climbs a pale brown ladder leaning against the tree. On the stump of a cut branch below hangs a brown water bottle. In the center, a man in a red hat, green and yellow jacket, white apron, and red, torn leg coverings is digging with a long-handled spade, and, to the right, another in red and blue swings a brown mallet in a left-handed action to drive in the stakes of a pale brown wattle fence. There are buildings in the distance.

The lower part of the section illustrates the story of Alexander and the Persian envoys. Alexander stands on the left. He is gorgeously dressed in a blue and red velvet robe and over it a speckled brown sleeveless coat ornamented with pink bows. He has a red and yellow pouch with two tassels attached to his belt and a long-eared dagger in a red and yellow scabbard. The four Persian envoys kneel before him, the two in front holding their fancifully decorated red, blue, and yellow hats in their hands. The foremost wears a dark green robe with red sleeves and has a large sword in a pale gray and red scabbard hanging from an elaborate baldric slung across his

shoulder. The two men behind have red and yellow costumes; the one on the right has pale brown boots. He holds his brown and yellow hat and wears a red and yellow hunting *trousse* slung on a chain. To the right of Alexander, a bearded man (possibly Aristotle) wears a blue turban, a red robe with a wide pale brown collar, and a dull purple undergarment, with a blue belt and pouch. On the hem of his robe are the letters AOEM in yellow. The head of a man in a pale blue turban, as well as a boy with a red cap and a girl in a green dress, are seen on the right (repetitions of two figures in the Moses scene). Alexander stands under a red and yellow baldachino with a red “pomegranate” pattern, seen behind a looped-up red curtain. Behind the envoys are a man and a girl in dark green and red; the head of an older man is seen between them. The background has trees and shrubs with dark green leaves and orange-red fruit.

The medallion in the lower border shows a blue and brown peacock.

Inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Luxuriosa putat foecundi germina veris  
Martius, ut pueri Pedia stulticiam.

(March prunes the rank sprouts of fecund Spring, as Education does the foolishness of a boy.)

In the center:

Reddit Alexāder respōsū a perside missis  
Tam docte, ut pueri verba stupēda forēt.

(Alexander replied so skillfully to the Persian envoys that they were astounded by the words of the boy.)

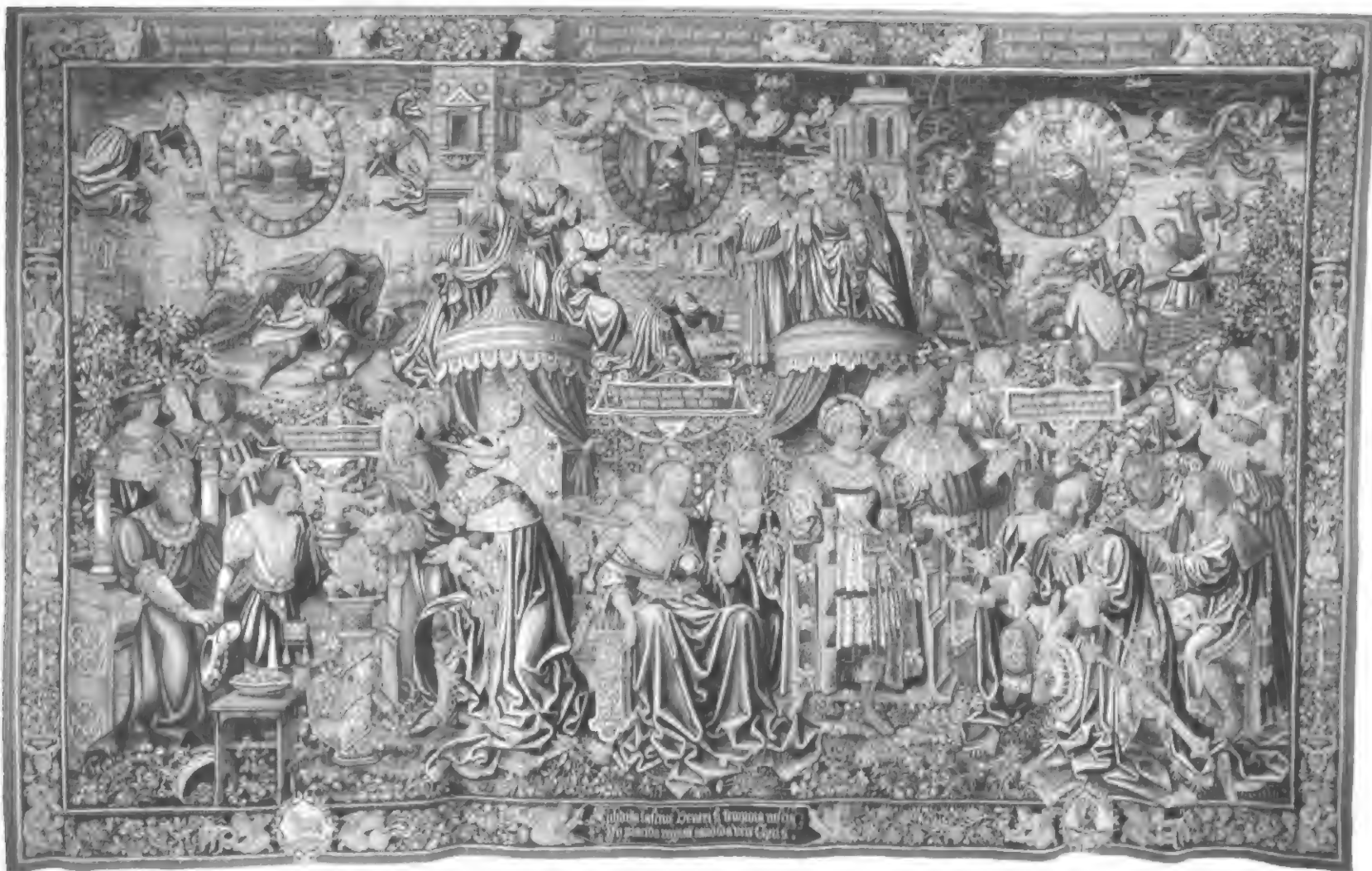
## CONDITION

A photograph taken while the tapestry was owned by French & Co. shows the lower two-thirds of the *January* section missing, the upper line cutting through the man in the rain and the right side through Pharaoh’s left hand.

## SUBJECT

The first eighteen years of life are equated with the months January, February, and March, and also with the season of spring, presided over by Venus.

*January*: Janus with his attributes is a normal symbol for January and Aquilo is a winter wind, but a man running through a rainstorm is an unusual “occupation” for the month; a similar figure holding a cloth over his head to



2a

protect himself does, however, appear in the right background of the *January* panel in the *Medallion Months* series (see 3).

The Test of Moses is used here to illustrate the lack of intelligence in children under seven. The child Moses, having taken Pharaoh's crown, threw it on the floor and broke it. To find out whether his act was one of malice or of mere playfulness, Moses was offered two bowls, one containing jewels, the other burning coals; he took a coal, demonstrating his babyish irresponsibility, and was pardoned.

The meaning of the ram in the medallion is unknown, as it is unlikely to be here a symbol of Spring.

*February*: The man warming his hands at a fire is a usual

symbol for February. The story of Papirius, which here illustrates the growth of intelligence between six and twelve, is classical. Papirius, while still young enough to be wearing the purple-bordered toga of a youth, went with his father to hear an important debate in the Senate. Later, his mother asked him what had been discussed, which, of course, was not something he could reveal to a woman. Accordingly he told her that the matter under consideration had been whether it would be better for the state to allow two wives to one husband or two husbands to one wife. The excited mother gathered her friends and went with them to the Senate to beg that they might have two husbands apiece rather than share their husbands with others. The senators were dumbfounded by this request

until Papirius explained what he had done. He was then greatly praised for his loyalty and ingenuity. The moment of explanation is seen on the tapestry.

*March*: Pruning, digging, and tending grapevines are normal occupations of March, but the fencemaker has not been found elsewhere.

The story of Alexander's intelligent conversation with the Persian envoys, which has been chosen to illustrate the advantages of education to a youth between twelve and eighteen, is taken from Plutarch's *Lives*. Alexander, though still a boy, won their admiration by asking sensible questions.<sup>8</sup>

The peacock in the medallion may indicate the splendor of Alexander in his promising youth.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A fragment showing only Alexander and the Persian envoys was in the Bourgeois Frères sale, Cologne, October 19–27, 1904 (no. 1374, illus.), and the Rosenfeld-Goldschmidt sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, May 9–12, 1916 (no. 15, illus.). This has no canopy above Alexander and no structure between him and "Aristotle," so that more letters are visible on the hem of the latter's robe; the inscription seems to be *IAO / OEM*.

The *March* section combined with part of the *April* section in the *Summer* panel (2c) appears in a tapestry in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.<sup>9</sup> The composition has been much altered; the roundel is differently placed, the wind Circius (not named) is in the *March* section, there is no canopy, Alexander wears a short tunic and square-toed shoes, and there are other differences. "Aristotle's" hem is completely visible, and the inscription runs across the whole width but is illegible. The bull of April again appears in the roundel instead of the ram of March.

The Test of Moses was used as the basis for the design of a portion of the Tournai tapestry in Dijon that shows Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dreams.

Single tapestries with the zodiac signs for January, February, and March, with the stories for the months, are in Saragossa. The inscriptions are the same as on 2a, but the compositions were more or less altered. The Test of Moses has Pharaoh in a similar pose seated on the right, but the other figures are different; the background shows horse-drawn sleds on a frozen river. The story of Papirius shows the boy standing in the center, with the senators on the

right and a group of agitated women on the left; the background is a skating scene. For *March*, Alexander and the envoys are seen in similar poses, and the laborers in the background are trimming vines, digging, and driving in fence poles.

## 2b *The Second Three Ages of Man or Summer*

#### DESCRIPTION

Left section, *The Fourth Age* (18–24) or *April*: The roundel shows a pale brown bull (Taurus) and a half-length of a man in blue and red, with a pale brown fur cape, holding two daffodils. On the left, a flying figure in pale red holds a pale yellow bellows inscribed "Subsolans" (Subsolanus, E wind); on the right, another in dark green holds a similar bellows inscribed "Zephyrus" (W wind) in his right hand and lets a flowering branch fall from his left.

Below the roundel is a garden, surrounded by a green hedge with pink flowers; there are pale brown and blue buildings in the background. On the left are a standing man in red and blue, with a pale brown fur cape, and a kneeling woman in blue, with a pink sash; she holds a plant and a small tool. Facing them across the pale brown and gray flower bed are a crouching woman in green, sprinkling water from a yellow and red bowl in her left hand, and a standing woman behind her, in a simple red dress, holding a pale brown flask and a long rake.

The lower half represents the Choice of Hercules. He reclines in the center, wearing elaborately decorated blue, green, yellow, and orange armor, with a winged head on the breastplate and an *all'antica* skirt of long ornamented strips; another winged head is seen on the lower part of his red, yellow, and blue kneecap. His leg coverings are brown and he rests on a dark blue cloak. On the left, in fantastic armor, is Minerva, who directs a long, blunt pale brown spear at Hercules's chest. A round blue, yellow, and dull red buckler covers her left shoulder and arm. The Medusa head, with two serpents among its locks, is on the lorica, over the abdomen; half a monstrous red head covers her knee. Her long skirt is dark green. Behind her, a bearded man in red and green holds a knotted red rope in one hand and raises a scourge of long brown twigs as if





Detail of 2b

about to strike a crouching pale brown nude satyr on whom he places his bare left foot. On the other side of Hercules stands Venus in a loose yellow and green robe. She holds a red circlet and a rose branch over Hercules's head and supports a red and yellow bow with her other hand. A red and yellow quiver hangs from a chain at her side. The head of a girl in orange-red, wearing a wreath, is seen behind her.

The border medallion has a pale brown and gray snail. The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Jam Taurus letos ostētat in arbore flores.  
Sic spes virtutū prima iuventa notat.

(Now the Bull displays abundant flowers on the tree, so early youth shows hopes of virtue.)

In the center:

Alcides statuit prime sub flore Juvente  
Dure virtutis inclyta signa sequi.

(Alcides in the flower of his early youth decided to follow the glorious standards of hard virtue.)<sup>10</sup>

Center section, upper part, *The Fifth Age* (24–30) or *May*: The roundel has two nude figures (Gemini) and a crowned king in blue, holding a scepter and a flowering branch. The unnamed wind on the left wears a red robe and green wreath and holds a pale brown fan and a branch; the other, a female figure in green, has a brown and white fan and extends her branch toward the scene below.

Under the roundel, Cupid, blindfold and nude except for a flying pale red cloak and a red quiver, holds his bow as if he had just shot an arrow at a couple, identified in the inscription as Venus and Adonis, embracing under a green and yellow tree. The man wears a yellow shirt and red tights with blue bands; the woman has a yellow and green dress. A yellow and red bow and quiver are hung on the tree and the pale gray head of a beast, perhaps a lion, is seen on the other side of the brown tree trunks. On the left is another couple, the man in red playing a recorder, the woman in blue holding a sheet of music.

A green and yellow parrot with a red beak is perched on the finial of the central support that holds the inscription.

Center section, lower part, *Summer*: An ornate red, yellow, brown, and blue throne, with small winged boys holding blank shields on the uprights, provides a seat for Ceres in the lower half of the composition. She wears a

white headdress like a turban, with a white veil falling over her neck and shoulders, a green and yellow dress and a red cloak, powdered with lavender and white pansies, white daisies, and small white flowers, possibly forget-me-nots, and with a border trimmed with clusters of pearls. She holds a red, dark blue, and yellow cornucopia in each hand. On the left, a man in dark blue with a red hat leans on the side of the throne and, on the right, a girl in dark blue with a red and yellow cap does the same. The background is made up of green and yellow foliage with scattered red and yellow fruit.

The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Sub Geminis fructus arbos producit amoenos  
Gignende soboli plenis illa vacat.

(Under the Twins the tree produces pleasant fruit, riper youth has leisure to beget offspring.)

In the center:

Aurea dilectum Ven' [Venus] amplexatur Adoni.  
Aspirat coeptis flora, Cupido favet.

(Golden Venus embraces the beloved Adonis, Flora assists the undertaking, Cupid is favorable.)

In the lower border:

Alma Ceres pleno profundens omnia cornu  
Estive imperiū fertilitatis habet.

(Fostering Ceres, pouring out all things from her full horn, holds dominion over summer fertility.)

Right section, *The Sixth Age* (30–36) or *June*: The roundel contains a pale brown crustacean (Cancer) and a seated woman in red holding a white lamb on her lap and a pair of shears. A male figure in red on the left holds a dull yellow bellows inscribed "Flora," and a full-length, running man on the right, in red and dull yellow with green leggings, raises a pale red one inscribed "Eurus" (SE wind).

In the landscape below, on the left, a woman in a blue dress with red sleeves and hat sits holding a white sheep on her lap and a blue pair of shears. Four sheep are in the center, and on the right, a seated man in red shears a white and pale brown sheep. A castle on a lake appears in the distance.

The warrior in the lower half of the right section is identified in the inscription as "Curius." He wears fantastic blue, green, red, and yellow classical armor and stands



in the center, supporting a bundle of striped red, yellow, blue, and brown lances, most of them broken. He has a winged blue and red helmet with a dragon on the top and many red and yellow chains; his body armor has a two-tailed mermaid on the abdomen. On the left, a kneeling woman in a blue dress, with a white cap and sleeves, proffers red and yellow chaplets in both hands, a man behind her in purple-brown holds a long jeweled belt or chain, and a standing woman in blue, with red sleeve linings, holds a long brown pole on which red and yellow crowns are threaded like beads on a needle. The head and shoulders of a man in red and pale brown are seen behind the group. On the right, a bald man in dark green with a large red and pink pouch at his side kneels holding three red and yellow crowns on a short, scepter-like stick. The head and shoulders of a girl in red and of a man in a brown

cap appear behind him, and a standing young woman in blue, with a white head scarf, holds a long pole with a knob and wings at its top and crowns threaded along its length.

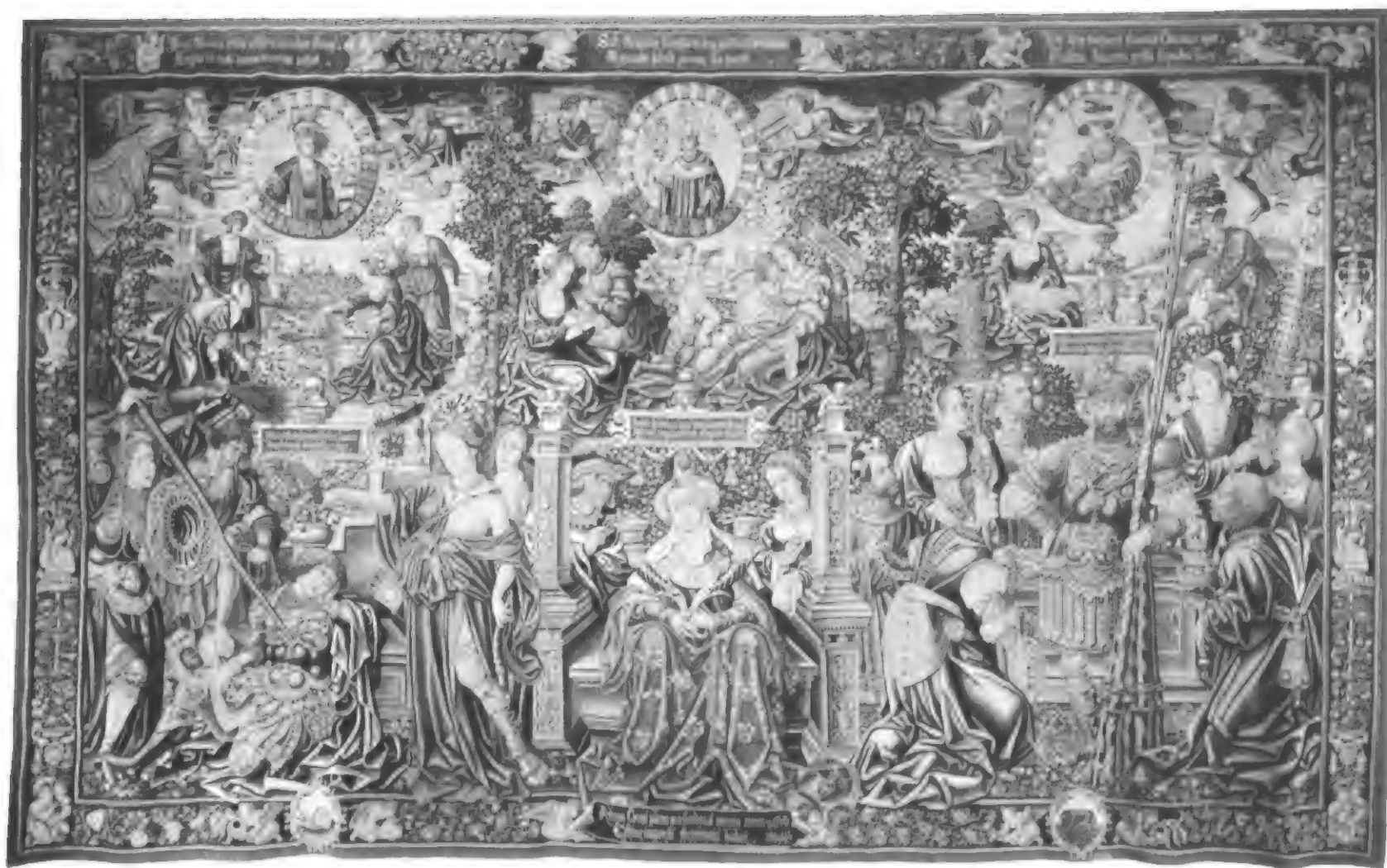
Behind Curius is an elaborate pale blue structure, with a red and yellow panel set in the front. Dark green and yellow trees with acorns and red and yellow fruit form the background.

The medallion has a pale brown lion.

The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Ut sata maturat ferventi Carcinus igne,  
Molie[tur] Juvenis gesta superba ferox.

(As the Crab ripens the crops with burning heat, the wild youth will undertake proud deeds. [The connection between the two lines is probably a pun on *ferventi* and *ferox*.])





In the center:

Quāvis inumeras Curius devicerat Urbes  
Munera despexit. gloria sola satis.

(Although Curius had conquered innumerable cities, he  
disdained gifts. Glory alone was enough.)

#### SUBJECT

The years from eighteen to thirty-six are equated with the months April, May, and June, and with the season of summer. Ceres is the usual deity of this season, but the pansies and daisies of her dress are not her proper flowers; they may here refer to Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands from 1507 to 1530. She owned a green parrot, who may be commemorated in the bird shown here.<sup>11</sup>

*April:* A man carrying flowers is a common symbol for the month and gardening a normal occupation. Zephyr is a spring wind.

According to the classical story, Hercules was called on to choose between Virtue, embodied in Minerva, and Luxury, or Venus. The satyr, representing Vice, is conquered by Discipline, indicating what Hercules's choice will be. Minerva's spear stands for the force of wisdom, "Sapientiae vis."<sup>12</sup>

The snail in the border medallion may refer to Hercules's sluggish state.

*May:* A man with a leafy branch is a usual symbol for May, though he is not ordinarily shown as a king. The winds have fans instead of bellows to imply that they are gentle. The female one on the right is presumably Flora, wife of Zephyr, indicating her favor to Venus and Adonis below by extending her flowering branch toward them, though her name has been given to the masculine wind in the next section. Making music and love are usual occupations of the month; the amorous couple are identified as Venus and Adonis by the inscription, and the beast in the background may stand for the boar that killed him.

*June:* The masculine wind with a bellows marked "Flora" has been confused with the female wind of *May*. Sheepshearing is a normal occupation of the month.

"Curius" has been identified as Marcus Curius Dentatus, who refused the bribes of the Samnite ambassadors;<sup>13</sup> the inscription certainly seems to apply to this hero. But Marcus Curius is described by classical authors as being approached by the Samnites while he was cooking turnips on his hearth; the presence of women among

the envoys also suggests that the warrior is not Marcus Curius. It is more probable that he is Lucius Sicinius Dentatus, who according to Pliny "had bestowed upon him 18 spear-shafts, 25 breast-badges, 83 necklets, 160 bracelets, 26 crowns (including 14 civic crowns, eight of gold, three mural crowns, one siege-rescue crown), a bag of money, ten prisoners of war and with them 20 cows."<sup>14</sup> A Roman warrior carrying several spears and with crowns looped over his arm appears in the *Triumph of Fortitude* tapestries in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; the Château de Chenonceaux; the Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo, Spain; and the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.<sup>15</sup> The lion medallion may refer to his courage, the virtue for which Pliny cites him.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The left half of the Choice of Hercules is seen joined to the Alexander episode of *March* (2b) in the tapestry in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. Above Minerva and the man with the scourge are two women from the gardening scene, but above them are men working in the fields, or watching, who are not related to any figures in 2.

A version of the "Curius" scene was used to make a single, horizontal tapestry in the Milwaukee Art Institute.<sup>16</sup> The sign of the zodiac is seen in the upper border and sheepshearing in the landscape background to the main group; the inscription, in Roman capitals, is in the lower border. The tapestry has the Brussels mark.

A fragment of a much altered version, showing the *May* and *June* roundels and inscriptions, the Venus and Adonis and sheepshearing scenes, and the upper half of the "Curius" episode, with a group of standing figures replacing Ceres, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, June 15, 1957 (no. 49, illus.), and at the Palais Galliera, December 9, 1967 (no. 141, illus.).

The Saragossa tapestry for *April* has a very similar group of Minerva, the satyr, Hercules, and Venus on the left, with additional figures on the right, and a gardening scene in the background.

The Saragossa tapestry for *May* has the inscription for that month, but the composition, though showing Cupid aiming an arrow at a seated couple, is entirely different.

The Saragossa tapestry for *June* shows "Curius" holding spears in the center between kneeling male and female figures, with two standing women holding crowns on

sticks. Sheep are being sheared in the background. Except for slight differences in the border, it is the same as the example in the Milwaukee Art Institute.

The *June* scene in the Dijon tapestry shows a warrior holding three spears and surrounded by men and women carrying crowns; the name “Lucius Sisinius Dentatus” is written under his feet.<sup>17</sup>

## 2c *The Third Three Ages of Man or Autumn*

### DESCRIPTION

Left section, *The Seventh Age* (36–42) or *July*: The roundel shows a lion (Leo) and a man in a red hat, breechcloth, and leggings, with a white shirt, cutting green grass. A water bottle hangs on a forked stick beside him. On the left, a flying figure in red holds a bellows inscribed “Ethesias” (NE winds); another in green on the right has one inscribed “Auster” (S wind).

Below, two women, one in blue with red sleeves and hat, the other in green with a yellow hat, are raking hay. Partly visible behind the one in green is a woman gathering a bundle of green grass in her arms. A tree with green oval fruit flanks the scene on the left and an oak with acorns on the right. A wattle fence is seen behind the women and a landscape with a castle in the distance.

The group in the lower half of the section represents the education of Aesculapius by Chiron. Chiron, a bearded centaur, wears a red shirt with rolled-up sleeves and a dark blue breastplate. His hindquarters are covered with a patterned cloth. A bow and quiver full of arrows hang at his side, and he plays a small Gothic harp decorated with blue and white patterns. To the right, Aesculapius kneels on one knee and holds up a glass urinal; he wears a blue fur-lined cloak over a green dress, with a red collar, and red leggings, and supports an open book on his knee. In the bottom left corner sits a young woman, in a green dress lined with pink, holding a large red and blue book. Three women in blue and red are partly visible behind her, and the heads of two others appear behind Aesculapius. Part of a pink stone structure and a wattle fence, with a fruit-bearing tree, form a background.

The medallion in the lower border has a white unicorn.

The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Ut Leo desiccat sensim retrogradus herbas,  
Sic sensim vives corporis ipsa dies.

(As the Lion, retrograding, gradually dries the grass, so does time itself gradually dry up bodily strength.)

In the center:

Herbipotēs Chirō. squalētes pellere morbus  
Natus Apollineus quaqueat arte docet.

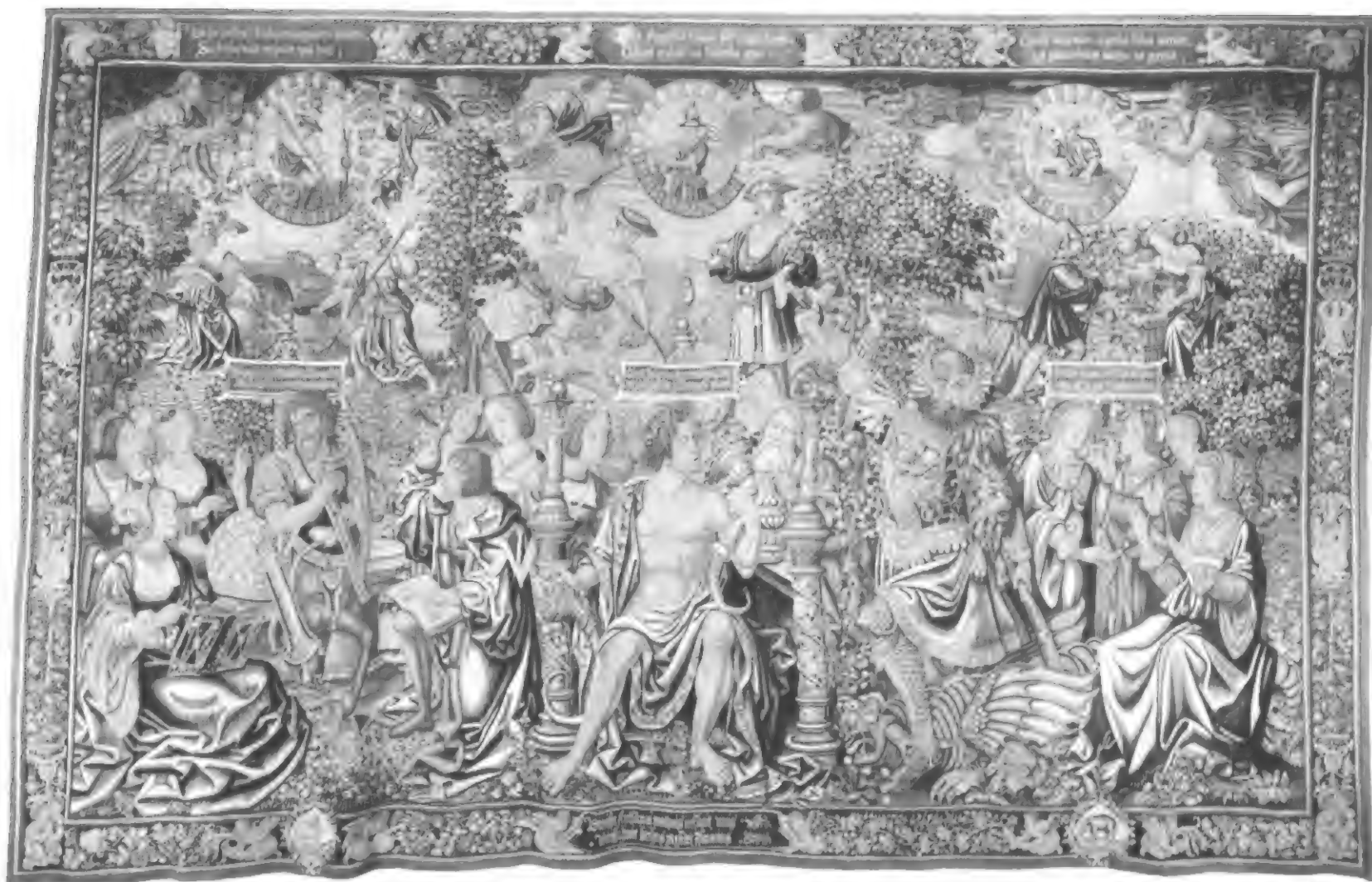
(Chiron, skilled in herbs, teaches the art by which the son of Apollo can drive out squalid diseases.)

Center section, upper part, *The Eighth Age* (42–48) or *August*: The roundel shows a bust of a girl in red holding a yellow palm branch (Virgo). Below her is a figure in a green hat and costume, grasping the strap from which a water bottle hangs, and supporting harvesting implements over his shoulder, against a background of yellow standing grain. On the left, a flying half-length figure in green holds a pale brown feather fan in each hand; a similar figure in red on the right has a pink bellows.

A harvesting scene under the supervision of Joseph is seen below. On the right, Joseph, richly dressed in a blue coat, with red hat and leggings, and wearing a red-gold chain and a red purse with four tassels, holds out his hand to a man in a wide red hat, white shirt, and rolled-up red breeches. He raises a short-handled scythe with an end plate in his right hand and manipulates the stalks he is about to cut by means of a mowing crook held in his left. A woman beside him in a red dress and pink hat gathers fallen stalks into a bundle. Behind her, a man with a red hat and leggings raises a water bottle to his mouth, and behind Joseph a woman in green with a red hat picks up a sheaf. A dense stand of wheat makes up the background, with small red and blue flowers—poppies and cornflowers—scattered through it.

A bird with a green breast stands on the red finial of the support for the central inscription.

Center section, lower part, *Autumn*: The deity of the season, Bacchus, sits on a throne whose red and blue marble pillars are encircled by spiraling red grapevines. He has curling ram’s horns and a wreath and is nude except for a loose green drapery, with blue and green grapes and vine leaves on the pink borders. He supports a red, grape-filled cornucopia with each hand. On the left, the bust of a young woman in red, holding a covered red



2c

goblet, is visible, and on the right is the head of a bearded old man in pink with both hands on an elaborate blue and yellow ewer.

The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Coligit [for colligit] Augustus flavas sub virgine fruges,  
Colligit in seniū vir studiosus opes.

(August gathers golden fruits under the Virgin; the diligent man gathers riches for his old age.)

In the center:

Curat Iosephus famis advētura pericla  
Ut jam prelecta pellere messe queat.

(Joseph sees to it that he may be able to rout the coming perils of famine with already selected crops.)

In the lower border:

Vinifer Autūnus maturis influit uvis.

Vnifer [for Vinifer] huic Iachus presidet Ismarus.

(Autumn, the wine-bringer, abounds in ripe grapes;  
Ismarian Bacchus, the wine-bringer, presides over it.)

Right section, *The Ninth Age* (48–54) or *September*:  
The roundel shows a pair of scales (Libra) and a man in green standing in a yellow barrel and holding a bunch of grapes. On the left is a flying half-length figure in white with a red cloak and headband, holding a bellows inscribed “Corus” (NW wind); on the right, a full-length figure in red with a bellows inscribed “Libs” (SW wind).

A vintage scene appears below. On the left, a man in blue with a red hat has a long, tapering, grape-filled basket (*hotte*) on his back, which a woman in red behind him seems to support. On the right, a woman in blue with a pink headdress bends to empty a bucket of grapes into a barrel; behind her, a man in red, about to cut a bunch of grapes, is partly visible. Grapevines twisted around sticks form the background, and large trees with red fruit stand on either side.

The lower half of the section shows Hercules obtaining the golden apples of the Hesperides. On the left is the huge figure of Hercules, dressed in fantastic red and blue armor with a winged head on his breastplate and the tawny lion's skin over his left shoulder. He holds a red apple in his raised hand and his club in the other, as he straddles the monstrous winged dragon at his feet; it is colored in several shades of blue, yellow, violet, and red. On the right are four Hesperides, three standing, in green and red, and one seated, in blue.

The medallion in the lower border has a gray elephant. The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Condit vina cadis expressis Libra racemis,  
Ut gravis etatem cautius era premit.

(The Scales store wine in jars after the grapes have been crushed, as a man burdened with years more carefully hoards his money.)

In the center:

Herculeo finem victo serpente labori  
Carpta dat Hesperii splendida cura chori.

(The serpent having been vanquished, the splendid charge of the Hesperian chorus is plucked, and puts an end to the labors of Hercules.)

#### CONDITION

A photograph taken while the tapestry was owned by French & Co. shows the lower two-thirds of the *September* section missing; the upper line cuts through the *hotte* of the grape picker, on the left edge through Hercules's face.

#### SUBJECT

The years from thirty-six to fifty-four are equated with the months July, August, and September, and with the

season of autumn. Bacchus is the usual deity of this season; his attendants are presumably Silenus and a bacchante.

*July*: Haymaking is a standard occupation. The Ethe-sian winds blew in July, according to Pliny, and Auster is a summer wind.

Aesculapius was handed over as a newborn baby by his father, Apollo, to the centaur Chiron to be educated, especially in medicine. Chiron's quiver and harp refer to his fame as an archer and musician; the urinal held by Aesculapius is his usual attribute as a physician. The connection of the education of Aesculapius with the seventh age of man is apparently that, halfway through life, illness and its remedies become more important.

The unicorn of the border medallion may be there because of its power to expel poisons.

*August*: Reaping is a usual occupation for the month.

Joseph wears the gold chain that Pharaoh gave him before putting him in charge of storing a fifth part of the seven years' good harvest against the seven lean years that were to follow. The method of reaping is one used in the Low Countries. The cutting implement is a scythe with a large end plate, which acts as a counterweight; the tool in the reaper's left hand, here looking like a short stick, has in reality a curved blade at right angles to the handle (see 49a).<sup>18</sup>

*September*: The vintage is a usual occupation for this month.

The Labor of Hercules shown is described as the last, and so is considered a suitable illustration for the latest age



Detail of 2c



of man in which achievements are possible. The version used is that in which Hercules, having overcome the dragon that guarded the tree, plucked the apples himself, while the Hesperides looked on.

The elephant in the border medallion may represent the power of Hercules.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Another version is in the castle of Perelada, Gerona province, Spain.<sup>19</sup>

A fragment showing part of the Aesculapius scene and almost the entire figure of Bacchus was in the Bourgeois Frères sale, Cologne, October 19–27, 1904 (no. 1375, illus.). Half of Chiron is visible and part of the inscription. Bacchus is fully clothed, with sandals and leg coverings. The inscription for the Joseph scene appears above.

A separated tapestry for each month is found in the Saragossa set. *July* has the Aesculapius scene with very similar principal figures, the same inscription in Roman characters, and haymaking (including a very similar reaper) in the background. *August* shows Joseph riding in a chariot, with harvesting in the background, but the inscription is the same. *September* shows Hercules bestriding the dragon and plucking an apple, with three Hesperides, and vintage scenes in the background, but has a different inscription.

The Tournai tapestry in Dijon shows Bacchus in the center with Hercules on the right; there is no apple tree, so he appears to be standing on a dragon and holding up a stone. Harvesting is seen in the background.

## 2d *The Last Three Ages of Man or Winter*

#### DESCRIPTION

Left section, *The Tenth Age* (54–60) or *October*: The roundel shows, at the top, a scorpion (Scorpio). Below is a man in red holding a whip and placing one hand on a plow; the tail and part of the hindquarters of a gray horse are seen on the right and a furrowed field in the background. To the left of the roundel a half-figure in red with a long swirling yellow sash and green sleeves holds a bellows inscribed “Cecias” (ENE wind). A similar figure on



FIG. 3. *Saint Gommaire*. Stained-glass panel, detail. Flemish, sixteenth century. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (inv. no. D229).

the right in red with green sleeves holds a bellows inscribed “Vulturinus” (SE wind).

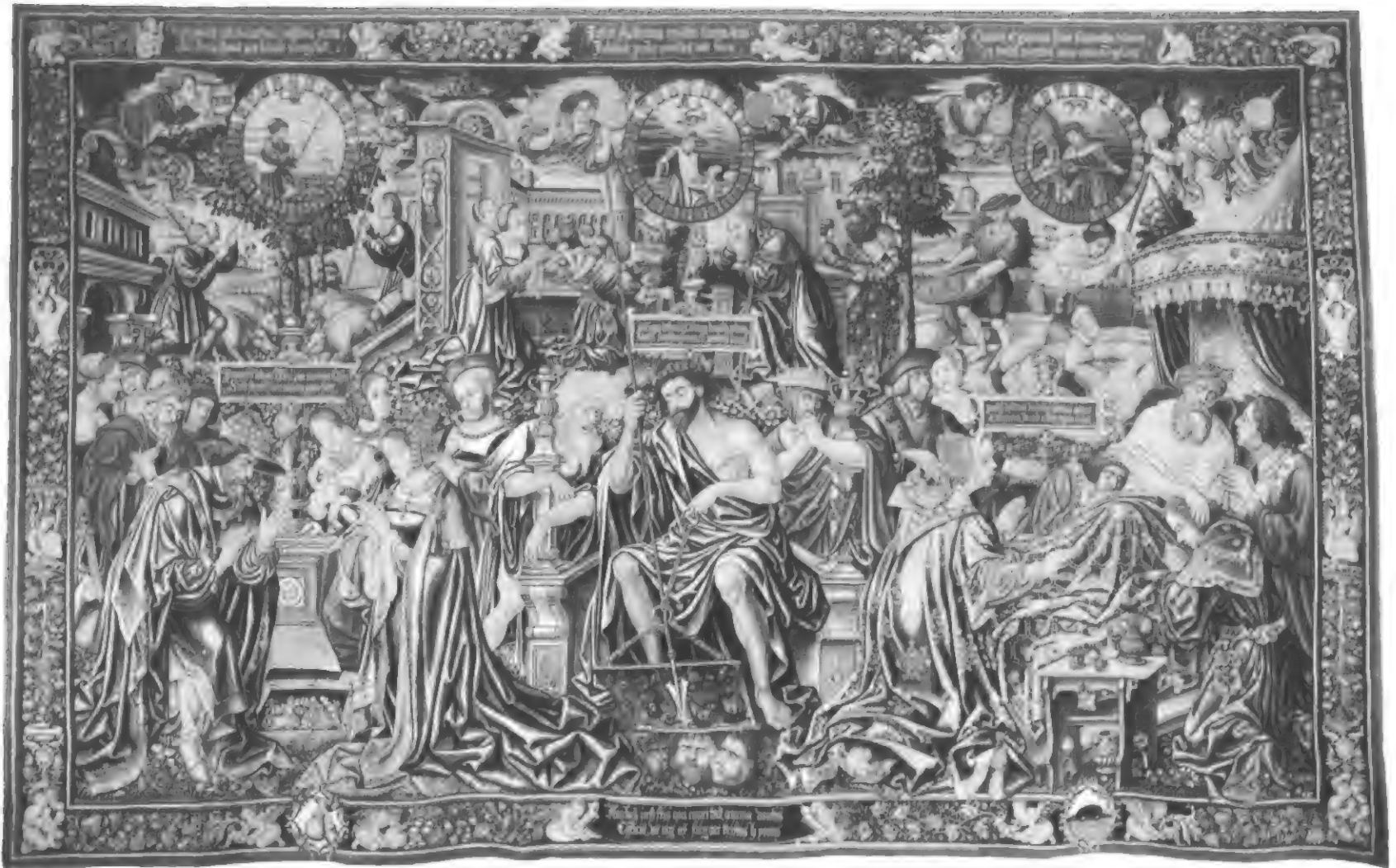
The roundel is seen against the upper branches of three dark green oak trees. The men on either side knocking down acorns are in blue with red head and leg coverings; one has a shoulder pouch and a red belt. Some acorns are seen falling from the trees to be eaten by six pale brown pigs. On the left is a large dark blue building with its capitals, eaves, and part of a huge scrolling form on its roof in strong red and pink. A picket fence and a landscape with farm buildings make up the background.

The lower half of the section shows the Byzantine emperor Tiberius II discovering a concealed treasure. A closed jeweled crown with a cross at the top rests on his tall, red, blue-lined, peaked hat. He wears a green robe, decorated with red eagles on the hem, and a blue cloak with red and pink bands of ornamentation including small dragonlike forms. The empress has a closed, red, jeweled crown with a cross at the top, worn over a jeweled red and blue head-dress. Her dress is dark blue; over it she wears a green cope-like garment with a patterned pink lining, edged with a band of rubies and pearls. It is fastened across the

chest with red ties, over which is a red cross. Two blue tassels hang from the ornament near her left shoulder, which is covered by a red and pink short cape. A confused piece of red moiré drapery to the left is apparently part of her costume. Between the imperial couple is a blue flagstone floor, one slab of which has been raised; this has a pink cross and other ornamentation. The cavity left by its removal is filled with a mass of yellow, red, and blue vessels and bags; among them are a red, jeweled belt and two short rods with rings strung on them. Behind the emperor is a bearded man in red; he wears a blue, red, and yellow cap with earflaps, and carries a blue bag and a short sword at his side. Behind him are the heads of a girl and two boys; the boy in the middle has a red hat. A woman in blue

kneels beside the empress, and the head of another woman, with a red and blue cap and collar, is visible between them. A bearded man, wearing a red hat over a hairnet, white shirt, red chain, and red robe with a dark blue border, stands behind the empress, holding a glove in his left hand. In the center a marble column, with a red ball at the top, supports the tablet with the inscription; a pink vine with bunches of grapes spirals around it and there is a small pink dragon at its base. The stand for the column is decorated with a small, helmeted head of a man in profile in a roundel. The background consists of leaves and fruit.

The medallion in the lower border shows a hand in a green sleeve holding a green vessel, presumably a glass urinal.







Details of 2d



The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Ut parat October creturis messibus arva,  
Sic senior chara pro sobole invigilat.

(As October prepares the fields for future crops, so the older man is vigilant on behalf of his beloved offspring.)

In the center:

Pauperib'[us] dederas Tyberi pia munera Cesar  
Sub saxo Tyberi reddita gaza fuit.

(Thou, Tiberius Caesar, hadst given charitable gifts to the poor: a treasure under a stone was given [thee] in return, Tiberius.)

Center section, upper part, *The Eleventh Age* (60–66) or *November*: The roundel shows a centaur with a bow (Sagittarius). Below is a man in red and green sowing grain, which he holds in his large white apron. A sack is seen on the right and a plowed field in the background. A flying half-figure on the left of the roundel is in red and holds a patterned bellows in each hand; another on the right is in blue-green with red sleeves and holds a plain bellows.

The foreground figures in the scene below are Tobias receiving advice from his father, Tobit. Both are dressed in green. The young Tobias kneels on the left, holding his hat in his hand; he has a red pouch hung from a red belt at his side. The bearded Tobit sits on a huge armchair with a high back, leaning his cheek on his hand, his elbow resting on a blue damask cushion on the arm of the chair. He has a red cape edged with blue and supports his left shoulder on a stick. Behind Tobias, a kneeling woman in blue with a red and white cap is presumably his mother, Anna. Another woman in red with a blue cap is behind her, partly concealed by a massive open doorway; this has pink sculptured decoration, including a statue of a nude boy, holding a long stick.

In the background, visible between Tobias and his mother, a man and a woman are slaughtering a pig. The man, in green with a red hat and leg coverings, rests his left knee on the pig's neck as he cuts its throat with a knife held in both hands. The kneeling woman, in red with a green cap, holds a pan with a long handle to catch the pig's blood. They are in a courtyard of a porticoed building; at the angle, a tower rises above the dark blue roof. Between Tobit and Tobias is a landscape with a towered city wall stretching into the distance. To the right and behind Tobit's chair two men are slaughtering an ox; one, in red

with a green cap, holds it by a horn, the other, in brown with a red cap and a white apron, swings a mallet above his head. There is a square battlemented tower behind the group and a tree with fruit below them.





Center section, lower part, *Winter*: The deity of the season, Aeolus, is seated on an elaborate, backless throne. He wears a green wreath and blue drapery, and holds a very long, feathered, blue-pointed arrow in his right hand;<sup>20</sup> with his left he pulls on a red chain attached to a hinged wooden lid at his feet. The inner side of the lid is decorated with two double-tailed armed figures in red; each tail ends in a dragon head. In the space under the lid are three ugly puffed-cheeked faces of winds. On the left of the throne is a man in dark green, with white hair and beard, who embraces one of the uprights; opposite him, a man in red, with a crown of blue and white icicles, holds his hands to his mouth. On the upright of the throne, below his arm, a pair of wooden skates with blue and white runners hangs from a blue cord. Leaves and fruit are seen in the background.

An owl perches on the finial above the central inscription, between Tobit and Tobias.

The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Inserit Arcitenens excultis semina terris.

Instituit proles [for prolem] qualibet arte senex.

(The Archer sows seed in the cultivated earth; the old man instructs his offspring in all arts.)

In the center:

Dū iam deficerēt Tobian lumēq, pedesq.

Natū Sophrosynen cū pietate docet.

(When his eyesight and his feet had failed Tobias [i.e., Tobit], he taught his son prudence and dutifulness.)

In the lower border:

Aeolus infestis qui concitat omnia ventis

Efficit, qui rig[e]at frigore tristis hyems

(Aeolus, who shakes everything with his hostile winds, causes dismal winter to freeze with cold.)

Right section, *The Last Age* (66–72) or *December*: The roundel shows a goat (Capricorn) at the top and, below, a man in red thrusting a baker's pell, with a lump of dough on the flat end, into a blazing oven. A half-length figure in pink on the left holds a bellows inscribed "boreas" (NE wind); on the right, another in red with a green sash holds a bellows inscribed "Orinthias" (for Ornithias, winter winds).

Winnowing and threshing are shown below. On the left, separated from the central area by a tree with green

leaves and yellow fruit, a man with a brown hat and breeches and a red shirt holds a winnowing fan filled with yellow grain. On the right a man in a blue cap, white shirt, red breeches, white stockings, and brown shoes raises a flail. The ground is covered with bundles of corn and loose ears; an open sack of grain is on the left, with a round object (perhaps a sieve) and a short stick. A wattle fence encloses the threshing floor. A landscape with leafy trees and a castle are seen in the background.

The lower half of the composition shows Jacob on his deathbed blessing Joseph's sons. A red column in the center supports the tablet with the inscription; garlands of leaves and berries, with tassels, are strung from the tablet frame below. Jacob, wearing a lavender turban and a white garment, reclines on red velvet cushions in a bed with an elaborate canopy, mostly pink and green, with a band of white running greyhounds and red eagles. It has green curtains and a background with a pomegranate pattern. The lower part of the bed is covered with a blue spread, richly ornamented with white chains and red floral forms with green centers. Jacob crosses his arms to place his hands on the heads of his grandsons, his right on Ephraim kneeling in the foreground, his left on Manasseh on the far side of the bed. Ephraim has a green robe with a red cape, the border of which is ornamented with a scrolling vine and bunches of grapes in green and blue; an elaborate belt supports a decorated red pouch with tassels and a knife with a red knob and blue sheath. Joseph, behind him, wears a red robe over a white, high-necked shirt. A woman, presumably Joseph's wife, Asenath, kneels at the foot of the bed. She wears a blue-green dress with a pomegranate pattern, pink in the shadows, white in the highlights, and red sleeves, with an elaborately decorated pointed cape. Her head is covered with a piece of yellow cloth, with a decorated red cap worn over it; a yellow and red scarf flies out at the back of her neck. Behind her is a man wearing a red hat ornamented in blue, a blue fur-trimmed coat, and red sleeves. A woman in brown is partly visible behind him; she has a blue cap with a pink ornamented border. In the foreground is a small wooden table of Gothic design, with a red jug on the ground between its supports. On the table is a small blue vase holding leaves and blue flowers, two yellow fruit, one a pomegranate with red seeds, a glass vessel with a narrow neck and covered mouth, and a red ewer with a hinged lid.

The creature in the medallion in the lower border is

brown, with deep blue shadows. An eye and a mouth can be discerned in the excrescence on the right, so that the beast can most satisfactorily be interpreted as a tortoise, but it could almost as convincingly be read as a mole, facing in the other direction. An area of repair renders the identification uncertain.

The inscriptions are, in the upper border:

Excutit Egoceros spicis frumenta caducis.  
Ut tandē membris mors animā e gelidis.

(The Goat shakes the grain from the fallen ears. So does death at last drive life from cold limbs.)

In the center:

Postq̄ destituit Vitalis spiritus artus,  
Emoriens Jacob celica regna subit.

(When the breath of life left his limbs, dying Jacob ascended to the heavenly kingdom.)

#### SUBJECT

The last eighteen years of life are equated with the months October, November, and December, and with the season of winter, presided over by Aeolus, ruler of the winds. Boreas is more usual in this role, but he is shown as a wind in the *December* section. The two attendants may be personifications of Snow and Frost. The owl, a symbol of death or sleep, is appropriate for the season.

*October*: Plowing is not the most common occupation of the month, but it was needed here to illustrate the line in the upper border inscription, "October prepares the fields for future crops." Knocking down acorns to feed pigs is usual in an autumn month.

The story of the emperor Tiberius II (578–582) discovering a treasure is told by Gregory of Tours. The emperor gave large sums to the poor from the riches amassed by his predecessor. One day, walking through his palace, he found a marble slab with a cross on it in a pavement. Shocked by the idea of treading on a cross, he ordered the stone taken up. Two other slabs with crosses were found under the first; when they were removed, a huge treasure was discovered, which Tiberius gave to the poor. The connection between the two inscriptions is not clear; possibly the link is that the earth is dug up by the plow and the treasure was found underground. The empress, who is not mentioned as present at this event, may represent Margaret

of Austria, and the man standing behind her (see detail and fig. 3) may be a prominent member of her court.<sup>21</sup>

The urinal of the lower border may symbolize the infirmities of old age.

*November*: Sowing and slaughtering animals are common occupations of the month.

Tobit, blinded by swallows' dung falling into his eyes, gave good advice to his son Tobias before sending him to Media.

*December*: Baking is a common occupation for the month, but threshing and winnowing are never seen so late in the year. They must have been chosen here to illustrate the line in the upper border inscription, "The Goat shakes the grain from the fallen ears."

Jacob, on his deathbed, blessed the sons of Joseph; Manasseh, the elder, was placed at his right, Ephraim at his left, but Jacob put his right hand on the head of the younger son. The usual Christian interpretation of this event, in which the two sons are identified with the Old and New Covenant, does not seem to have been considered here, though the grapevine ornament on Ephraim's cape may reflect it. The pomegranate on the table is probably here a symbol of an afterlife and a promise of immortality.<sup>22</sup>

If the animal in the lower border medallion is a mole, the underground life of this creature might be considered appropriate for a deathbed scene.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Three tapestries in Saragossa have versions of the narrative scenes with the same inscriptions. *October* has a similar representation of the emperor and empress, with knocking down acorns and plowing as occupations of the month in the background. The inscription is said to refer to the arrival of the Israelites at Gaza.<sup>23</sup> *November* has another episode in the Tobit story, with the angel accompanying Tobias, but the slaughtering of a calf and a pig is seen in the background. *December* shows Jacob blessing Joseph's sons, with men in the background threshing, winnowing, cutting down trees, and sawing wood; the table in the foreground is in a Renaissance style with sphinges.

A tapestry with versions of the *November* and *December* sections was in the Henry Symons sale, Clarke's Art Rooms, New York, February 8, 1922 (no. 585, illus.), and

the Galerie Moderne sale, Brussels, May 6, 7, 1963 (no. 1191, illus.). All the inscriptions are present, but the backgrounds are simplified and the borders, with no figures, are in a later style.

The Tiberius episode is repeated fairly closely, though reversed, on the Tournai tapestry in Dijon; the background shows sowing and harrowing. The empress is given the name Placella, and the inscription states that Tiberius's wife wished to spend the treasure in a reasonable way. Placella also appears in the *Justitia* panel of the *Honores* set in Madrid. She has been tentatively identified with Galla Placidia,<sup>24</sup> but as Galla lived a hundred years before Tiberius, it is unlikely that the empress of 2d is intended to represent her. It seems probable that she is the wife of Theodosius I, Flacilla or Placilla, who was praised by Gregory of Nyssa because she gave away her riches. Her name is given as Placella in the Flemish translation of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. She presumably appears with Tiberius II because both gave to the poor.<sup>25</sup> The figure of the empress in 2d is repeated almost exactly in the *Nobilitas* panel of the *Honores* set, where she is called Esther.<sup>26</sup>

Tiberius, again accompanied by a woman, is seen discovering the treasure in the tapestries of the *Triumph of Charity* in Biltmore House, Asheville, North Carolina, the Château of Chenonceaux, and the Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo, Spain.<sup>27</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Standen, "Twelve Ages," 1969, p. 167. Pieter van den Houste has been suggested as the designer for *Aeneas's Ambassadors before Dido* at Hampton Court, in which the ambassadors closely resemble the two foremost Persian envoys before Alexander in 2a (H. G. Wayment, "Bernard van Orley and Malines: The Dido and Aeneas Tapestries at Hampton Court," *Antiquaries Journal* 49 [1969] p. 373). Mr. Wayment, in an unpublished article, attributes 2 to Pieter van den Houste, citing a number of resemblances between the tapestries and works of art that he gives to this artist.
2. Standen, "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas,'" pp. 5, 6.

3. Standen, "Twelve Ages," 1969, p. 157.
4. Standen, "Tapisseries Renaissance," p. 92, fig. 3. The resemblance was pointed out by Hilary Wayment, who attributes the window design to Adrian van den Houste, about 1517 (Jean Helbig and Yvette vanden Bemden, *Les Vitraux de la première moitié du VX<sup>e</sup> siècle conservés en Belgique, Brabant et Limbourg* [Ledeberg/Gent, 1974] p. 144).
5. J. K. Steppe, "Vlaams tapijtwerk van de 16e eeuw in Spaans koninklijk bezit," *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger* (Gent, 1968) p. 723.
6. J. P. Asselberghs, *La Tapisserie tournaisienne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh. cat. (Tournai, 1968) nos. 14, 15, illus.
7. Francisco Abbad Rios, *Catalogo monumental de España, Zaragoza* (Madrid, 1957) pls. 214-33 (*January* and *August* missing); Carmen Rábanos Faci, *Los Tapices en Aragón* (Saragossa, 1978) pp. 19, 63, 64, pl. 13 (*November*; subjects of all twelve pieces given).
8. The designer clearly did not know the story he was illustrating, since he has shown the envoys as supplicants (Standen, "Twelve Ages," 1969, p. 140).
9. Germain Viatte, *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle européen: Tapisseries*, exh. cat. Mobilier National (Paris, 1965) no. 21, illus.
10. This inscription has been distorted by repairs; the reading of the version in Paris is given.
11. Standen, "Twelve Ages," 1969, p. 132.
12. Rudolf Wittkower, "Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938-39) p. 200, n. 2, quoting Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (1575) p. 310.
13. Standen, "Twelve Ages," 1969, p. 146.
14. Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1938) bk. 7, chap. 28.
15. Souchal, "Triumph," pp. 125, 148, figs. 20-23.
16. From the Barberini, Ffoulke, and Hearst collections (*The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries* [New York, 1913] p. 44, illus.).
17. Souchal, "Triumph," pp. 125, 128.
18. Axel Steensberg, *Ancient Harvesting Implements* (Copenhagen, 1943) pp. 205, 206, 213.
19. Information from J. P. Asselberghs.
20. Delmarcel, "Triumph," p. 165.
21. Standen, "Tapisseries Renaissance," p. 92.
22. Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries*, MMA (New York, 1976) p. 121.
23. Rábanos, *Tapices en Aragón*, p. 64.
24. Annelise Stemper, "Der Prudentia-Teppich des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich im Kurpfälzischen Museum zu Heidelberg," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 2 (1958) pp. 86, 87.
25. Souchal, "Triumph," pp. 116, 117, 145.
26. Information from Guy Delmarcel.
27. Souchal, "Triumph," pp. 113, 116, 117, figs. 11-13.

### 3 Medallion Months

Two pieces from a set of the Twelve Months

a *August*

b *October*

Flemish (Brussels); designed about 1525, woven probably before 1528.

Wool and silk.

3a 14 ft. 10 in. x 13 ft. 1 in. (4.52 m x 3.99 m);

3b 14 ft. 5 in. x 12 ft. 7 in. (4.39 m x 3.84 m).

20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Helen C. Juilliard, 1916 (19.172.1, 2).

#### DESCRIPTION

Each tapestry has an oval medallion in the center with a seated deity at the top and a scene showing the occupation of a month below. The oval is surrounded by the zodiacal belt; this has a band of gray and blue clouds on the inner edge, which is separated from the medallion scene by a narrow yellow band with red and brown lines. Each zodiacal sign is surrounded by a diffuse yellow circle. The Ram is pale gray; the Bull, dark gray or pale brown; the embracing Twins are nude; the Crab (shown as a lobster) and the Lion are brown and gray; the Virgin is in pale red and holds a blue and yellow palm branch; the Scales have blue pans hanging by red chains from a blue beam in *August*; in *October*, the pans are green and yellow; the Scorpion is gray or brown with a blue tail; the Archer is a gray and brown centaur with a blue bow; the Goat is gray, black, and blue, with blue horns; the Water Carrier is a nude boy with two blue jugs; and the blue and white Fishes are fat and have gray fins and tails in *August*, while in *October* they resemble eels and hold a white ribbon in their mouths. The twelve signs are separated by pairs of half-length female figures of two different types with differences only in the colors. In one type, one woman has long yellow plaits falling over her chest and one breast bare; in the other, she is seen in profile. The background to the signs and the paired women is the sky, pale yellow gray at the top, dark blue and star-spangled at the foot of the oval. A blue hourglass in a yellow stand is held by each pair of women between them and another is raised by the figure on the right of each pair. The zodiacal sign for the

month represented on each tapestry and the name of the month in Latin is at the top of the oval, with the number 12 on a narrow yellow border above it. The numerals 1 through 12 in black and brown are placed on this border in a clockwise direction, one above each zodiacal sign and each pair of figures, from the top to the bottom of the right side of the oval and again from the bottom to the top on the left side. The signs are shifted with each tapestry, so that the appropriate ones are shown in the darkness of night at the bottom of the oval and in the light of day above. In the spaces between the oval and the tapestry borders are landscapes, with two figures in the sky above and others engaged in an occupation of the month below.

The borders have yellow grounds, with some pink areas, especially in *August*, and are framed by blue and white cable bands, treated as three dimensional, on both sides. At the upper corners are two gray snails with brown and yellow shells, and at the lower corners are two fantastic masks; that on the left is a lion, the one on the right a blue leaf-fringed face with ram's horns. The lower border has three dense swags of fruit, leaves, and flowers in shades of red, pink, green, yellow, blue, and purple, attached to the upper cable bands by red and white ribbons, which extend on the left side to encircle the lion-masks. The narrower upper border is similar, but not identical; the ribbons here are pale blue. The side borders also show floral and vegetable forms; those on the left do not exactly resemble those on the right. Purple and white irises, red and pink roses, purple and blue grapes, blue plums, pink and yellow pomegranates, red, green, and yellow apples and pears, and green gourds can be distinguished; they are tied with pale blue and pink ribbons. The guards are dull red and dark pink, with a yellow stripe on each vertical guard.

The outlines are black, dark brown, dark blue, and dark red. Slits are much used in the medallions, especially for facial details, such as the wrinkled forehead of the man sowing in *October*.

## SUBJECT

The series presumably consists of twelve tapestries, each representing a month with its occupation, but some of the subsidiary figures in the known pieces present iconographical problems. No coherent scheme for them can be detected in the eight known designs from various sets. These are: *January*, with the occupation of feasting; the deity, Janus; the upper figures, Juno and Iris, pouring water; the lower figures, "Nocus," presumably the wind Notus, Eolus, and two other winds. Janus is the usual symbol of January and Juno is the tutelary goddess.<sup>1</sup> Iris, who, as the rainbow, is closely connected with rain, has taken on the function of Aquarius, one of the zodiacal signs of the month. *February* has sitting by the fire and spinning as occupations; the deity is labeled "Februa," which is recorded as a feminine version of the Roman god of the month, Februus.<sup>2</sup> The upper figures are five winds, including Boreas and Circius, the lower are men and women with sleds in snow. No *March* has been identified. *April* has riding as the occupation and Flora as the deity. The upper figures are the winds Notus and Eolus; the lower, a woman making a floral coronet and a man sowing. *May* and *June* have not been identified. *July* has reaping as an occupation; the deity is a woman holding a sickle and ears of grain, named Rumana Concine. She thus has the symbols of an appropriate goddess, Ceres; her actual name has been considered as a misrendering of Humana Concinne and explained as referring to the health-giving property of agricultural labor,<sup>3</sup> but this interpretation cannot be read into these Latin words in their classical meaning. Possibly she is the Roman goddess of mowing or reaping, Runcina.<sup>4</sup> The upper figures are Pleuresis (pleurisy) and Pestilence, the lower, Febres (fever) and Quinancie (quinsy). For *August*, see description of 3a. *September* shows the vintage with its appropriate deity, Bacchus. The upper figures are Semila (Semele) and Jupiter; the lower are two lovers and a man in a vineyard. For *October*, see description of 3b. *November* is known only from a description. The occupation is gathering acorns for pigs, the deity is Venus or Diana. One upper figure is the northerly wind, Superna (presumably Supernas, as in 3b). Silvanus also appears.<sup>5</sup> December has not been identified.

The twenty-four figures with hourglasses certainly represent the hours of the day; the snails may be a symbol of the slow but certain passage of time.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designs probably originated in the same workshop as those for the *Twelve Ages of Man* (2); the spandrel figures are very much like the winds on these tapestries and, among other resemblances, the two men using a flail and a winnowing basket in *October* are close to similar figures in *December* of the *Twelve Ages*. They are also related to the *Months* (50) and the *Seasons of Lucas* (49).<sup>6</sup> The man holding out his apron in *October*, for instance, reappears in *November* of the *Months of Lucas*, and the reapers of *July* in the *Summer* of the *Seasons*.

## MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The high quality of the tapestries suggests Brussels as the place of manufacture, and the absence of a city mark indicates a date before 1528. The designs are probably a few years later than those of the *Twelve Ages* (2); the inscriptions are in Roman script instead of black letter, the winds wear scantier clothes, the compositions are more unified, and there are no Gothic details. The borders, which may, of course, have been designed later than the centers, are of pure Renaissance type.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four other pieces of this set are known; *February* in the Art Institute of Chicago,<sup>7</sup> *April* in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington,<sup>8</sup> *July* in the Art Institute of Chicago,<sup>9</sup> and *September* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.<sup>10</sup>

Pieces from at least two other sets are known. A complete one was formerly owned by the Doria family in Rome. The borders are the same as those of 3, but the tapestries are almost square and have round central medallions; winged heads replace the signs of the zodiac and the paired figures. *January*, *February*, and *August* of this set are owned by Prince Filippo Doria Pamphili, Rome;<sup>11</sup> *October* is in the Palazzo Pallavicini, Genoa;<sup>12</sup> the others belong, or have belonged, to Prince Somaglia, Prince Colonna, and the counts Castelbarco.<sup>13</sup> An *April*, presumably from this set, was sold at the Finarte Gallery, Milan, March 6–9, 1967 (p. 8, illus.), and was owned by the Paris dealer Dario Boccara in 1976.<sup>14</sup> A *November* formerly in the collection of Count Moroni may have been from this set.

Another set is represented by an *April* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; the spandrels have a landscape with no figures.<sup>15</sup>

#### HISTORY

Séchan sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 22–27, March 1–4, 1875, no. 906, with *July* and *September*.

D . . . de G . . . [Dreyfus de Gonzales] sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 1–4, 1896, no. 253, illus. (*August*), no. 255, illus. (*October*), with *July*, no. 252, illus., and *September*, no. 254, illus.

Owned by Baumgarten, New York dealer.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Augustus D. Juilliard, 1916.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MMA *Annual Report* 1919, p. 19. Mentioned.

J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "The Juilliard Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin* 15 (1920) pp. 3–7, both illus. Called Brussels, about 1525, after Bernaert van Orley.

"The Juilliard Tapestries." *American Carpet and Upholstery Journal* 38 (March 1920) pp. 50, 51, illus. (details of both).

Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 167, both mentioned; vol. 2, pl. 147 [3b] illus. Called Brussels, middle of the sixteenth century.

Van Marle, Raimond. *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*. The Hague, 1931, vol. 1, p. 394. Both mentioned.

Ackerman, Phyllis. *Tapestry, the Mirror of Civilization*. New York, 1933, p. 381. Both mentioned; designs of series attributed to a pupil of Bernaert van Orley, related to Pieter Coecke.

"Tapestry of Famous Months Series Acquired." *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 28 (1939) p. 62. Both mentioned.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947–48) pp. 126 (both mentioned), 125, illus. [3b].

Viale, Mercedes, and Viale, Vittorio. *Arazzi e tappeti antichi*. Turin, 1952, p. 48. Both mentioned.

Jones, Mary Eirwen. *British and American Tapestries*. Hadeligh, Essex, 1952, p. 77. Both mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas' Tapestry Series." *Master Drawings* 9 (1971) pp. 5, 13, n. 15. Both mentioned; designs related to the *Months of Lucas* (50), the *Seasons of Lucas* (49), the *Twelve Ages of Man* (2), and the Dido and Aeneas set at Hampton Court.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: III. Renaissance and Mannerism." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 23–25, figs. 8, 9, 11–13. Described in detail, comparable pieces listed.

### 3a August

#### DESCRIPTION

The sign at the center of the zodiacal band is the Virgin, with AVGVSTVS inscribed in brown below. At the top of the medallion is Ceres, her name beside her, sitting on pale gray and brown clouds. She wears a blue dress with red and brown stripes at the neck, red and yellow chains, one supporting a locket, green sleeves, and a blue and yellow cloak. She holds seven ears of yellow grain. A threshing and winnowing scene appears below. On the left, a barefoot man in a dull red dress and green leg coverings with blue garters raises a flail in both hands; a sheaf of ripe grain lies on the ground in front of him. To the right, a seated woman holds a full spindle in her right hand; from it a thread stretches to a pale yellow winding frame in her left. She has a white headdress, a pale red dress with green sleeves, a brown collar of watered fabric, and a blue apron. Other spindles are in her apron pocket. A child in white, pink, and green, holding a green apple, climbs onto her knee. Behind her is a standing woman in a white headdress, blue dress with gray cuffs and purple sleeves, holding a child. To the right, a man with dark windblown hair wears a gray shirt and a purple and yellow skirt; he holds a brown winnowing basket filled with yellow grain. Behind him, a stooping man in red and green carries on his back a large dull brown and green sack with a heart-shaped mark. In the background on the left is a pale gray stone building with a pale brown thatched roof and a tall chimney; a man in blue and red is seen in the doorway. On the right is a gray, brown, and pink brick building and a large apple tree with a dark blue, gray, and yellow trunk, and red and green fruit. The foreground is in shades of blue, green, and gray; there is a thistle with pink flowers and other plants. A blue, brown, and gray tree stump has a pink cloth thrown around it and a pink hat placed on the end. There is also a pale pink open container, probably a sieve, with a blue crosspiece, and a short stick standing in it. A landscape of fields,





trees, rocks, and buildings in shades of gray, blue, green, and yellow is seen behind the figures; in the center, a man in gray with a brown whip stands on a threshing stone or sled dragged by two gray horses. The sky is gray and pale brown, with a yellow aura behind Ceres's head.

The upper corners between the oval medallion and the borders are filled with blue and gray clouds. Against the clouds on the left is a woman in a long green and yellow dress with red bands, sleeves, and belt; she has a red headdress and yellow chains. The inscription *SEGESSA* in brown and red appears beside her. On the other side, a woman with a floating yellow scarf holds a brown winnowing shovel. She wears a green and yellow dress, an elaborate red and yellow breastplate, a white blouse, red half-sleeves attached with blue cords, and a blue belt. The inscription *CVCVLINA* in brown is beside her (see detail).

The lower corners have trees in the background, with a tall apple tree on the right. At the left is a man emptying yellow grain from a brown container or sieve with a blue crosspiece into a gray sack; he wears a white shirt, yellow and green dress, pink leg coverings, and gray shoes. The mouth of the sack is held open by a woman; she has a yellow straw hat over a white head covering, a pink dress, and a blue apron. A gray and brown bird pecks at fallen grains behind the man. To the right is a gray, brown, and yellow hen with a chick on her back and some others on the ground near her (see detail). A short gray stick with blue ends lies behind the man's leg. In the right corner, a man in red with blue garters and shoes holds a full gray sack on his back. Beside him are two full yellow-gray sacks fastened with red straps and yellow buckles, and a large gray-pink container or sieve with a blue crosspiece. The foreground is in shades of green with a red-flowered plant on the left, a primrose near the chickens, a thorn-bush with blue berries, and a white convolvulus on the right.

#### CONDITION

Dark brown areas throughout show many bare warps; they are particularly noticeable on the underside of Ceres's cloak, the winnowing basket, and some of the letters, numbers, and outlines. Patches in the upper corners and the lower border on the left have been painted to match the surrounding fabric. Modeling slits in some of the faces have been sewn up.

Details of 3a





## SUBJECT

Ceres, the goddess of corn and harvests, is the tutelary deity of August. "Segessa" is presumably Segesta or Segetia, the Roman goddess of the standing crop,<sup>16</sup> and "Cuculina" should be Tutulina or Tutulina, who protected the stored grain.<sup>17</sup> The labors (except for wool winding) that are being performed in the medallion and the lower corners of the tapestry are usual ones for the month. Tutulina holds a winnowing shovel, and threshing is being carried out by means of a stone or sled in the background.<sup>18</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili, Rome, except that it is almost square and has a different border to the central medallion, is very close to 3a. Ceres, however, has a dark dress, and the full sack carried by the man on the right has no mark on it.

A narrow tapestry with the left portion of the central design was in the V. and L. Benguiat sale, American Art Association, New York, November 30, 1929 (no. 50, illus.), was sold again at the same auction house, November 4, 5, 1932 (no. 254, illus.), and was in the Valeria Knapp Langeloth Bonham sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, January 15, 16, 1954 (no. 314, illus.). It includes the man with a flail, the group of women and children, the building behind them, and the tree stump with the hat and drapery in the foreground. It is slightly larger at the top and bottom, showing more sky (without Ceres) and more plants, with the hen and chickens from the corner of 3a placed in the left foreground. The borders are the same as those of 3a.

## 3b *October*

### DESCRIPTION

The sign at the top of the zodiacal band is the Scorpion, with OCTOBER inscribed in brown beneath it. At the top of the medallion is Jupiter in red and yellow classical armor, with a green blue-lined cloak fastened at his right shoulder; the name IVPITER in black is seen beside him. The clouds around him are gray and pale yellow; the sky

on the right is blue with white clouds. His left hand grasps part of the dark blue-green object on which he seems to sit; it may be a plow. A scene in the fields of a crop being sown is depicted in the lower part of the medallion. On the left, a seated woman in a yellow-green dress, blue collar, red sleeves, and brown shoes holds a distaff tied with a red band in one hand and places the other on the head of a child in gray and pink at her knee. She wears a dark red, blue, and yellow cap tied under her chin and has a large gray and yellow hat slung behind her. A pink bag and blue keys hang from her blue sash. The child holds a yellow apple. In the center is a dark-haired man holding in his right hand one end of a narrow pale gray apron, which goes around his neck; yellow grain falls from his left hand onto the harrowed soil. He wears a dark red jacket with bunches of ribbons at the shoulders, blue-green leggings with pink ties, yellow shoes, and a sword at his left side. On the right, a man with a large yellow and gray straw hat, short blue and yellow cape, and a red and yellow dress with blue decoration, holds his pale gray apron with both hands to receive grain from a man in a pink cap, green and yellow sleeves, pale pink dress, and red leggings, who bends to plunge his hand into a pale gray sack; the yellow hilt of a weapon is seen at his back. A darker gray full sack stands in front of him. Behind this pair is a boy in red and orange, his raised right hand holding a stick. He leads two brown and gray horses with brown collars and ropes attached to a triangular gray harrow. A tree with a brown and blue trunk and blue-green and yellow leaves rises behind the woman with a distaff; a vine twisting up it has blue grapes. Behind it is a huge gray cliff. Behind the figures is a landscape with trees, steep-roofed thatched houses, castles, fields, and rocks, with several small figures, in tones of green, yellow, blue, pale brown, and gray; on the right is a stretch of blue water with a pale brown ship. The foreground is in shades of gray, brown, green, and blue; there is a bramble bush with red and blue blackberries and other plants. A small yellow and green animal, perhaps a weasel, sits on a stone at the left.

The upper corners show two dark-haired male figures on a background of pale gray, brown, and yellow clouds. The one on the left has a green and yellow drapery thrown around him and carries a gray fan; to his right is the word SVPERNAS in yellow. The other, in a white dress with blue drapery over it, holds a red-lined bellows; in the sky is the

inscription in brown: NOTVS. The background of the lower left corner is an oak tree with a brown and green trunk and green and yellow leaves, which extends into the clouds. At its foot is seated a man with a high brown hat decorated with red feathers (see detail). He wears a pale red cape with jagged edges, a dull yellow robe, and blue leggings tied below the knee with red cords. He holds the

ropes that control a brown and yellow bird snare. At his right side is a dull red pouch; a wing of a bird, probably a lure, protrudes from it and a short blue knife is seen behind it. On the ground are a pair of gray wooden clogs with blue ties and a T-shaped staff; a pink and gray water bottle stands on the right. A blue and a brown bird are fluttering under the snare. The tree on the right side of the



Detail of 3b

tapestry has red and green apples; a yellow ladder leans against it. At its foot is a young man with dark brown hair, a red and yellow dress, dark pink leggings, and gray shoes. He puts a hand on the handle of a basket filled with red and green apples. Several similar apples lie on the ground. The head of a boy with yellow hair, his outstretched arm in a blue sleeve, is seen behind. The foreground is in shades of gray, brown, green, and blue, with a number of plants.

#### CONDITION

There are carefully darned areas in the dress of the woman with a distaff. The dark brown areas on the sack at the right and in the foreground plants show some bare warps; other brown areas, such as that behind the child's bare leg and some of the letters and numbers, are replacements.

#### SUBJECT

Jupiter is the tutelary god for July, not October, which belongs to Mars, and Scorpio is not one of the two houses of the planet Jupiter. No reason why he should sit on a plow has been suggested. Supernas, as he is shown holding a fan, should be a summer wind, like the comparable figures in the July and August sections of the *Twelve Ages* (2c), but the name is that of a northerly wind.<sup>19</sup> Notus is the south wind. The occupations shown are those frequently found for October.<sup>20</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A narrow vertical panel in the Art Institute of Chicago is an adaptation of the right half, omitting Jupiter; the landscape has been much altered, but the men and horses are identical and the borders very similar.

#### NOTES

1. A. Warburg, *Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoja* (Rome, 1922) p. 9, with reference to lines from Manilius, *Astronomicon*, bk. 2, lines 439–47, naming the gods that rule each sign of the zodiac.

2. H. Steuding, in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1886–90) s.v. "Februus."
3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 166, 167.
4. R. Peter, in *Ausführliches Lexikon*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1890–94) s.v. "Indigitamenta."
5. In the collection of Count Moroni, Rome, in 1856 (X. Barbier de Montault, "Inventaire descriptif des tapisseries de haute-lisse conservées à Rome," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Arts d'Arras*, 2nd ser., 10 [1878] pp. 231, 232).
6. Standen, "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas,'" pp. 5, 6.
7. With *July*, Société Seligmann sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 16, 17, 1914, nos. 222, 223, *July* illus.
8. Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman, "Richesses du Garde-Meuble parisien de François I<sup>er</sup>: Inventaires inédits de 1542 et 1551," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 78 (1971) p. 280, fig. 10.
9. John David Farmer, "A Painting of the Pentecost by Bernard van Orley," *Bulletin of The Art Institute of Chicago* 67 (September–October 1973) p. 19, illus. Said, "with some certainty," to be after Bernaert van Orley.
10. "Tapestry of Famous Months," *Minneapolis Bulletin*, pp. 61–66. *July* and *September* were with 3 in the Séchan and Dreyfus de Gonzales sales.
11. Giorgio Torselli, *La Galleria Doria* (Rome, 1969) figs. 40, 41 (*February and January*, in private apartments). Information about *August* provided by Princess Orietta Doria.
12. *Great Houses of Italy* (London, 1968) p. 122, illus.
13. Viale, *Arazzi*, p. 47, no. 30.
14. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 60, illus.
15. A.M.L.E. Mulder-Erkelen, *Wandtapijten 2*, Facetten der Verzameling, Rijksmuseum, 2nd ser., no. 5 (Amsterdam, 1971) p. 8, fig. 2. Dated in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, design attributed to Bernaert van Orley. From the duke of Roxburghe sale, Christie's, London, May 31, 1956, no. 165, illus.
16. Georg Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed., ser. 2, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1923) s.v. "Segesta," "Segetia."
17. R. Peter, in *Ausführliches Lexikon*, vol. 2, pt. 1, s.v. "Indigitamenta, Tutilina." This identification was suggested by Marjorie Milne.
18. Threshing stones and sleds are described by Paul Scheuermeier, *Bauernwerk in Italien* (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1943) pp. 128, 129, fig. 301, pls. 228, 229. The sled is said to be "dragged round a threshing floor by animals, normally with a person standing or sitting on the sled to give it weight" (Linda Cheetham, "Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study," *Antiquity* 56 [1982] pp. 128, 129). Winnowing shovels and baskets like those of 3b are illustrated in Scheuermeier, *Bauernwerk*, figs. 307, 310, pls. 111, 233–36.
19. Fabritius Padovanus, *Tractatus duo, alter Ventis, alter perbrevis de terraemotu* (Bonn, 1601) p. 43. The name has not been found in earlier works.
20. A similar triangular harrow drawn by two horses is seen in the *October* of the MS Munich Cod. lat. 27345. Catching birds is an occupation for November in the Grimani Breviary.







## 4 Adoration of the Kings

Flemish (Brussels); designed by Bernaert van Orley (c. 1491–1541/42) or his workshop, and woven, possibly by Pieter van Aelst (fl. 1495–1531), 1530–35.  
Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.  
4 ft. 2 in. x 5 ft. (1.27 m x 1.52 m).  
20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.  
Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.706).

### DESCRIPTION

The fair-haired Virgin sits on a low, carved, gray bench or step; on her head is a white kerchief, above it a translucent halo in metal thread, now black. She wears a blue dress with white highlights, a red belt, and a white scarf. Extensive areas on her right side are of metal thread, most of which is now black, except for patches of gold over her right leg; apparently these areas were originally silver with gold highlights. Her sandals have red thongs, with a small jewel between the great toe and the next. The Moorish king, on the left, has brown hair and a red and metal-thread crown. He wears a red costume and armor with yellow decoration and much metal thread, some of which still shows as gold. His boots are red with brown ties; they have cuffs of brown and cream fur. Over his left shoulder and arm, falling in front of his body, over his right hand, and in a long pointed fold below the elbow, is a striped scarf in yellow, blue, red, and metal thread; on this he holds an elaborate covered cup with dangling chains, in red and metal thread. The blue scabbard of his sword is seen at his left side; his red and metal-thread scepter lies on the steps to his right. The kneeling king has white hair and beard; he supports the Child's left foot in his right hand and raises it to his lips. He wears a dark blue garment, leggings, and sandals, with a pale blue sash, and red sleeves with yellow highlights. His leg coverings are decorated in red, and the long, jagged outer sleeve that trails from a red band above his left elbow to his left foot is blue and yellow, lined with white ermine; a portion of the corresponding right sleeve is visible below his left leg, its lining more clearly identifiable as ermine. His sandal has white circles and red and metal-thread decoration. A large pink scabbard with brown and yellow areas hangs on a heavy red and yellow chain at his side. Metal thread, now black, was used extensively, especially on his sleeves. A

covered cup in red, pink, yellow, and metal thread stands on the step near his left hand; his red and metal-thread scepter lies partly on his turban beside it. The turban is white, with blue jewels; it has a side piece with a red jewel surrounded by blue ones and is topped by a small crown in yellow and metal thread. The third king strides into the scene from the right. He has a red and metal-thread crown, gray hair and beard, and wears brownish armor over a blue garment, the sleeves largely covered with metal thread; a long scarf in pink and yellow with metal thread falls over his right shoulder and streams out behind him. It hangs in front of him to his right knee and is caught up in both his hands, so that he holds it under an elaborate red and metal-thread covered cup. He has brown laced leggings, worn over red hose, and a brown, orange, and yellow scabbard, decorated in blue and pink, with a curved hilt, hanging from a chain at his side.

Three fluted brown, yellow, and gray columns divide the background. The two in the center have a low gray wall between them; behind this the head and neck of the ass and the horns and part of the head of the ox are visible. Joseph, also behind the wall, rests his left arm on it; he has gray hair and beard and is dressed in red, covered with much metal thread. The head of a bearded man in a red cap is seen beyond him. Behind the group is a ruined classical building with a small arch; it is made of blue marble, with gray and pale green moldings, and is partly covered with dark blue vegetation. A pile of brown stones is seen against the sky above the building and a tree with dark blue leaves grows on the right. The background on the left shows another blue building, with a pale blue cornice, partly covered with dark blue foliage, with bright patches of cream silk. A landscape, with blue and green trees and yellow fields, is seen on the right. The sky is pale blue at the top, shading to gray lower down, with much use of cream silk. The foreground shows two gray steps, the treads inlaid with yellowish marble, containing much metal thread; some small yellow plants are seen at the base.

Inside and outside the central section of the border there are narrow bands of metal thread, now mostly black, but with some areas still showing as gold, overlapped in many places by the main border decoration. This has a pink and

red ground with a green, blue, and yellow palm stem extending from eight small cuplike containers near the corners. The stems are partly covered with fruit, flowers, and foliage; ribbons hold bunches of flowers and fruit at the corners. All four sides are different. The upper border includes two birds, pomegranates, red and white lilies, blue plums, yellow daffodils, and pears; the lower has three birds, one a parrot, red and white roses, pinks, and other flowers. The left border has three birds, pale blue convolvulus, white peonies, and bunches of blue grapes; the right has three birds, including an owl and a robin, pinks, cherries, and green and yellow pea pods. There is much silk, but little metal thread. The guards are pale reddish brown.

#### CONDITION

Most of the metal thread, used freely throughout the main scene, has tarnished, as noted, and is now black. The silk areas are largely replacements; they are particularly conspicuous in the sky and landscape on the right, the cloth on which the Child sits, and the borders. The colors are probably considerably faded.

#### SUBJECT

Van Orley has used the standard iconography for the scene, except for the head of the man visible between Joseph and the animals. The paintings related to the tapestry show many of the kings' followers: one on the far left, next to a column, seems to be the source of the extra man in the tapestry.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Two paintings by Bernaert van Orley or his workshop show what is basically the same composition with some added figures and architecture. One is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 4);<sup>1</sup> the other, a somewhat simplified version dated 1533, was sold at Lempertz, Cologne, November 18–27, 1968 (no. 34, illus.).<sup>2</sup> The central group in the paintings and the tapestry—the Madonna, the kneeling king, and the king rushing in from the right—is derived from a tapestry of the subject in the Raphaelesque *Scuola nuova* set in the Vatican; this set was ordered from the Brussels weaver Pieter van Aelst before 1524 and was in

Rome by 1531.<sup>3</sup> Thirty-four fragments of the cartoons are known and are attributed to Tommaso Vincidor and to unidentified Flemish artists.<sup>4</sup> In several details, 4 is closer to the Vatican tapestry than it is to the two paintings; instances are the attitude of the Child, whose left foot is kissed by the kneeling king in the tapestries (the right foot is kissed in the paintings), the position of the kneeling king's left hand, and his nearly bare left foot, with the great toe separated from the others (seen on the striding king in the Vatican tapestry and on a cartoon fragment).<sup>5</sup> The figure on the left, who in the painting is an attendant handing a cup to a king, is derived from the Raphaelesque panel of this subject in the Vatican Logge.<sup>6</sup>

The Philadelphia painting is usually dated to an early period in van Orley's career, probably about 1522.<sup>7</sup> The design of the tapestry might be somewhat later or contemporaneous with the 1533 painting.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The tapestry may well have been woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, who had the cartoons for the *Scuola nuova* set. The style of the border suggests a date close to 1530–35. The tapestry is too small to have been obligated to carry a city mark.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

An *Adoration of the Kings* in Milan Cathedral<sup>8</sup> has some similarities in the general composition and details, such as the spiked crowns worn by two of the kings, but is certainly considerably later.

#### HISTORY

Said to have belonged to Stefano Bardini, Florence. In the Oscar Hainauer collection, Berlin; he died in 1894 and his widow, Julie Hainauer, sold the collection to Joseph Duveen in 1906.<sup>9</sup> Bequeathed to the MMA by Benjamin Altman, 1913.

#### EXHIBITION

Berlin, 1898. *Ausstellung von Kunstwerken des Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz*. Catalogue, 1899, by Max J. Friedländer, p. 19, pls. v, LIX. Said to be certainly after Bernaert van Orley.



FIG. 4. *The Adoration of the Magi*, by Bernaert van Orley. Oil on wood. John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (cat. no. 400).





## PUBLICATIONS

- Bode, Wilhelm. *Die Sammlung Oscar Hainauer*. Berlin, 1897, p. 132, no. 44, illus. Called after van Orley.  
*MMA Annual Report* 1914, p. 57. Listed.
- Valentiner, Wilhelm R. "Tapestries from Designs by Bernaert von Orley." *Art in America* 1 (1913) p. 57. Listed as after van Orley.
- Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*. MMA, New York, 1914, pp. 145–46, no. 80, illus. Said to be from a drawing by van Orley.
- Hunter, George Leland. "The Tapestries of the Altman Collection." *Arts and Decoration* 5 (1915) p. 94, illus. Described as designed by van Orley.
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 161, 416, 441; vol. 2, pl. 133. Called mid-sixteenth century.
- Monod, François. "La galerie Altman au Metropolitan Museum de New-York: II. Les sculptures et les objets d'art." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., 8 (1923) pp. 373, 374, illus. Called after van Orley and related to the Philadelphia painting, which is said to be in his manner, slightly less advanced in style than the tapestry.
- Ackerman, Phyllis. "Bernard van Orley as Tapestry Designer." *Art in America* 13 (1924) p. 47. Said to be the only miniature Brussels tapestry after van Orley.
- Hunter, George Leland. "Two Tapestries in the Lehman Collection." *International Studio* 85 (December 1926) p. 62. Listed among tapestries after van Orley.
- Marillier, H. C. "Tapestries at St. John's College, Oxford." *Burlington Magazine* 49 (1926) p. 211, pl. 2B.
- Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*. MMA, New York, 1928, pp. 145–46, illus. Said to have been probably designed by van Orley.
- Friedländer, Max J. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*. Vol. 8, *Jan Gossart, Bernart van Orley*. Berlin, 1930, p. 127, no. 4. Trans. by Heinz Norden as *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Vol. 8, New York, 1972, pp. 77, no. 4. Listed among tapestries after van Orley.

- König, Wolfgang. *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Würzburg, 1936, p. 44. Attributed to van Orley, the central group described as derived from the *Scuola nuova* tapestry.
- Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop." *MMA Journal* 4 (1971) pp. 109–15, fig. 1. Relationship to van Orley paintings and Raphaelesque tapestry, paintings, and drawings discussed.
- Ainsworth, Maryan Wynn. "Bernart van Orley as a Designer of Tapestry." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, 1982, pp. 40, 49–51, fig. 18. Dated about 1525.

## NOTES

1. John G. Johnson Collection, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Painting* (Philadelphia, 1972) p. 65, no. 400; Standen, "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries," fig. 2.
2. Previously in the Z. Bruck sale, Kende Galleries, New York, June 5, 1940, no. 23, illus., and in a Sotheby's sale, March 11, 1964, no. 128. In the Cologne sale it was called "aus dem Kreise des Bernart van Orley."
3. Eugène Müntz, *Les Tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican et dans les principaux musées et collections de l'Europe* (Paris, 1897) pp. 36–38.
4. N. Dacos, "Tommaso Vincidor, un élève de Raphaël au Pays-Bas," *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance, Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger* (Brussels and Rome, 1980) p. 80 n. 71, p. 88 n. 112.
5. Dacos, "Tommaso Vincidor," pl. 26, attributed to a Flemish master.
6. Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello* (Rome, 1977) pp. 203, 204. The painting is attributed to Vincenzo Tamagni(?), and a related drawing in the Ashmolean Museum is said to be a copy, perhaps after Perino del Vaga. The same author ("Tommaso Vincidor," p. 88) believes that Vincidor, who worked on the Logge, may have taken drawings of them to Brussels.
7. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 8, p. 105, pl. 102.
8. Mario Salmi, "Il Tesoro del Duomo di Milano, II," *Dedalo* 5 (1924–25) pp. 368–71, illus.
9. James Henry Duveen, *The Rise of the House of Duveen* (New York, 1957) pp. 251–56.

## 5 The Crucifixion

Flemish (Brussels); probably designed in the studio of Bernaert van Orley (c. 1491–1541/42), and probably woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst (fl. 1495–1531) or of Pieter de Pannemaker (fl. 1517–1535), 1520–30.  
Wool, silk, silver thread, and silver-gilt thread.  
8 ft. 3 in. x 8 ft. 2 in. (2.51 m x 2.49 m).  
20–21 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.  
Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.136).

### DESCRIPTION

Christ has fair hair and beard and a pale blue and gold loincloth. Above his head is the reversed inscription: I · N · R · I · (the first I is no longer visible). His right hand, with the first two fingers extended, makes the gesture of blessing. The crown of thorns is yellow and the cross dull yellow with metal-thread markings. White and dark blue clouds swirl around the upper part of the cross, where they are largely of metal thread. On the left is the sun, as a face with gold rays, on pink and black clouds; on the right, the crescent moon, with a face in profile, on lighter clouds. In the sky near each of them are two cherub heads. Below, ten fair-haired angels, five on each side, carry symbols of the Passion. On the left, an adult angel in a blue robe, highlighted in gold, with a red decoration on the collar and hem, and wings red below and blue above, holds Veronica's veil. Another full-grown angel holds the long yellow spear that pierced Christ's side or the rod with the vinegar-filled sponge on the end; his wings are blue above and white below, his robe red, with gold, and blue and yellow sleeves. The three angels below are partially nude children. The one on the left holds the three nails in a yellow cloth; he has red and yellow wings and a blue and gold robe. A smaller nude angel beside him has red and gold wings; he holds a red and gold chalice with a white Host resting on its rim in his left hand, which is covered with a green and yellow cloth. The angel nearest the cross holds a knotted scourge; his wings are pink above and cream below and he wears a loose orange and metal-thread garment. On the right, the farthest angel carries the white column of the Flagellation, which has an elaborate capital and base in red and metal thread. His wings are pink, blue, and gold, his robe red, pink, and gold, with a blue and yellow sash and undergarment. An adult angel

nearer the cross holds a red and gold bucket (for the mixed wine and myrrh) and the yellow spear or the rod; his wings are gold above and pink below, and his robe blue with a pink hem. Below him are three partially clad smaller angels. The uppermost holds a covered jar on a white cloth; his wings are white and his dress blue. The angel nearest the cross holds a bundle of twigs; he has blue and gold wings, a red and gold robe, and a yellow sash. The outermost angel holds a covered cup in each hand on top of a long green and yellow cloth thrown over his shoulders; his wings are red and blue and he wears a gray garment with a red sash.

On the ground below the cross, Saint John approaches from the left; he has fair hair and wears a red robe with pink highlights and much metal thread. The Virgin, sitting at the foot of the cross, has a pale blue and silver head covering and a blue dress and mantle, both with large areas of gold; the mantle has a red pattern with blue gems along the border and a gray lining. Above her left knee and beside her left elbow the wooden wedges that keep the cross upright are visible. A holy woman, presumably Mary Magdalen, kneels and embraces the cross. She has fair hair and a blue and gray scarf. Her dress is lavender-pink, with much gold thread, and she has a gold necklace and red shoes. Another holy woman kneels on the right. She wears a yellow turban, a white undergarment, red and gold sleeves, a pale orange sleeveless dress, almost entirely covered by a blue-green mantle with much metal thread, and a blue and silver chain around her hips.

The pale blue sky fades to white at the horizon above a vast landscape mostly in pale blue. At the left is Jerusalem, on a hill, with a crowd issuing from a gate. Nearer the foreground, Christ is seen falling beneath the cross, with two men raising sticks to strike him, one kicking him, and another tugging on a rope. A man with a bucket looks on. In the distance, between Saint John and the Virgin, are three men on white horses, one carrying a banner. On the far right, Christ's body is carried to the tomb by two men; the blue of the Virgin's mantle is conspicuous among the attendant figures. A narrow blue stream, edged with reeds, runs across the tapestry behind the main group, separating it from the distant scenes. On the near side, between Saint John and the Virgin, is a decayed tree stump





FIG. 5. *Crucifixion*, by Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.9.3).

with gray fungi growing at its base. Behind the Magdalen are two trees, one with dark green and yellow leaves, the other bare. There are a number of green and yellow plants in the foreground, one with red flowers. Black, dark brown, and blue are used as outlines for many areas.

The border has a pale red or orange ground, with narrow stripes of dark brown and metal thread, simulating a wooden frame. At the lower left corner is a pale brown cornucopia-shaped shell; at the upper right, a reversed blue cornucopia. The upper and lower borders have the same design, the side borders are different. In the horizontal borders, swags of fruit, flowers, and foliage, not symmetrically arranged, hang on white and pale blue ribbons from the upper part of the frame; olives, red roses, pears, red plums, and blue grapes can be distinguished. The vertical borders have dangling masses of the same types of vegetation and ribbons. The guards are in varied shades of red, and are overlapped in several places by leaves and ribbons.

#### CONDITION

The silver thread has blackened, but much of the silver gilt has retained its luster. There is very little evidence of repair, except for some small areas in the landscape.

#### SUBJECT

The Crucifixion is presented as a subject for pious contemplation rather than as an historical event. This is indicated by the presence of angels carrying symbols of the Passion, including the nails, which are also seen in Christ's hands and feet, and by the absence of most of the usual attendant figures. The Crucifix with the Instruments of the Passion, sometimes held by angels, is found from the late fifteenth century,<sup>1</sup> but a realistic representation of the Crucifixion with the Instruments carried by angels is unusual. A Limoges enamel plaque in the Cluny Museum, Paris, dated 1503 and signed by Nardon Pénicaut, shows Christ on the cross between the Virgin and Saint John, with Mary Magdalen at the foot.<sup>2</sup> Four small angels hold chalices to catch the blood; with the other hand each carries one of the Instruments. Other Instruments are found in the borders of Dürer's woodcut *Crucifixion* page of 1516 (fig. 5),<sup>3</sup> and infant angels holding them are placed in the borders of a *Crucifixion* tapestry in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, from a set acquired by Duke George the



Bearded of Saxony in 1515.<sup>4</sup> Similar angels are seen in the borders of illustrations of the Crucifixion in a 1513 manuscript in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg,<sup>5</sup> the fifteenth-century Book of Hours of Charles the Bold in Vienna,<sup>6</sup> and a Book of Hours in the Morgan Library (inv. no. M46), probably made in Gent, about 1415–20.

The long cloths on which angels hold several of the symbols may represent the winding sheets used for Christ's body; the three covered jars are the containers for the spices and ointments brought by the Marys to his tomb. The trees behind the Magdalen, one green and one leafless, are frequently used as symbols for the Old and New Testaments, or the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life.<sup>7</sup> The toadstools on the tree stump are presumably emblems of evil or signs of the dreadful nature of Golgotha; fungi grow on the dead tree (over which, however, a grapevine trails) in Mantegna's *Christ at Gethsemane* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours.

Another instance of Christ on the cross extending two fingers in a sign of blessing is found in the *Crucifixion* by Pieter Aertsen in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, painted about 1554;<sup>8</sup> here, however, the gesture is made with both hands.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designer of 5 was chiefly dependent on works by Bernaert van Orley. He may well have also been influenced by the types of adult angels and even the figure of Christ in the Dürer print illustrated here (fig. 5). Two of van Orley's paintings of the *Crucifixion*, one in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin (formerly in the Deutsches Museum),<sup>9</sup> and the other in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford,<sup>10</sup> have several points of resemblance to 5. The figure of Christ, with the loincloth twisted under his thigh and blowing out on either side of his body, which derives from the established fifteenth-century type, is very similar in all three works. In the Berlin painting, the pose and the head of the Virgin are much the same as in the tapestry, though she lifts one hand to her face; the Magdalen embraces the cross in an equivalent gesture. She is seen in a similar position in two copies after van Orley.<sup>11</sup> In the Hartford picture, Saint John strides in energetically from the left; his head and right hand are closely related to those

in the tapestry. Both paintings, which are early works by van Orley, show a dark sky above and wide landscapes with many small figures or buildings in the distance. A *Crucifixion* in the Detroit Institute of Arts shows the same type of background and the Magdalen in a similar pose. It was formerly attributed to van Orley, but is now given to Jan van Coninxloo, though considered close to signed works dependent on the early style of van Orley.<sup>12</sup> A drawing in the Staatliche Museen, East Berlin, made by van Orley or a follower before 1521, shows a similar treatment of the loincloth and Christ's legs; the Magdalen is also in a similar pose.<sup>13</sup> Even the tiny scene of Christ falling beneath the cross is related to van Orley's painting of the subject in the Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels, and the tapestries of it in the Vatican and the Spanish National Collection, attributed to him.<sup>14</sup>

The general scheme, a single scene with very small representations of other subjects in the far distance, is found in several Brussels sets of the *Passion*, woven in the early sixteenth century. A *Crucifixion* in a set of four pieces in the Spanish National Collection<sup>15</sup> has many of the same characteristics, the sky filled with angels in long robes, swirling clouds, and a vast landscape with tiny figures and buildings seen in the remote distance. The main figures in 5 can also be related to other tapestries. The closest parallels are with a *Descent from the Cross* in Milan Cathedral.<sup>16</sup> In this, Saint John is exactly the same, though his pose, with outstretched arms as though he wished to help lower Christ's body, is more appropriate to the subject; the Virgin is also very closely imitated, except that in Milan her left hand is raised. The saint on the right of 5 is taken from similar figures on the right of the *Crucifixion* in Forlì, and of a *Descent from the Cross* in the Palazzo Reale, Naples.<sup>17</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The workshop of Pieter van Aelst or that of Pieter de Pannemaker, both of which made many *Passion* tapestries, probably wove 5 in the 1520s. There is a link between 5 and a tapestry woven by van Aelst, the *Bath of Bathsheba* in Schloss Sigmaringen.<sup>18</sup> The messenger in this piece, who has van Aelst's name on the border of his robe, is very close to Saint John in 5; his foot (except for the sandal), legs, and drapery are almost identical.

The reversed inscription on the cross and the fact that some of the angels carry objects in their left hands (e.g., the chalice and the scourge) suggest that the tapestry was woven on a basse-lisse loom from a cartoon made for haute-lisse weaving.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The type of composition used for 5, a main scene and tiny representations of other events in the distance, was also used for 6 and for a number of other tapestries of the *Passion*, but there are no known pieces that belong to the same set as 5. Except as noticed above, other contemporary tapestries representing the Crucifixion show only general stylistic resemblances.

#### HISTORY

Sold, Collection de S.A. le duc de Berwick et d'Albe [the eighth duke of Berwick and the fifteenth of Alba], Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 7–20, 1877, no. 3.

In the collection of the baron Erlanger, before 1880.

In the collection of Charles T. Barney.

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York, before 1909.

Bequeathed to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

#### EXHIBITIONS

Brussels, 1880. *Exhibition Nationale Belge*, cat. no. 92. Lent by Baron Erlanger

New York, MMA, 1914. Lent by George and Florence Blumenthal.

New York, Jacques Seligmann & Co. Galleries, March–April 1927. *Loan Exhibition of Religious Art for the Benefit of the Basilique of the Sacré Coeur of Paris*, cat. no. 10, illus.

Brussels, Exposition Universelle et Internationale, 1935. *Cinq Siècles d'art*. Vol. 2, *Dessins et Tapisseries*, p. 63, no. 618. Said to have been made in the workshop of Pieter de Panne-maker after Bernaert van Orley. Lent by G. Blumenthal.

New York, MMA, 1943. *Masterpieces in the Collection of George Blumenthal, a Special Exhibition*, cat. no. 30.

Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1949. *Old Masters from the Metropolitan*.

Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum, 1949.

New York, MMA, 1970. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, cat. no. 244, illus.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Wauters, Alphonse. *Les Tapisseries historiées à l'Exposition Nationale Belge de 1880*. Brussels, 1881, p. 15, pl. 18. Attributed to Quentin Massys.

Valentiner, Wilhelm R. "Tapestries from Designs by Bernaert von Orley." *Art in America* 1 (1913) p. 57. Dated about 1515.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 162, 416, 442; vol. 2, pl. 139. Dated 1525–30; said to be close to the van Orley workshop.

Ackerman, Phyllis. "Bernard van Orley as Tapestry Designer." *Art in America* 13 (1924) p. 39. Said to be by a follower of van Orley.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 126, pls. S,s (in Limited, Subscription Edition) and VIII,c. Said to be from van Orley's early period.

Hunter, George Leland. "Two Tapestries in the Lehman Collection." *International Studio* 85 (December 1926) p. 62. Mentioned.

Rubinstein-Bloch, Stella. *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*. Vol. 4, *Tapestries and Furniture*. Paris, 1927, pl. XIII. The saint at the foot of the cross is identified as Mary Salome, the one on the right as Mary Magdalen. The style is said to seem nearer to Quentin Massys, but to show analogies with early works by Bernaert van Orley. Dated about 1520.

Crick-Kuntziger, Marthe. "Tapisserie." In *Cinq Siècles d'art: Mémorial de l'Exposition, 1935*. Brussels, 1936, vol. 2, pl. 145. Dated about 1525.

Crick-Kuntziger, Marthe. "De vlaamsche tapijtweverij in de XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup> en XVI<sup>e</sup> eeuwen." In Stan Leurs, ed., *Geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst*. Vol. 1, The Hague, 1936, p. 496. Listed among Bernaert van Orley's works.

Crick-Kuntziger, Marthe. "Les arts décoratifs." In Paul Fierens, ed., *L'Art en Belgique du moyen âge à nos jours*. Brussels, 1939, p. 346. Mentioned as under the influence of Bernaert van Orley.

MMA Bulletin, n.s. 5 (1946–47) p. 81, illus. Said to have been apparently ordered for Spain.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." MMA Bulletin, n.s. 6 (1947–48) pp. 126, 128, illus. Said to be after a design by Bernaert van Orley. Dated 1515–25.

The J. B. Speed Art Museum Bulletin 10 (January 1949) illus. cover.

Viale, Mercedes, and Viale, Vittorio. *Arazzi e tappeti antiche*. Turin, 1952, p. 4, n. 2. Mentioned (as in Blumenthal collection). Said to be closely connected with the style of Bernaert van Orley; the resemblance noted with the Saint John and the Virgin in the Milan *Descent from the Cross*.



*Art Treasures of the Metropolitan*. New York, 1952, p. 237, pl. 184, color. Said to be probably after a design by Bernart van Orley.

Delmarcel, Guy. "La Vie de la Vierge, deux nouvelles tapisseries du Cardinal Erard de la Marck." *Archivum Artis Lovaniense, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Kunst der Nederlanden*. Louvain, 1981, p. 228. Mentioned, dated slightly before 1530.

Ainsworth, Maryan Wynn. "Bernart van Orley as a Designer of Tapestry." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, 1982, pp. 40, 43–45, fig. 11. Design dated 1515–20, border dated about 1525.

#### NOTES

1. Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 3rd ser., 6 (1955) p. 104.
2. Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix, des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959) p. 225, no. 383, pl. 184. The design is compared to that of a woodcut in a Book of Hours published by Antoine Caillant in Paris in 1488. The instruments are here shown surrounding the cross, not carried by angels.
3. Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, trans. Silvia M. Welsh (New York, 1946) pl. 302.
4. Christian Emmerich, "Die niederländischen Bildteppiche in der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie," *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 7 (1963) p. 19, illus.
5. M. Mojzer, "Die Fahnen des Meisters MS," *Acta Historiae Artium, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 12 (1966) p. 105, fig. 8.
6. Friedrich Winkler, "Neuentdeckte Altniederländer: I. Sanders Bening," *Pantheon* 30 (1942) fig. 14.

7. *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1948) s.v. "Baum" (Liselotte Stauch); Gustav Münzel, "Die Madonna zum dürren Baum von Petrus Christus," *Das Münster* 11 (1958) pp. 256, 260.
8. 1945–1970, *Vijftientig jaar aanwinsten*, exh. cat., Mauritshuis (The Hague, 1970) no. 6.
9. Ludwig Baldass, "Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 13 (1944) p. 143, fig. 126. The attribution of this painting to van Orley has been questioned.
10. *Wadsworth Atheneum Handbook* (Hartford, 1958) p. 43, illus. Said to have been painted about 1516.
11. Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*: vol. 8, *Jan Gossart and Bernart van Orley*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York, 1972) pl. 86, nos. 88a, 88b.
12. E. P. Richardson, *Flemish Paintings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Detroit Institute of Arts* (Detroit, 1936) fig. 8. Called Bruges, mid-sixteenth century.
13. Baldass, "Entwicklung," p. 177, fig. 150. One of a group of eleven drawings of the Passion (*Attraverso il cinquecento neerlandese: Disegni della Collezione Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Parigi*, exh. cat., Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte [Florence, 1980] no. 114).
14. M. Crick-Kuntziger, "Bernard van Orley et le décor mural en tapisserie," in *Bernard van Orley, 1488–1541*, Société d'Archéologie (Brussels, 1943) pp. 80–82, pls. v–vii.
15. Paulina Junquera, "Valiosa colección del Patrimonio Nacional: Los Tapices de la Pasión," *Reales Sitios* 3, no. 7 (1966) illus. p. 50.
16. Mia Cinotti, "Tesoro e arti minori," *Il Duomo di Milano* (Milan, 1973) vol. 2, p. 283, fig. 359.
17. Viale, *Arazzi*, pp. 39, 40, nos. 15, 17, pls. 17, 19.
18. *Die Kunstdenkmäler Hohenzollerns: II. Kreis Sigmaringen* (Stuttgart, 1948) p. 314, pl. 417. The set of six tapestries was made before 1525 (Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "Eine unveröffentlichte Wandteppichfolge von Peter van Edinghen, genannt van Aelst," *Pantheon* 17 [1936] pp. 193–98).

## 6 The Last Supper

From a set of four scenes of the *Passion*

Flemish (Brussels); designed by Bernaert van Orley (c. 1491–1541/42) about 1520–25, and probably woven by Pieter de Pannemaker (fl. 1517–1535) before 1530.

Wool, silk, and silver-gilt thread.

11 ft. 11 in. x 11 ft. 6 in. (3.63 m x 3.51 m).

21–23 warps per inch, 10–12 per centimeter.

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1915).

### DESCRIPTION

Christ, who has blue eyes and red-brown hair, sits in the center of a long table. He wears a pink robe with much gold thread. On his collar are the letters MEI and on his right cuff, N[or M]OA.<sup>1</sup> Saint John, who is dressed in red with a blue undergarment, reclines on Christ's bosom. The apostle next on the left is in blue with a red cuff; he has white hair and a long white beard and points to a dark bearded man with a dark pink cloak over a blue undergarment, who clasps his hands to his chest. The man in profile farthest to the left (see detail), pointing upward, is in blue. Below him, one disciple in red bends over another, who puts his hand on his hip. The latter's robe is blue, with a pink undergarment and belt, from which hang a small bag (perhaps for a book) and a knife and dagger with gold handles in a single gold-tipped red sheath.

The conspicuous figure in front of the table on the left is not an apostle; his rich costume also suggests that he is not a servant, but the owner of the house in which the meal takes place. His fantastic blue cap has red spots and gold ornamentation and he wears a dark blue-green robe with a red and pink belt. Around his arm in complicated twists is his pink and gold serving napkin, and his elaborate leg coverings are red with blue patterns, white spots, and red fringes. He has blue sandals. His left hand grasps the foot and his right the handle of a red and gold pitcher, whose spout is a winged ram's head; red wine pours from it and falls into the pale brown glass of a disciple, in red with a pale pink belt, who is in a contorted position.

In the foreground on the far right, Judas rises to leave the table (see detail). He has a red undergarment with a dark blue-green cloak and a blue belt; the money bag tucked under it has pale blue-and-white stripes and black



Detail of 6

strings. The apostle seen in profile behind him is in dark blue-green; his left hand is clasped by another man in red and blue with a gold scarf over his shoulders. The gray-bearded old man in pink next to them lays a hand on the shoulder of the disciple next to Christ, who is in a dark blue-green robe.

All the apostles have transparent gold halos and, where











they are visible, bare feet. Christ's large halo is pink and blue with gold rays; the bases and sides of the pillars behind it are visible through it. Outlines are mostly dark brown, but sometimes blue or red. All the figures have red lips.

The setting for the meal is a lavishly ornamented room with two large windows. The light falls from the upper left. The niche behind Christ is framed by variegated marble columns with red and gold bases and capitals. On top of each column sits a pair of tiny pale gray winged angels, each in a different pose; from two ram's heads on the capitals fall red and gold scrolling forms that support a pink tablet with a meaningless inscription in Hebrew letters (see detail).<sup>2</sup> The marble panel between the columns is in shades of blue and blue-green. A band of fabric is

stretched behind the group at the table and up the wall on the left; it has a dark blue ground, with red and pale blue "pomegranate" designs, long thin leaves in pink and red, and blue and pale pink birds with red legs and beaks (see detail). This is in the style of a fifteenth-century Italian, perhaps Venetian, brocaded silk fabric.<sup>3</sup> On the right wall is what is apparently the same material, but it is in shades of pale pink and brown, presumably to indicate that it is brightly lit, and there are no birds. The scene visible through the windows on the right includes a large portico with steps leading up to it. Between the columns, Christ kneels to wash Peter's feet, with the other disciples around them; they are dressed in blue, red, and pink. Buildings are seen through the window on the left. The sky is blue and gray.

The table has a pale gray cloth, decorated with red flowers in a diaper pattern with blue lines; there is a band of red and gold tassels and another of pale gray ones. The pale brown wooden table supports are visible in the center of the tapestry. On the table are a large red and gold footed dish with the chalice in the same colors, filled with red wine, standing upon it. There are twelve small loaves of bread, three pale blue and green transparent glasses partly filled with wine, and two knives.

The floor is composed of squares and circles of pink and blue marble. In the center is a pink, red, and gold vessel with a face in the middle and heads holding rings on each side.

The border (see details) has a dark pink ground with scrolling leaves, flowers, and fruits in red and gold. Lilies, honeysuckle, fringed poppies, grapes, pomegranates, hazelnuts, and pea pods can be distinguished. It is flanked by narrow bands in red and gold. The guards are pink with a pale pink stripe. Silver-gilt thread is lavishly used throughout.

#### CONDITION

There are a few minor areas of repair and a number of worn passages of silk. Some slits have been coarsely sewn up.

#### SUBJECT

Though Christ extends his left hand toward Judas as if accusing him, and the disciples are reacting with astonishment and dismay, the moment depicted may be later than





the usual one of the denunciation of Judas. The dish, which presumably held the Paschal lamb at the beginning of the meal, is now empty and, having been placed under the chalice, has become a paten. The exact moment may be indicated by the word “Mei” on Christ’s robe. In the Vulgate, Matthew 26:29 records Christ’s last speech at the meal: “Dico autem vobis: non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum, cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei” (But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom).

The position of Saint John, leaning on Christ’s bosom, derives from the earliest representations of the subject, when he and Christ were shown reclining on couches in the classical manner; the depiction of him as asleep is due to a misunderstanding of this attitude.<sup>4</sup>

The elaborately dressed man pouring wine in the foreground is presumably the innkeeper or owner of the house where the Last Supper is taking place, rather than a servant. A comparable figure, wearing a large hat and shoes, unlike the barefoot apostles, also pouring wine from a jug, is found on the left of a painting of the *Last Supper*, attributed to an Antwerp Mannerist of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, in the Metropolitan Museum. The more usual servant appears in the background.<sup>5</sup>

The Washing of the Feet is frequently shown in conjunction with the Last Supper, and the vessel in the foreground, which sometimes stands in a basin, is considered to refer to the same event.<sup>6</sup>

The central position given to the wine, both in the chalice and being poured from a jug in the foreground, as well

as the fact that Christ is not shown instituting the Eucharist, might be connected with Protestant ideas: especially communion in both kinds for the laity.<sup>7</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design was undoubtedly made by Bernaert van Orley, probably between 1520 and 1525. Several of the apostles are of the same types as their counterparts in the *Death of the Virgin* in the Musée de l’Assistance Publique, Brussels, dated 1520, the head of the apostle farthest to the right is like that of the kneeling man on the right wing of the *Saint Job* altarpiece of 1521 in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, and other similarities in van Orley paintings can be observed.<sup>8</sup>

Like other Flemish depictions of the Last Supper, the general scheme goes back to Dieric Bouts’s altarpiece of 1464–68 in Saint Peter’s, Louvain, though this shows the institution of the Eucharist.<sup>9</sup> The influence of Leonardo is apparent in the windows at the rear and the perturbed attitudes of the apostles, but the most influential source was Dürer’s woodcut of 1510 (fig. 6); several disciples make similar gestures and the man in the left foreground pouring wine into a glass may be the origin of the extraneous figure in both 6 and the Metropolitan Museum painting mentioned above.<sup>10</sup>

The Hebrew inscription is presumably the work of a copyist ignorant of the language, but its prominent position in the composition suggests that he believed it to have great significance.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Another version of 6 is known to have been made by Pieter de Pannemaker for the emperor Charles V and paid for in 1531. Some details in it are later in style than the corresponding parts of 6, which therefore was presumably woven at an earlier date, but probably in the same workshop. The absence of a city mark has been considered proof that 6 was woven before such a mark became obligatory in 1528, but it seems likely that tapestries commissioned by a very important person did not always comply with the law.<sup>11</sup> The extraordinarily high quality of 6 and the other pieces of the set clearly indicates such a commission.



#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Three other pieces of the same set are known, *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* and the *Crucifixion* in the National Gallery, Washington,<sup>12</sup> and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris;<sup>13</sup> all three were in the sale of tapestries owned by the duke of Berwick and Alba at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 7–20, 1877 (nos. 5, 6, 7, illus., engravings), so that they, with 6, are sometimes called the “Alba set,” though there is no evidence that 6 once belonged to the dukes of Alba. The designs of *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* are repeated, with different borders, in a set of four square *Passion* tapestries in the Spanish National Collection, which is documented as having been ordered for Margaret of Austria in 1520.<sup>14</sup> The Alba set may have been made before the Madrid square set<sup>15</sup> or soon after it.<sup>16</sup>

Another version of 6 in the Spanish National Collection, however, is an individual piece, not part of a set.<sup>17</sup> This has been identified as the tapestry for which the weaver Pieter de Pannemaker was paid by the emperor in 1531.<sup>18</sup> The border is a standard one for the date, with bunches of flowers and fruit, and occasional birds. The figures are very like those of 6, including the colors, but Christ’s halo has rays without circles. There are no angels at the top of the columns in the background and no inscribed medallion.<sup>19</sup> The bands of fabric at the extreme right and left of the upper part of 6 are changed to carved panels with Renaissance candelabra of vases and birds in shades of blue, dark on the left and light on the right; a variegated marble is seen behind the figures. The vessel in the foreground has a simpler outline and is decorated with figures of two angels. It stands in an oblong gold basin filled with water with a gold mug of wine beside it.

Other Flemish tapestries of the *Last Supper* are a fifteenth-century example in the Vatican,<sup>20</sup> which follows Bouts’s painting, and one dated 1516 in the Museo d’Arte Sacra, Camaiore.<sup>21</sup> The latter shows Christ giving the sop to Judas; the Washing of the Feet is taking place in the background.

#### HISTORY

Acquired by Philip Lehman before 1913.  
In the Robert Lehman Collection at the MMA, 1975.



FIG. 6. *The Last Supper*, by Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut, from the *Great Passion*, published 1511. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.51.3).







## EXHIBITION

Cincinnati Art Museum, 1959. *The Lehman Collection, New York*, cat. no. 355. Called first quarter of the sixteenth century, cartoon by Bernaert van Orley.

## PUBLICATIONS

Valentiner, Wilhelm R. "Tapestries from Designs by Bernaert von Orley." *Art in America* 1 (1913) p. 57, fig. 26. Said to have recently passed into the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York.

Valentiner, Wilhelm R. "Die amerikanischen Privatsammlungen." *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* 33, no. 18 (January 27, 1922) p. 301. Mentioned as in the Lehman collection, having come from the Alba collection with the *Crucifixion* in the Widener Collection and *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* owned by Duveen.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 416. Mentioned as in the Lehman collection.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 126, 127, pls. VIII,b, VIII,ca. Described as "the finest of all the Van Orley tapestries that have survived."

Ackerman, Phyllis. "Bernard van Orley as Tapestry Designer." *Art in America* 13 (1924) p. 40. Mentioned.

Hunter, George Leland. "Two Tapestries in the Lehman Collection." *International Studio* 85 (December 1926) pp. 54–62, illus. pp. 55, 57, 59. Dated 1515–27 (p. 54) and about 1515 (p. 57), said to be better than the Madrid version, which has an "inferior border and is not equal in weave"; other three pieces located.

*Catalogue itinéraire*. Musée Jacquemart-André. 5th ed., Paris, 1926, p. 132. Mentioned (also later editions).

Friedländer, Max J. *Die altniederländische Malerei*. Vol. 8, *Jan Gossart, Bernart van Orley*. Berlin, 1930, p. 127, pl. XCII. Dated after 1520, "scheint dem Stile nach etwas später entstanden zu sein." Trans. by Heinz Norden as *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Vol. 8, New York, 1972, pp. 77, 119, n. 31, pl. 41. Mentioned.

McCall, George Henry. *The Joseph Widener Collection, Tapestries*. Philadelphia, 1932, p. 25. Mentioned.

Ackerman, Phyllis. *Tapestry, the Mirror of Civilization*. New York, 1933, pp. 378, 381. Described as in the Philip Lehman collection; not designed by van Orley; inscriptions read as IOAN / MEI / IM and said "quite clearly to indicate a Jean Mei" as the designer.

Marlier, Georges. *La Renaissance flamande: Pierre Coeck d'Alost*. Brussels, 1966, p. 106, n. 32. Mentioned as after van Orley, later than the first *Last Supper* by Coecke, about 1527.

Szabó, George. *The Robert Lehman Collection*. MMA, New York, 1975, p. 61, pl. 141. Said to have probably been designed in the workshop of Bernaert van Orley and woven in that of Pieter de Pannemaker; dated 1525–28.

Delmarcel, Guy. "La Vie de la Vierge, deux nouvelles tapisseries du Cardinal Erard de la Marck." *Archivum Artis Lovaniense, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Kunst der Nederlanden*. Louvain, 1981, p. 230, n. 20. Said to be later than the Madrid version. (The author has since changed his opinion and believes 6 to be the earlier of the two.)

Ainsworth, Maryan Wynn. "Bernart van Orley as a Designer of Tapestry." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, 1982, p. 55. Mentioned as part of the Alba set, which may have originally included a *Deposition* and a *Resurrection*. The author, in a private communication, has stated that she believes the set to have been made 1520–25.

## NOTES

- Both inscriptions are clearly seen in the detail illustrated in Hunter, "Two Tapestries," p. 59. The cuff lettering has not been interpreted. An interpretation of the other letters as a designer's signature cannot be accepted.
- The letters are, from right to left, het, yod, sin or shin, tzadibe, and possibly tof. The last letter on the left is merely decorative and there should not be a diacritical mark below the final letter (information from Karl Katz).
- The same fabric is worn by the angel marking the foreheads of the elect in one panel of the *Apocalypse* set in the Spanish National Collection (Frederik van der Meer, *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* [New York, 1978] pl. 220). The long leaves suggest a Turkish origin, but the birds show that the fabric is European.
- Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1937) s.v. "Abendmahl" (Karl Möller).
- MMA acc. no. 17.190.18a–c. Katharine Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980) vol. 1, p. 58; vol. 3, illus. p. 353.
- Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Conn., 1972) pp. 28, 38, 39, 47.
- Such connections have been claimed for the contemporary representations of the *Last Supper* by Pieter Coecke (Marlier, *Pierre Coeck*, p. 107).
- Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 8, nos. 84–86, 108, 140.
- F. Adama van Scheltema, *Über die Entwicklung der Abendmahlsdarstellung* (Leipzig, 1912) pl. XI.
- At one time, the Dürer figure was called the innkeeper (Heinrich Wölfflin, *The Art of Albrecht Dürer*, trans. Alastair and Heide Grieve [London, 1971] p. 172), but his noble bearing, robe, and bare feet show that he is an apostle (van Scheltema, *Abendmahlsdarstellung*, p. 102, n. 1).
- Information from Guy Delmarcel, in a private communication.
- McCall, *Joseph Widener Collection*, pp. 25, 27, 59, 63, illus. facing pp. 24, 28, 58, 62.

13. Léon Deshairs, in Georges Lafenestre et al., "La Tapisserie et le mobilier," *Le Musée Jacquemart-André* (Paris, 1914) pp. 118–21; attributed to Bernaert van Orley about 1520.
14. Paulina Junquera, "Valiosa colección del Patrimonio Nacional: Los Tapices de la Pasión," *Reales Sitios* 3, no. 7 (1966) pp. 49–61, illus. pp. 49, 50, 52, 55. Attributed to Pannemaker after van Orley.
15. Ainsworth, "Bernart van Orley," p. 52.
16. Guy Delmarcel, in a private communication; this scholar dates the Alba set 1520–28, and believes that the *Crucifixion* reflects van Orley's style of the late 1520s.
17. Junquera, "Tapices de la Pasión," illus. p. 53.
18. The first publication of the document reads: "1531. A Pieter de Pannemacker, pour une riche pièce de tapisserie d'or d'argent et de soye, contenant xxviii aul. ou est *la cène que N. S. feist à ses appestres le blanc jeudi* qu'il vendu à l'empereur à xxxviii <sup>1</sup> de xl gros l'aulne . . . mxxvi <sup>1</sup>" (Jules Houdoy, *Les Tapisseries de haute-lisse: Histoire de la fabrication lilloise du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et documents inédits concernant l'histoire des tapisseries de Flandre* [Lille and Paris, 1871] p. 145). The document is said to be in the Chambres des Comptes, Lille. The price named is very high for the period.
19. Christ's robe does, however, show the same inscriptions (information from Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcón, Chief Conservator of the Tesoro Artístico, Madrid).
20. J. Duverger, "Gielis van de Putte, Tapijtwever en Tapijthandelaar te Brussel (ca. 1420–na 1503)," *Artes Textiles* 7 (1971) p. 13, fig. 1.
21. Mercedes Viale and Vittorio Viale, *Arazzi e tappeti antichi* (Turin, 1952) pp. 42, 43, pls. 22, 23. Attributed to the Pannemaker workshop.

## 7 Saint Veronica

Flemish (Brussels); designed probably about 1510 and woven  
1520–25.  
Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.  
5 ft. 8 in. x 4 ft. 3 in. (1.73 m x 1.3 m).  
18–21 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.  
Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.80).

### DESCRIPTION

Veronica, standing in a landscape, delicately holds the upper corners of the gray sudarium. She wears a dull red and yellow turban over her yellow hair; one yellow end of the turban flutters in the air. She has a short necklace of pink beads; a locket, surrounded with gray pearls, hangs from a blue ribbon. She is dressed almost entirely in red, with much metal thread, and has red and gold sandals. The head of Christ on the sudarium has reddish hair; the crown of thorns, which has drawn blood, is dull yellow and green. A floriated cruciform nimbus in pink and gold surrounds the head. Beneath it is a scalloped line and the inscription *FORNECA*, both in gold thread. The landscape shows a dark and pale blue sky, framed on either side by tall green and pale yellow trees with blue-gray trunks. On the left is a pale yellow rocky mountain and a gray water mill with its brown wheel. Below this, a man in a yellow hat and dull yellow costume leans on his blue-bladed scythe, and blue water spouts from a pile of gray and brown rocks into a blue-gray pool. On the right, a blue-gray tower and a tall building with an onion dome are seen against the sky. Two large pale brown birds, one with a pink breast, perch on the branches of the foremost tree. Below, two men stand in front of a massive yellow-gray rock. The one on the left wears a short blue robe, red leggings, and brown shoes. He points to his bare-legged companion, who has a yellow robe with much metal thread, with a gray bundle hanging at his side. On his shoulders is a gray lamb, very clearly seen in the reflection in the blue and gray pool below; his companion's reflection is mostly covered by a large green and yellow plant in the foreground. Similar plants on the left include pale blue columbines, strawberries with pale blue flowers and red fruit, grasses, and reeds.

The borders are filled with red roses and yellow and green leaves on a pale yellow silk ground. The side borders

and the lower border each contain a brown and gray bird, that on the left being a chaffinch. The guards are missing.

Silk and metal thread are lavishly used throughout.

### CONDITION

A narrow brown band around three inner sides of the borders is a replacement. The silver thread has blackened, but some of the gold retains its luster. There are numerous small repairs, especially in the silk areas.

### SUBJECT

Saint Veronica, who is commemorated in the sixth Station of the Cross,<sup>1</sup> wiped Christ's face with her kerchief or veil (the sudarium) as he carried the cross to Calvary and found that his portrait (a "vera icon," or true image) had been imprinted on it. She is frequently shown wearing an oriental turban, because she was a Syrian from Edessa.<sup>2</sup> The head of Christ, crowned with thorns and showing marks of suffering, is here correctly represented. This version of the story is first found about 1300 and this type of representation about a hundred years later.<sup>3</sup> The earlier history, both of the saint and of portraits of Christ miraculously imprinted on cloth, is exceedingly complicated.<sup>4</sup> The legend was established in its present form in the fifteenth century, by which time the incident had become an important scene in Passion Plays.<sup>5</sup> At least one of these includes the stage direction that Veronica is to have a white cloth, that Christ is to take it from her, wipe his face with it, and return it to her; she is then to turn around and show the cloth to the audience, with Christ's face painted on it.<sup>6</sup> The theatrical effectiveness of this scene is probably responsible for the popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of representations of Saint Veronica confronting Christ on the way to Calvary, or standing as a single figure displaying the portrait; the sudarium also appears among the Passion symbols (see 5). The festival of the saint was included in the 1513 Ambrosian Breviary, but was removed later in the century; more recently, she is honored as the patron saint of photographers.<sup>7</sup> The inscription, "Forneca," is presumably a version of the German form of the name "Fronica" and refers to the "vera





icon" rather than to the saint. No parallels to the background figures have been found, but they apparently signify that Veronica's veil mirrors the face of Christ as exactly as if it were reflected in water; the man carrying the lamb would then stand for Christ as the Good Shepherd.<sup>8</sup> Of the plants in the foreground, the columbine is a symbol of Christ.<sup>9</sup> The exact significance of the strawberry has not been determined, but it is frequently found in association with the Virgin, especially as a plant of paradise;<sup>10</sup> some of the other flowers may be plants believed to have medicinal virtues.<sup>11</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

This type of Saint Veronica, standing in a landscape holding a small sudarium delicately to one side, derives from a figure on the left wing of a Crucifixion triptych by Rogier van der Weyden in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. This has been dated 1440–45.<sup>12</sup> The saint wears a loose, full headcloth instead of a turban; the head of Christ does not have the crown of thorns and shows no traces of suffering. An earlier work, by Robert Campin, a wing of a triptych with the Trinity in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, shows her as an older woman, wearing a turban, against a background of an Italian silk fabric.<sup>13</sup> There is no crown of thorns. The saint's right hand is very close to the left hand in the tapestry. Another fifteenth-century type, in which the sudarium is huge, held frontally, and grasped firmly in both hands, is seen in prints by the Master E. S.<sup>14</sup> and others, as well as in manuscript illustrations.<sup>15</sup> The head of Christ in the tapestry is of the type established by Dieric Bouts as an *Imago Salvatoris Coronati* (showing the hands);<sup>16</sup> it is very close to a Holy Face in the Antwerp Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts.<sup>17</sup>

The design has been attributed to Bernaert van Orley, mainly because the figure of the saint is so exactly, though inappropriately, reproduced in the Madrid *Foundation of Rome* set, universally given to this artist.<sup>18</sup> But its use in the Soderini *Christ Carrying the Cross* tapestry, which is not typical of van Orley, as well as the appearance of the saint's headdress in the 1513 *Herkinbald* tapestry, make this assumption unlikely, though possible. Nothing is known of van Orley's work before 1515, when he was about twenty-seven, and his father, Valentin, whose apprentice he had been, is not a clear-cut figure.<sup>19</sup> A possible

sequence might be that this depiction of the saint appeared first as part of the cartoon for the Soderini tapestry, that it was adapted for the fully seen, curving figure in the Dresden and Madrid *Crucifixions* of 1515 and 1520, and that, when a single figure was required, the twisted, contraposto stance was straightened out to provide a more dignified and monumental image.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The relationship of the design to the Saint Veronica in the Madrid *Crucifixion*, woven by Pieter de Pannemaker, suggests that his shop was perhaps responsible for all the various versions of 7. A date in the early 1520s seems most probable for the actual weaving of the piece.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A similar full-length figure is partially seen in a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, one piece of a set with the arms of Pietro Soderini, who died in 1513, that was in a private collection in 1924,<sup>20</sup> and in another version of this tapestry in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.<sup>21</sup> The portions of the saint and the sudarium that are visible, including the feet, are very close, except that the head of Christ is not crowned with thorns.

The same design, reversed, was used for the saint in *The Emperor Vespasian Healed by the Veil of Saint Veronica* in the Metropolitan Museum (Robert Lehman Collection).<sup>22</sup> She is younger and more richly dressed, but her hands are the same. Christ's head is not crowned with thorns.

A woman on the right of *Romulus and Remus Marking the Boundaries of Rome* in the *Foundation of Rome* set in the Spanish National Collection<sup>23</sup> is an almost exact repetition, except that she holds a heavy belt instead of the sudarium.

Saint Veronica in a *Crucifixion* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden,<sup>24</sup> and in the piece of almost identical design in the Spanish National Collection<sup>25</sup> is not close, except for her right hand and sandaled feet. She is much thinner and her body is bent into a graceful curve, as if she were dancing; her dress swirls and outlines her legs with its folds. She wears a fantastic helmet or cap, with round ear coverings like those on the *Saint Veronica* sold in London

in 1963 (see below). The head of Christ is not crowned with thorns.

A figure very similar to the saint in 7 on a background of flowering plants of Renaissance type is in the collection of Venancio López de Caballos, Madrid.<sup>26</sup> The border is classical and there is no crown of thorns.

A half-length *Saint Veronica* with a landscape background was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1963 (no. 75, illus.).<sup>27</sup> Her face is similar, but her costume and headdress, with heavy circular ear coverings, are different. She holds a fringed sudarium straight in front of her. Christ has no crown of thorns. The landscape is entirely different and the border imitates a wooden frame.

Another half-length on a landscape background was in the collection of George Eumorfopoulos, London.<sup>28</sup> The facial type and headdress are closer to the van der Weyden painting in Vienna. Except that Christ wears the crown of thorns, this small tapestry has very little resemblance to 7. The border consists of flowers, fruits, and birds, but is not related to that of 7.

A similar knotted turban, with the ring of circles, is worn by a woman on the right of the *Legend of Herkinbald* tapestry in the Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels. This is known to have been made in 1513.<sup>29</sup>

A very similar head of Christ is seen on a small tapestry showing the sudarium in the Dijon museum.<sup>30</sup>

## HISTORY

Offered by René Gimpel to Joseph Widener, June 12, 1918, and sold by Gimpel to Mrs. George Blumenthal, April 8, 1919.<sup>31</sup> Bequeathed to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

## PUBLICATIONS

Rubinstein, Stella. "A Saint Veronica Panel of about 1525." *Art in America* 8 (1920) pp. 145–47, illus. Called probably Brussels, related to the *Foundation of Rome* figure; design called probably by Bernaert van Orley.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 124. Mentioned among "other interesting small tapestries with gold."

Rubinstein-Bloch, Stella. *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*. Vol. 4, *Tapestries and Furniture*. Paris, 1937, pl. xiv.

Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Paris, 1959, vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 1316. Mentioned.

## NOTES

1. G. Cyprian Alston, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., vol. 15 (New York, 1912) s. v. "Way of the Cross."
2. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3, pt. 3, s. v. "Véronique d'Edesse, de Jérusalem et de Soulac."
3. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1937) s. v. "Antlitz, heiliges," cols. 735–40; painting by the Master of Saint Veronica, Munich, Alte Pinacothek (*Katalog*, vol. 1, *Deutsche und Niederländische Malerei zwischen Renaissance und Barock* [1961] pp. 154, 155).
4. María Luisa Caturla, *La Veronica: vide de un tema y su transfiguración par El Greco* (Madrid, 1944) pp. 9, 10; Otto Pächt, "The 'Avignon Diptych' and Its Eastern Ancestry," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961) vol. 1, pp. 402–21, vol. 2, pls. 130–35.
5. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1908) pp. 46, 47.
6. The Donaushwingen Passionsspiel, 1450–1500 (Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica* [Strasbourg, 1887] pp. 16, 17).
7. A. Pietro Frutaz, in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 12 (Vatican City, 1954) s. v. "Veronica."
8. A number of German fifteenth-century prints show Christ as the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders (W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts* [Leipzig, 1926] vol. 2, pp. 37–39, nos. 838–40). A print by the Master of the Amsterdam Print Room shows Christ in a rocky landscape (J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, *De Meester van het Amsterdamsch Kabinet* [Amsterdam, 1947] pl. 19).
9. Rolf Fritz, "Aquilegia, die symbolische Bedeutung der Akelei," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 14 (1952) pp. 99–110.
10. Karl-August Wirth, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 5 (1967) s. v. "Erdbeere," cols. 990–92. Wirth does not accept earlier interpretations of the strawberry as the food of the blessed, or as a symbol of the Trinity, or of innocence. It is, however, usually shown, as here, with both flowers and fruit and it seems at least possible that the white flowers and red fruit refer to Christ's purity and suffering. It is found associated with Christ, martyrs, and saints, as well as with the Virgin (Lawrence J. Ross, "The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare," *Studies in the Renaissance* 7 [1960] pp. 233–37).
11. The plants in Campin's *Saint Veronica* in Frankfurt have been identified as plantain, lily of the valley, pink, buttercup, dead nettle, lungwort, agrimony, and borage, all used in medieval medicine (Lottisa Behling, *Die Pflanze in den mittelalterlichen Kathedralen* [Cologne-Graz, 1964] pp. 59–61, pl. 43). According to the *Golden Legend*, Veronica's veil was the means by which the emperor Vespasian was cured of a deadly illness (George Szabó, *The Robert Lehman Collection*, MMA [New York, 1975] pp. 43, 44).
12. *Katalog der Gemälde: II. Vlamen, Holländer, Deutsche, Franzosen* (Vienna, 1958) pp. 147, 148, no. 416, pl. 4.
13. Dated 1430–38 (Charles de Tolnay, *Le Maître de Flémalle et les frères Van Eyck* [Brussels, 1939] p. 46, n. 27, p. 57, no. 10, pl. 14).
14. Max Geisberg, *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E. S.* (Berlin, 1924) T. 128, T. 129, T. 130.
15. Pearson, *Fronica*, pls. 5, 7, 9–13.
16. Erwin Panofsky, "Jean Hey's 'Ecce Homo': Speculations about its Author, its Donor, and its Iconography," *Musées Royaux des*

- Beaux-Arts Bulletin*, Brussels, 5 (1956) pp. 112, 131, n. 45.
17. A. J. J. Delen, *Catalogue descriptif: I. Maîtres anciens*, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts (Antwerp, 1948) p. 51, no. 250, attributed to Aelbert Bouts; Ludwig Baldass, "Gotik und Renaissance im Werke des Quinten Metsys," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 7 (1933) p. 146, fig. 117, called Quentin Massys after Aelbert Bouts.
  18. Ludwig Baldass, "Tapisserienentwürfe des niederländischen Romanismus," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 2 (1928) p. 255 (dated 1518–20); Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*: vol. 8, *Jan Gossart and Bernard van Orley*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York, 1972) p. 77; M. Crick-Kuntziger, "Bernard van Orley et le décor mural en tapisserie," in *Bernard van Orley, 1488–1541*, Société d'Archéologie (Brussels, 1943) p. 81, n. 1, p. 87, pl. 41.
  19. *Bernard van Orley, 1488–1541*, pp. 9, 10.
  20. G. J. Demotte, *La Tapisserie gothique* (Paris, 1924) p. 5, pl. 77. The inscription on the sleeve of Simon of Cyrene is said to read "Jacobus." See also under 5.
  21. M. L. d'Otrange Mastai, "An Early Brussels Panel of the Passion," *Connoisseur* 138 (1956) p. 59. Dated about 1510, design attributed to Jacob de Camp.
  22. Szabó, *Lehman Collection*, pp. 43–45, pl. 140. Dated about 1510, design attributed to the circle of Quentin Massys.
  23. Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la Corona de España* (Madrid, 1903) vol. 1, pp. 25, 26; vol. 2, pl. 43; Elías Tormo Monzó and Francisco J. Sanchez Cantón, *Los Tapices de la Casa del Rey N. S.* (Madrid, 1919) pp. 49–53. Dated before 1528, design attributed to Bernard van Orley.
  24. Christian Emmerich, "Die niederländischen Bildteppiche in der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie," *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 7 (1963) p. 19, illus. The tapestry is from a set of fifteen known to have been bought by Duke Georg der Bärtige of Saxony in 1515.
  25. Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices*, vol. 1, pp. 21, 22; vol. 2, pl. 30. Tormo and Sanchez, *Tapices*, pp. 31–33. The set was commissioned by Margaret of Austria from Pieter de Pannemaker in 1520, Bernard van Orley being a witness to the contract.
  26. Exhibited, Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 1958, *L'Art flamand dans les collection espagnoles*, cat. no. 109, illus., called Brussels, 1520–30, the figure from the repertoire of Bernard van Orley; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Gent, 1959, *Tapisseries flamands d'Espagne*, cat. no. 13, called Brussels, about 1540.
  27. Called Brussels, about 1500. It had previously been in the Edward Steinkopff sale, Christie's, London, May 22, 23, 1935, no. 237, illus. (A. F. Kendrick, "A Brussels Tapestry," *Apollo* 22 [1935] pp. 280–81, illus. Said to show "nothing of the Italian school of Bernard van Orley"; attributed to a designer influenced by Massys and dated 1500–10).
  28. Kendrick, "A Brussels Tapestry," p. 280, illus.
  29. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries*, Musées Royaux d'Art et de Histoire (Brussels, 1956) pp. 27, 28, no. 12, pl. 16.
  30. Harald Brising, *Quinten Metsys und der Ursprung des Italianismus in der Kunst der Niederlande* (Leipzig, [1908]) p. 41, said to be after Massys; A. de Bosque, *Quinten Metsys* (Brussels, 1975) p. 259, pl. 324.
  31. René Gimpel, *Diary of an Art Dealer* (New York, 1966) pp. 34, 98.

## 8 Christ Shown to the People

Flemish (Brussels); probably designed by Quentin Massys  
(1465/66–1530), 1515–20, and woven about the same period.  
Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.  
5 ft. 1 in. x 4 ft. 3 in. (1.55 m x 1.3 m).  
21–23 warps per inch, 8–10 per centimeter.  
The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931  
(32.100.389).

### DESCRIPTION

Christ, nude except for a dull blue cloak, is seen to the waist above a blue and white parapet; across the guilloche pattern below him is inscribed in metal thread: ECCE · HOMO. He has a blue and gray crown of thorns and the yellow-gray rope round his neck is tied round his wrists; in his left hand is a pale green and brown bulrush. Red blood falls from the crown and shows in the marks of the flagellation. On the right is Pilate, wearing a knotted yellow-brown turban with a tall blue and brown hat crown, ending in a dull red and yellow tassel. His undergarment is dull purple-red with large areas of metal thread; over this is a brown-spotted gray cape and three red, blue, and dull yellow chains. The lower part of his body is covered with a dull red and yellow robe, split at the side above the knee and tied at the waist with a knotted pale green and yellow scarf. He has green leg coverings and high yellow-red boots. To the left, a grinning man holds the rope with which Christ is bound and raises his cloak. He wears a yellow cap and a yellow and blue jacket; his undergarment is pink. Six other men on the balcony are partly visible; all have hideous faces, most of them with dark staring eyes and gaping red-lipped mouths. The one farthest to the left wears a red, blue, and yellow headdress and rests his hand on a knob of the parapet; the next has red and yellow feathers on a dark blue helmet. Behind Christ's right shoulder is a man in a blue and yellow hat, who holds a blue and brown halberd in one hand and raises the other above Christ's head. Between Christ and Pilate the head of a man in a tall dark brown hat can be seen, and behind Pilate a man in a red hat with blue feathers places his hand on his hip. Another man behind points upward.

There are four men in the foreground below the balcony. The head and shoulders of a gray-bearded man are

seen from behind; he wears a pointed brown hood, with a yellow border, ending in a pale yellow tassel, and a red costume. To the left are the head and shoulders of a man in a round dull red hood and a yellow and blue patterned costume. He raises both hands, as does the man beside him in a dull blue hat. A fourth bearded man is visible on the far left.

The parapet simulates marble in dull blue and yellow-gray tones. There is a dark blue rail at the right with one dark blue step of the flight of stairs; the upright to which it is attached is blue, with a yellow and red pattern, including two dolphins at the base.

The building in the background is in tones of brown and gray with elaborate architectural and ornamental detail in white and blues. There is a dark archway on the right, part of a yellow statue of a standing figure with a shield and spear on a column, a yellow-gray sculpture of a seated nude woman with four children on a blue ledge between two red, blue, and gray marble columns, two rounded niches or windows, and a round tower at the corner of the building on the left. A long, pointed banner, entirely in metal thread, with a double-headed eagle, is seen against the building, and several long weapons rise above a crowd of dull red, blue, yellow, and gray heads. Beyond there is a distant city, with some small figures at a gate, and a strangely shaped mountain in the distance, all in tones of gray, blue, and pale yellow. The sky is very dark blue above, with gray and pale yellow clouds, and light blue below, with several flying birds.

Metal thread is lavishly used throughout. The guards are replacements.

### CONDITION

The piece is cut on all sides. The metal thread has tarnished and now shows as black. There are small areas of repair throughout, especially in the silk sections.

### SUBJECT

The representation of the historical scene of Christ, "wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe" (John 19:5), being shown to the people by Pilate has been given





FIG. 7. *Christ Shown to the People*, by Quentin Massys. Oil on wood. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

the title *Ostentatio Christi* to distinguish it from the closely related devotional image, the *Ecce Homo* (see 9).<sup>1</sup> The somewhat unusual features in 8 are the bulrush as the “reed” placed in Christ’s hand by the mocking soldiers (Matthew 27:29), the double-headed eagle on the banner, and the sculptured group of a woman and children on the façade of the building in the background. The bulrush, which bends rather than breaks in the wind (see 29), is a symbol of humility and patience,<sup>2</sup> and the double-headed

eagle of the Holy Roman Empire is frequently found as an emblem of imperial Rome (see 2d).<sup>3</sup> The symbolism of the statue is more difficult to determine; it is presumably connected with the other sculptures on the building shown in the related painting by Quentin Massys,<sup>4</sup> but omitted in the tapestry. It may represent Charity or the earth goddess.<sup>5</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The composition is seen, reversed, in a painting by Massys in the Prado (fig. 7).<sup>6</sup> The tapestry extends farther on both sides than the painting, which has the appearance of having been cut down; the landscape and the head of a man on the left and the man with raised hand on the right are not in the painting. There are a number of differences in costume, such as Pilate’s turban and chain, the hat of the man between him and Christ, the feathers worn by the man farther to the left, and the hood of the man in the lower left corner. In the painting Christ does not hold a reed.

The building in the painting has elaborate sculptural decoration, of which only the group of a woman and children and the lower half of a standing figure (in a different position) appear on the tapestry; on the other hand, there are more decorative patterns, such as the guilloche on the parapet, in the tapestry. One detail is markedly more logical in the tapestry, namely the iron stair rail, firmly attached at the head of the steps at the lower right; in the painting it is a meaningless projecting rod.

The relationship between the tapestry and the painting suggests that the cartoon originated in Massys’s studio. Just what this relationship is remains doubtful; the bulrush held in Christ’s left hand instead of his right, as stated in the Bible (Matthew 27:29), shows that the tapestry reverses the original composition, but the clearly located stair rail indicates that the tapestry was copied from a more carefully thought-out design. The reduction of the sculptural ornament in the tapestry to a single figure of doubtful significance suggests that an originally complicated scheme has been simplified, but whether this scheme was exactly that of the painting cannot be determined.

The general composition of both tapestry and painting is taken from Dürer’s woodcut of about 1498 in the *Great Passion* (fig. 8). In one detail, the tapestry is closer to the print than is the painting, namely the halberd that is silhouetted against the sky in the tapestry and print, but not



in the painting; it may have appeared on the right side of the painting before it was cut. The hammerlike mace of the print is seen in the painting, but not in the tapestry. The stair rail is clearly shown in the print, though its attachment to the parapet is not as carefully indicated as it is in the tapestry.

FIG. 8. *Christ Shown to the People*, by Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut, from the *Great Passion*, published 1511. MMA, Avery Fund, 1919 (19.70.4).



#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The fineness of the execution suggests a Brussels workshop. A date close to that assigned to the Massys painting seems probable.

#### HISTORY

Michael Friedsam collection, New York, probably before 1924.<sup>7</sup>

Bequeathed to the MMA by Michael Friedsam, 1931.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Breck, Joseph. "Tapestries and Textiles." *The Michael Friedsam Collection*. In *MMA Bulletin* 27, no. 11, section 2 (1932) p. 70, fig. 20. Called Brussels, about 1515, and related to the Massys painting, then in a private collection in Madrid. S.C. [F. J. Sanchez Cantón]. *Archivo Español de Arte* 65 (1944) p. 390, pl. facing p. 394.

De Bosque, A. *Quentin Metsys*. Brussels, 1975, p. 257, pl. 317. Said to be copy of Prado painting, with differences listed.

Standen, Edith A. "Ostentatio Christi and Ecce Homo: Two Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art." *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981) pp. 19–24, fig. 1.

#### NOTES

1. Erwin Panofsky, "Jean Hey's 'Ecce Homo': Speculations about its Author, its Donor, and its Iconography," *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Bulletin*, Brussels, 5 (1956) pp. 94–138.
2. Christ holds a bulrush in the *Crown of Thorns* panel of the Aix-en-Provence tapestry set of biblical scenes of 1511; the designs of this set have been associated with Massys (*Masterpieces of Tapestry*, exh. cat., MMA [New York, 1974] no. 84). An *Ecce Homo* painting related to Massys in the collection of the marquis of Almunia also includes this feature (*L'Art flammand dans les collections espagnoles*, exh. cat., Groeningemuseum [Bruges, 1958] no. 28).
3. It appears on a hanging at the back of Pilate's throne in Jan Joest's *Christ before Pilate* in the church of Saint Nicholas, Kalkar, painted between 1505 and 1508 (Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*: vol. 9, Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier, trans. Heinz Norden [New York, 1973] pl. 4 l).
4. K. Smits, *De Iconografie van de Nederlandsche Primitieven* (Amsterdam, 1933) p. 88, suggests that these figures may be mythological subjects in the Renaissance spirit or purely decorative.
5. De Bosque, *Quentin Metsys*, p. 198.
6. De Bosque, *Quentin Metsys*, pp. 196–98, pls. 63, 244–46. Dated 1518–20.
7. William B. McCormick, "Michael Friedsam Collection," *International Studio* 80 (November 1924) p. 112, mentions four tapestries as included in the Friedsam collection.

## 9 Ecce Homo

Flemish (Brussels); designed about 1520–25, perhaps in the workshop of Quentin Massys (1465/66–1530), and woven about the same date.

Wool, silk, and silver-gilt thread.

4 ft. 5 in. x 3 ft. 4 in. (1.35 m x 1.02 m).

17–18 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of Jacques Seligmann, 1906 (06.301).

### DESCRIPTION

Christ is seen behind a table-like parapet of blue, green, and gold stone. He is nude except for a pale green and blue loincloth and a pale red and gold robe; he has brown hair and beard and holds a long bulrush with a red head in his right hand. The robe rests on his left shoulder and a blue cord, passing through a red ring, holds it across his body. On the right is Pilate, wearing a red and gold turban, a dark blue chain, an undergarment of red and gold, a short-sleeved blue robe with a pattern in light blue and gold, and a pale brown and cream fur collar; he holds a dull yellow stick in his left hand. On the left is one of Christ's tormentors. He wears a dark blue jacket over a white shirt, red leggings, and dark brown boots. Between the fingers of his left hand, he holds a brown scourge with three thongs, one ending in a sharp-pointed star. Behind him is a brown and cream marble column with a rope tied round it. Behind Christ's head is a vaguely defined dull yellow and gold halo, which blots out part of the architecture in the background. The architecture is rendered in shades of yellow-gray and pale brown, with metal thread; there are such variations of perspective that its spatial construction is uncertain, but an apparently protruding member behind Pilate has a large rosette above his head. An opening on the right discloses a landscape with a dark green tree. The sky is pale blue, the foreground of the landscape, yellow. Outlines are strongly indicated, mostly in red, but occasionally in blue. Metal thread is freely used throughout, including in the border.

The inner and outer frames of the border have orange, red-brown, and gold stripes. The main border has a dark blue ground and red and yellow roses, rosebuds, bunches of blue grapes, yellow and green vine leaves and tendrils, with occasional knots or loops of white ribbons. The guards are dark blue. The stone parapet is inscribed in gold thread near the lower border: *ecce · homo*.

### CONDITION

The metal thread is blackened. The yellow silk section of the distant landscape is heavily repaired.

### SUBJECT

The tapestry shows the devotional image of the *Ecce Homo* in a form popular in the sixteenth century, namely, as a group of three persons only;<sup>1</sup> Christ faces the viewer, who thus finds himself in the position of the crowd that cried out "Crucify him." Beside Christ and Pilate, the third man is usually a soldier; that he should here be a tormentor from the Flagellation, with the column to which Christ was bound behind him, carrying a scourge, and shouting, emphasizes the unhistorical character of the representation.<sup>2</sup> The bulrush, correctly placed in Christ's right hand (Matthew 27:29), is an emblem of his humility and patience in suffering.<sup>3</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Pilate and the body of Christ are taken from Dürer's engraving of the *Ostentatio Christi* (fig. 9).<sup>4</sup> Pilate, except that he is in three-quarter length only, is copied exactly, as is the body of Christ as far as it is visible, down to such details as the frayed ends of the cord that holds the edges of the robe together. Christ's head, however, has been turned in the tapestry so that he faces the spectator; it was taken, in reverse, from a print attributed to the school of Dürer (fig. 10).<sup>5</sup> This print also includes one of Christ's tormentors, holding a scourge and switch of twigs. The column of the Flagellation is seen in the background, but the man and the column are not those of the tapestry. The tormentor in the tapestry is related to a similarly positioned figure in a painting by Quentin Massys in the Doge's Palace, Venice,<sup>6</sup> though here he holds an end of the rope that binds Christ's wrists. A head similar to the tormentor's appears in the center panel of a triptych in the Prado, attributed to the Master of the Holy Blood, a Massys follower.<sup>7</sup>

The dependence on the Dürer print for the two main figures renders any attribution of the design to a specific







artist somewhat doubtful, but the high quality of draftsmanship in the heads of Christ and the man on the left suggests that a very competent craftsman was involved. Christ is of the type standard in the Netherlands at this date,<sup>8</sup> but the open-mouthed man is close enough to Quentin Massys to justify a tentative attribution to his studio. The illogical background perspective may have been deliberate; the architectural molding above Christ slants upward, so that he is seen as if from below, but it turns down above Pilate, who is thus placed on the same level as the spectator. The divinity of Christ, also indicated by the halo, is thus emphasized.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The fine quality of the weaving suggests a Brussels workshop. A date of 1520–25 is indicated by the style of the central subject and of the border.

#### HISTORY

A. Tollin sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 21, 1897, no. 209, illus. Called Brussels, early fifteenth century.

Lord Grimthorpe sale, Christie's, London, May 10, 1906, no. 131, illus. Called Burgundian, last years of the fifteenth century.

Given to the MMA by Jacques Seligmann, 1906.

FIG. 9. *Christ Shown to the People*, by Albrecht Dürer. Engraving. MMA, Fletcher Fund, 1919 (19.73.10).



FIG. 10. *Ecce Homo*, school of Dürer. Engraving. Trustees of the British Museum, London.



## PUBLICATIONS

- MMA Bulletin* 1 (1905–06), p. 125. Listed as a “Burgundian tapestry, XVth Century” among the accessions of June 28 to July 24, 1906.
- De Ricci, Seymour. *Catalogue of Twenty Renaissance Tapestries from the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*. Paris, 1913, p. 7. Mentioned, as an early sixteenth-century example of an Ecce Homo, in discussion of a late fifteenth-century tapestry of the same subject (now owned by the University of California at Berkeley).
- Hunter, George Leland. “Miniature Tapestries of the Infant Christ.” *Arts and Decoration* 6 (1916) p. 497. Mentioned.
- Candee, Helen Churchill. *The Tapestry Book*. 1912; reprint, New York, 1935, pl. facing p. 55. Called Brussels, about 1520.
- Standen, Edith A. “Ostentatio Christi and Ecce Homo: Two Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.” *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981) pp. 24–26, fig. 4.

## NOTES

1. Known as the “Dreifigurenbild.” The development of the type is discussed in Erwin Panofsky, “Jean Hey’s ‘Ecce Homo’: Speculations about its Author, its Donor, and its Iconography,” *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Bulletin*, Brussels, 5 (1956) pp. 113, 114, 116–19, n. 58.
2. Other instances include a painting in Tournai cathedral, by Jan Sanders van Hemessen (*Keizer Karel en zijn tijd*, exh. cat., Museum voor Schone Kunsten [Gent, 1955] no. 81, attributed to Quentin Massys); the man holds a scourge between his teeth. Another, in the Smidt van Gelder Museum, Antwerp, is by Pieter Aertsen; the man holds a scourge and a switch of twigs. In a print by Lucas van Leyden (Bartsch 63) the man has a scourge over his shoulder.
3. See 8, note 2.
4. Panofsky, “Jean Hey’s ‘Ecce Homo,’” fig. 24.
5. F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700* (Amsterdam, n.d.) vol. 4, p. 262, no. 2, illus.
6. A. de Bosque, *Quentin Metsys* (Brussels, 1975) pp. 198–200, pl. 64. Dated 1520–23.
7. Dated about 1520 (Jacques Lavalleye, *Les Primitifs flamands: II. Répertoire des peintures flamandes des quinzième et seizième siècles. Collections d’Espagne*, no. 1 [Antwerp, 1953] p. 15, pl. 13, no. 11).
8. Derived eventually from Dieric Bouts (Panofsky, “Jean Hey’s ‘Ecce Homo,’” p. 112, fig. 16).

## 10 The Story of Mercury and Herse

Two pieces from a set of eight

a *The Bridal Chamber of Herse*

b *Aglauros Changed to Stone by Mercury*

Flemish (Brussels); probably designed by a Raphael follower or a Flemish artist under strong Italian influence; woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker (fl. 1535–1578), about 1550.

City mark on 10a and weaver's mark on both pieces.

Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.

10a 14 ft. 5 in. x 17 ft. 8 in. (4.39 m x 5.38 m);

10b 14 ft. 2 in. x 23 ft. 7 in. (4.32 m x 7.19 m).

20–22 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.134 [10b];

41.190.135 [10a]).

### DESCRIPTION

Small bands of scrolling leaves in yellow, blue, green, red, and gilt thread on a silver ground surround each scene and frame the four panels of varying widths that constitute the main borders. The upper panels are narrow, with a guilloche pattern in yellow and gold on a red, pale yellow, or pink ground. The side panels nearly mirror each other and have gold grounds; at the top of each is a wreath of leaves, flowers, and fruit in blue, red, pink, yellow, green, and cream. Four richly ornamented architectural niches, all different, fill the space between the wreath and the base of the tapestry; each holds a full-length female figure representing a Virtue. The lower borders have gold grounds and seated female figures representing personifications of various qualities. The guards are dark blue with a gold stripe; the Brussels mark, in gold thread with a red shield, is seen on the lower guard of 10a and the mark of Willem de Pannemaker, also in gold (see detail), on the side guard of both pieces.

Gilt and silver threads are lavishly employed throughout, only flesh tones being entirely without them. In addition to being used as normal wefts, they cover large areas in basket weave, including the gold background of the border panels and all the simulated embroidered or brocaded designs on costumes and wall hangings. Sometimes they are mingled with colored threads to give effects of red

gold, yellow gold, or blue gold. Gilt threads have a yellow core, silver, a blue one. Silk is used mostly for yellow, pink, pale blue, and green.

### SUBJECT

The story of the love affair between Mercury and Herse as told by Ovid is incomplete and somewhat incoherent. The god, flying over Athens, saw Herse, one of the three daughters of King Cecrops, as she and other maidens were celebrating a festival of Minerva by carrying mystic gifts in flower-wreathed baskets on their heads to the temple of the goddess. Mercury fell in love with her and flew to earth, undisguised, holding his wand in his hand and wearing his winged sandals. The three daughters of Cecrops—Pandrosos, Aglauros, and Herse—occupied three adjacent rooms in the king's palace, richly adorned with ivory and tortoiseshell. When Mercury approached, Aglauros asked him what he wanted; when he told her, she demanded gold and made him leave the palace. Minerva, who had reason to dislike Herse and did not wish her to be in favor with the god and rich with his gold, then sought out Envy to infect Aglauros. Envy entered Aglauros's chamber, touched her breast with festering hand, and breathed poisonous air into her nostrils, while she pictured to Aglauros's imagination Herse's blessed marriage. Aglauros was consumed by jealousy of Herse and longed to die, or to tell all to their stern father. At last she sat down at her sister's threshold and refused to let Mercury enter. He opened the door by touching it with his wand and changed Aglauros into stone. Mercury then left Athens and flew to heaven.<sup>1</sup>

The eight episodes shown in the tapestry series do not exactly follow the story as told by Ovid, and it is not certain how they should be arranged. A possible sequence is:<sup>2</sup>

1. Mercury, flying, sees Herse among the maidens going to the temple of Minerva.
2. Mercury walking with Herse.
3. Aglauros stopping Mercury on the palace steps; Minerva flying off to visit Envy.
4. Cecrops welcoming Mercury.
5. Mercury dining with Cecrops and his daughters; Envy infecting Aglauros.
6. Dancing and music in Cecrops's palace.
7. Mercury entering Herse's room (*Bridal Chamber of Herse*).
8. Mercury causing Aglauros to vanish, then flying away (*Aglauros Changed to Stone by Mercury*).

The omission of a scene showing Minerva visiting Envy, which is usually found in illustrated sixteenth-century editions of the *Metamorphoses*, is striking; even more surprising is the addition of scenes showing Mercury welcomed by Cecrops, dining *en famille*, and being entertained with music and dancing. These are, in fact, inconsistent with Ovid's account, as he says that Aglauros was tempted to reveal Herse's liaison to Cecrops, implying that Mercury's visits were clandestine. Even Mercury's entrance into Herse's room is not described by Ovid. These alterations of the classical story suggest that the source used for the tapestries was a contemporary adaptation, perhaps invented for a special occasion such as a wedding.

The border figures are not related to the main subjects. Those at the sides are the three Theological and the four Cardinal Virtues, with an additional figure of Justice. The other tapestries of the set show the Elements, Fates, Muses, Liberal Arts, and other figures. The personifications of the lower borders seem to have no significance as a group; the other tapestries of the set show deeds of Hercules, the story of Prometheus, and such abstractions as Wisdom, Architecture, Vigilance, Abundance, and Fortune.

The side borders were first used on Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, when they had a precise significance, related to the central subjects of each piece. This was so subtle, however, that it was not understood by the Brussels workshop; some borders were placed around central scenes for which they had not been intended.<sup>3</sup> The lower borders were made for the reweavings of the *Acts*, such as those now in the Spanish National Collection and the Palazzo

Ducale, Mantua,<sup>4</sup> to replace the Medicean subjects of the original set, but no relationship between them and the scenes from *Acts* above them has been found. Later they were used on the *Hannibal* set, divided between the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, and the Uffizi, Florence; by this time, they had clearly become completely meaningless, as figures were omitted or repeated, and vaguely similar ones were added, apparently at random.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The relationship to Raphael is so marked that it is possible the designs were made by one of his followers, such as Giulio Romano or Giovanni Francesco Penni, presumably in the 1520s. The existence of a drawing of Mercury and Aglauros by Penni in the National Museum, Stockholm,<sup>5</sup> though unrelated, shows that the subject was of some interest to the workshop. A drawing attributed to Tommaso Vincidor in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> has the same strange wall or bridge with small figures clambering over it that appears in the background of 10b.

Bernaert van Orley has been suggested as possibly the designer of the lower borders;<sup>7</sup> the iconographical relationship between these figures and some of the named personifications on the *Honores* tapestry set in the Spanish National Collection suggests a Flemish, rather than an Italian, artist.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Willem de Pannemaker, whose workshop made the twelve pieces of the *Conquest of Tunis* for Charles V between 1549 and 1554, was the leading Brussels manufacturer of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The Barcelona set, which has no metal thread and is probably a later weaving, is dated 1574, suggesting that 10 may have been made about the middle of the century.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The complete set of which 10 is part was formerly owned by the dukes of Medinaceli in Spain. Two pieces, *Mercury Walking with Herse* and *Cecrops Welcoming Mercury*, are in the Prado.<sup>9</sup> *Mercury Seeing Herse* belongs to the conde de Aranda, at the Epila Palace in Aragon;<sup>10</sup>



*Aglauros Stopping Mercury* to the duke of Lerma (exhibited in the Hospital de San Juan Bautista, Toledo); *Mercury Dining with Cecrops* to the duchess of Cardona; and *Dancing in Cecrops's Palace* to the duke of Medinaceli, Seville.

A set of six pieces and two fragments is owned by the Disputación Provincial de Barcelona. *Cecrops Welcoming Mercury* and *Mercury Dining with Cecrops* are missing. There is no metal thread and, though the tapestries have the same upper borders and similar wreaths in the upper corners, the side and lower borders are filled with landscapes containing animals and small mythological scenes. There are Brussels and Willem de Pannemaker marks. The set was acquired in 1578 by Don Fernando de Toledo, prior of Castille and captain-general of Catalonia.<sup>11</sup>

A set of eight pieces owned in the seventeenth century by Prince Thomas of Savoy Carignan-Soisson was acquired by Charles Emmanuel III of Savoy in 1745.<sup>12</sup> The designs are very similar to those of the set to which 10 belongs, but the borders differ. *Aglauros Changed to Stone* is in the Quirinale Palace, Rome; it has the mark of Jan Ghieteels and is thought to have been woven about 1559–60. *Mercury Seeing Herse* was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 19, 1922 (no. 104, illus.), and belonged to Mme S. Horst, Lausanne, in 1958.<sup>13</sup> *Mercury Dining with Cecrops* was in the Château d'Esperan, Saint-Gilles, Gard, in 1961.<sup>14</sup>

Another example of *Mercury Seeing Herse*, with a different border, was in the liquidation sale of the Van Diemen Gallery, Paul Graupe, Berlin, April 26, 27, 1931 (no. 692, illus.), and a greatly simplified version of the *Bridal Chamber of Herse* was once owned by the German dealer Haberstock.<sup>15</sup>

The figures of the side borders are found on the Vatican *Acts of the Apostles* (all finished by 1521) and on the later weavings of the same series in Madrid and Mantua, on which the lower borders of 10 also appear. The Madrid set does not have the Brussels mark and thus was presumably woven before 1528; the weaver's marks have been interpreted as those of Nicolas Leyniers or Pieter van Aelst,<sup>16</sup> the latter the weaver of the Vatican set. The Mantua set has the Brussels mark<sup>17</sup> and that of the weaver Jan van Tiegen, with the arms of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, who died in 1563.<sup>18</sup> All these borders are also found on the *Moses* series in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, woven by Jan van Tiegen and believed to date from about

1560;<sup>19</sup> they were also used on the *Adam and Eve* set in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich,<sup>20</sup> and on a *Hannibal* set, of which five pieces are in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum and three in the Uffizi, Florence.<sup>21</sup>

## HISTORY

In the possession of the de la Cerda family, dukes of Medinaceli, Spain, possibly since the sixteenth century. The widow of the duke who died in 1873 was created duchess of Denia in 1882.

The tapestries remained in her possession until her death in 1903, when they passed to the duke's heirs.

Said to have been acquired by Heilbronner and to have been sold by him to Jacques Seligmann.

In the George Blumenthal collection, before 1909.

Bequeathed to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Jacques Seligmann (former Hôtel de Sagan), 1913. *Exposition d'objets d'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance . . . organisée par la Marquise de Ganay*, cat. nos. 339, 340. Lent by George Blumenthal. Dated about 1520, after designs by Giulio Romano.

New York, MMA, 1943. *Masterpieces in the Collection of George Blumenthal, a Special Exhibition*, cat. pl. 31 [10a].

New York, MMA, 1970. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, no. 246 [10a].

Athens, National Pinakothiki, Alexander Soutzos Museum, 1979. *Treasures from the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, cat. no. 34 [10a].

## PUBLICATIONS

Mérida, José Ramón. "Les tapisseries flamandes en Espagne. Les Fables de Mercure." *Les Arts anciens de Flandre* 1 (1905–06) pp. 169–71. Set said to be in the palace of the duchess of Denia, but owned by the heirs of the ducal house of Medinaceli; said to have been probably acquired by Don Juan de la Cerda, duke of Medinaceli, governor of the Low Countries, who died in 1575;<sup>22</sup> subject given as the love of Mercury and the nymph Carmenta,<sup>23</sup> taken from some poem; related stylistically to the *Vertumnus and Pomona* set in Madrid; design attributed to a Flemish artist educated in Italy; borders described as inspired by and in part copied from Raphael's for the *Acts* series.

Mérida, José Ramón. "Una tapicería inédita." *Forma* 2 (1907) illus. pp. 245, 246 (10b and detail of border), 248 [10a]; p. 274, note by M. U. [Miguel Utrillo] recording the Barcelona set.

- J. B. [Joseph Breck]. "Two Tapestries Woven by Wilhelm de Pannemaker." *The Wing of Decorative Arts*. Supplement to *MMA Bulletin* 5 (March 1910) p. 31. Lent by George Blumenthal. Said to represent probably Ovid's story of Mercury, Herse, and Aglauros, and to have been woven 1525–50 from designs by an Italian artist, probably Florentine.
- J. B. [Joseph Breck]. "Two Tapestries Woven by Wilhelm de Pannemaker, a Further Note." *MMA Bulletin* 5 (1910) pp. 16–68, illus. (detail of 10a). Set of eight listed and said to have probably been acquired by the sixth duke of Medinaceli when governor of the Netherlands, before his death in 1575; the *Bridal Chamber* and *Dancing and Music* described as visions inspired in Aglauros by Envy.
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- Hunter, George Leland. "Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum." *International Studio* 45 (February 1912) pp. LXXXVIII, 258, illus. [10b].
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- De Ricci, Seymour. *Exposition d'objets d'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance . . . organisée par la Marquise de Ganay à l'ancien hôtel de Sagan (Mars–Juin 1913)*. Paris, 1914, pl. 77 [10a]. Both mentioned, said to be from cartoons by an unidentified Flemish artist.
- Vitry, Paul. "Exposition d'objets d'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, organisée par Madame la Marquise de Ganay." *Les Arts*, no. 141 (September 1913) p. 24, mentioned; illus. p. 28 [10a].
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- Göbel. *Wandteppiche* I, vol. 1, pp. 315, 316, 442; vol. 2, pl. 275 [10a]. Barcelona and duchess of Denia sets mentioned; 10 described as from a third set; dated about 1570.
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- Duran i Canyameras, F. "Els tapisos de l'Audiència al nostre museu." *Butlletí dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona* 7 (1937) p. 378. One tapestry of series said to be in "Museu Brumenthal," New York.
- Taylor, Francis Henry. "The Blumenthal Collection." *MMA Bulletin* 36 (1941) pp. 193, 196, illus. patio in Blumenthal house, showing parts of 10a and b on walls.
- Louchheim, Aline B. "Five Thousand Years of Art: Survey of the Metropolitan's Collection." *Art News Annual* 1945–46, p. 62, illus. [10a].
- Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947–48) pp. 126, 127, illus. [10a]. Mentioned, as from collections of dukes of Medinaceli and the duchess of Denia.
- "The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940–1950: A Report to the Trustees of the Buildings and the Growth of the Collections. II, The Collections: Strengths and Weaknesses. The Decorative Art of Europe: Renaissance and Modern Art." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 8 (1949–50) p. 312, both pieces mentioned; p. 295, illus. part of 10b.
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- Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop." *MMA Journal* 4 (1971) pp. 115–21, figs. 6, 8, 11. Relationship to Raphael works discussed.
- Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: III. Renaissance and Mannerism." *Apollo* 114 (1981), pp. 25–27, fig. 14 [10b], pl. 11, color [10a].
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## 10a *The Bridal Chamber of Herse*

### DESCRIPTION

Herse, nude except for a blue and gold drapery shaded in pink that she holds to her breast, sits at the end of a bed. Her fair hair, in a braid coiled round her head, is held in place by a red and gold circlet. She rests her right foot on a

yellow-gray wooden stool. A child with curly yellow hair and a short red, yellow, and gold tunic kneels to remove the red and gold sandal on her left foot. Mercury, approaching from the left, wears a red and yellow cloak with a pattern in gold. His right foot is bare and he is stepping out of the red, yellow, and blue winged sandal on his left. A cupid flying above him holds a fold of the cloak in his right hand and Mercury's red hat with yellow and gold wings in his left; he has red, green, and yellow wings and a pink and gold tunic. Two flying nude children hold back





the bed curtains; their wings are red, blue, and yellow. The bed has a round red, yellow, and gold canopy with a pointed top; the curtains are blue-green outside and deep blue, with red and gold ornamentation, inside. There are two gray pillows with red tassels; they and the gray upper part of the bed are strewn with pink, blue, and red flowers and green leaves. The coverlet is red with a gold pattern. Two short yellow-brown and gray legs are seen at the foot of the bed, with two swags of a gold-striped blue drapery between them and a partly visible blue vessel under the bed. To the left is a round table with a yellow-gray and

Details of 10a



gold marble top; on this is a red and gold drapery, with Mercury's red-brown and gold caduceus lying across it. The red-brown table has a single central support, decorated with acanthus leaves, and a round base, with three animal legs above it. Behind the table is a red-brown and gray stool, with animal legs; it is covered with a striped green and gold fabric, bordered with fringe, and supports a red, red-brown, and gold cushion with tassels. Behind this is part of a sideboard covered with a white, gray, and silver cloth, holding pieces of plate and a towel in red, white, yellow, and blue. The lower parts of the walls are covered with ornamental hangings; on the left, the elaborate patterns are gold on light and dark blue, on the right, white and gold, with a blue fringe at the base. A dado above is divided into panels by heavy carved red-brown and gray moldings. The panel in the upper left corner has a red ground and a dull yellow pattern, but is largely concealed by a red and yellow four-light flaming chandelier hanging from the ceiling in front of it. The next panel to the right is pale brown grained wood, with a blue, hinged iron bar across the base; in front of it stands a two-handled red and yellow vase, holding a mass of flowers and leaves in blue, red, pink, yellow, and white. Roses, lilies, columbines, pinks, and irises can be distinguished. The red and yellow panel behind the bed canopy has a grotesque design, in which a small figure, rising from a leafy scroll, and two butterflies are visible. The single panel on the foreshortened right wall also has a grotesque design with two monster heads in yellow on a light gray and yellow ground. The floor consists of rectangles of marble in shades of blue-green, blue, yellow, pink, red, brown, gray, and lavender, with blue and silver and gold bands separating them.

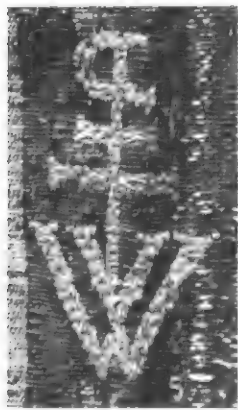
The top niche of each side border has two seated red and yellow griffins flanking an openwork blue half-dome and looped green and gold curtains above two small vessels with red and yellow flames. The figure (Faith), in blue with a red cloak, holds a cross over one shoulder and raises a red chalice. The other three niches are shaped like triumphal arches. The woman in the second (Justice), in red with a blue cloak, has a blue pair of scales in the left border, but holds a blue sword in the right. The figure below (Hope) has a blue-green dress with a pale pink or red overgarment. The lowest niche has small gold and yellow flying figures in the red and pink spandrels of the arch. The woman (Charity) wears a yellow-green or blue



dress and red skirt. She has a nude child on each arm and two more stand beside her; she rests one foot on a red and blue vase.

The lower border has a gold ground above, separated by a low blue and yellow railing from a marble floor in red, pink, lavender, brown, dull yellow, and gray. From the railing rise five elaborate supports in blue, red, and yellow, decorated with small dolphins; on them stand figures with blue and yellow or pink butterfly wings and two blue-green, yellow, or red urns on their heads. Long red ribbons stream from their shoulders. Between these grotesques are four seated women. The one on the far left is in blue-green, with a red belt, a wreath of blue flowers on her head, and red and blue flower circlets over her right arm; she holds an open book on her lap with a flaming red heart standing on it. Next to her, a woman in blue and red (Fortitude) puts her hand on the severed head of a bearded man supported by a pale blue blade; she holds an open dark blue book, decorated in gold, on her knee, and the end of a long gray wooden crutch lies under her foot (see detail). The next woman (Temperance) has a white kerchief, red dress, and blue cloak; she holds a large clock in blue, pink, orange, red, silver, and gold, with indistinct Roman numerals in black and silver, resting on a closed book. The woman on the right (Diligence) has a blue cap and a blue-green dress with a red sash. She holds a twisted vine, possibly hops, with yellow-green fruit; a string tied to the vine supports a brown gourdlike object from which flames appear. She wears blue winged sandals; her left foot rests on an open book with illegible dark brown lettering.

The Brussels mark in gold and red appears in the lower left guard with Willem de Pannemaker's mark in gold on the lower right side border (see detail).



## CONDITION

Much of the metal thread has lost its metallic cover; the silver is somewhat tarnished. A horizontal area of repair is seen on the bed below the pillow, Herse's left arm, and across to both borders, marking where the tapestry was once folded. Some slits have been coarsely sewn up, and there are small areas of repair.

## SUBJECT

The Theological Virtues in the side borders have their usual attributes: Faith, a chalice and a cross;<sup>24</sup> Hope, joined hands raised to heaven and an upward glance;<sup>25</sup> and Charity, children. The fourth figure, inserted apparently to fill a space, has a balance in the left border and a sword in the right and is thus identifiable as Justice;<sup>26</sup> she should properly appear among the Cardinal Virtues, as in fact she does on 10b.

The first figure on the left in the lower border has been identified as Faith, but the flaming heart suggests she may be some aspect of Love.<sup>27</sup> The second, with the head of Holofernes and a crutch under foot to show she needs no aid, is Fortitude;<sup>28</sup> the third is unmistakably identified by her clock as Temperance;<sup>29</sup> the fourth is certainly Diligence, as the words "Diligentia est" are written on the book of the same figure in Vienna.<sup>30</sup> Her winged sandals support this identification; possibly the vine she holds is Jonah's gourd that grew up overnight.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The artist used the Caraglio print of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* after Raphael as the basis for his composition and for the figure of Herse.

The Theological Virtues are adapted from Raphael-esque designs originally made for the borders of the *Sacrifice at Lystra* in the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry set in the Vatican.<sup>31</sup> According to Vasari, the borders of this set were designed by Giovanni Francesco Penni. The figures are closely copied; the niches are new inventions.<sup>32</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The replica in Barcelona was woven from the same cartoon except for the borders.<sup>33</sup> The version formerly owned by Habersstock corresponds in its main features to

the other examples, but almost all the ornamentation on walls, draperies, and accessories has been replaced by plain surfaces; there are no borders.

The Theological Virtues are also found on the *Death of Ananias* in the *Acts of the Apostles* set in the Vatican, though originally intended for the *Sacrifice at Lystra*; on the *Preaching at Athens* in the *Acts* sets in Madrid and Mantua, including the niches;<sup>34</sup> on *Gathering Manna* from the *Moses* set in Vienna;<sup>35</sup> on the *Temptation* from the *Adam and Eve* set in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (the fourth figure in these four sets is Theology);<sup>36</sup> and on one side of *Breaking through the Pass of Calicula* from the *Hannibal* set in the same museum (the fourth figure is Rhetoric).<sup>37</sup>

The lower border is found on the *Moses and the Burning Bush* in the *Moses* set in Vienna<sup>38</sup> and on the *Cain Killing Abel* in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.<sup>39</sup>

## 10b *Aglauros Changed to Stone by Mercury*

### DESCRIPTION

Mercury stands at the top of a flight of steps outside Cecrops's palace. He raises his right hand and holds his caduceus in his left (see detail). He has fair hair and wears a winged red hat, red and gold sandals, and a pink undergarment with a red and gold cloak over it. Aglauros is in the act of disappearing; her legs are no longer visible. She wears a yellow and red-brown dress with gold embroidery and raises her arms. Half-seen in the doorway, a fair-haired bearded man, presumably Cecrops, expresses amazement; he is dressed in green and gold, with brown sandals. In the upper right, Mercury is seen flying away. Two men in the foreground, with only the upper parts of their bodies visible, turn to look at him. The one on the left wears a red garment with a pattern in gold showing seated lions, framed in rays of light, and birds; the other is in green with a dark blue cloak flying out behind him. Many of the small figures in the background also look up at the god. The setting is an open space, with the palace on the left and a round temple further away on the right. The palace is

elaborately decorated and is approached by a flight of marble steps with a gold handrail. The panel behind Cecrops is red-brown, simulating wood grain; that behind Herse's right arm is pale and dark blue, with grotesque figures in gray and gold, and a central medallion in green, blue, yellow, and pink. Behind the railing of the steps are two men: one in pink with blue leggings, leaning on a stick, the other in green, with a gold-striped mantle and orange leggings. A girl in pink, red, and blue is partly visible through the gray and gold balustrade behind Mercury. The balustrade supports a flaming red-brown and gold urn at the head of the steps. The gray temple, decorated in blue and gold, has a yellow and gold statue of a nude woman, holding a sickle and ears of grain, in a niche, half hidden by a column; two priests in pink and blue stand in the open door. There are several small figures in green, yellow, blue, and pink between the temple and the palace, including, beside the urn, a man in pink and blue with a large, dull yellow greyhound. These figures stand against a green and dull yellow background. The steps leading to the palace have rectangles of marble in blue, green, pink, and yellow, separated by red-brown or gold bands decorated in gold. A blue stream and a low gray wall (possibly a bridge) form the boundary of the open space at the back, separating it from a hilly, wooded landscape with small buildings, in blue, green, brown, gray, and dull yellow. A man in yellow-gray on the left is climbing over the wall; a woman in green with a nude child embracing her sits beside it, and a man in blue rests his arm on it. Four semicircular gray-brown hollows with small round yellow holes surrounded by stone blocks break the surface of the elaborately decorated wall. On the left above Mercury is an archway surmounted by a gray-pink, blue-roofed building, approached by a flight of steps. Two trees on the near side of the wall grow alongside the stairs. In the lower right corner are a few small plants with red flowers.

In each of the side borders the uppermost niche has two small nude figures at the top, holding a blue canopy over a seated woman in blue and gold who raises a blue sword and a pair of blue scales (Justice); the architectural niche is red and pink. The niche below has green and yellow salomonic columns resting on two male sphinges; the figure seated between them (Prudence), wearing red and green, has two faces, that of a woman looking in a mirror on one side and that of a bearded man on the other. The lintel of







the niche below, which rests on two gray-brown or yellow herms, is cracked above the head of a standing helmeted woman (Fortitude) in blue and green, who places one hand on each herm; a pale yellow lion lies at her feet. The lower corners of the borders have backgrounds of grotesque designs instead of architectural niches. They contain a woman seen in profile (Temperance), wearing blue and gold, placing each foot on a low red-brown vessel and holding reins and a bit in one hand. A red-bordered blue-green panel below imitates a Roman relief.

The lower border has an arrangement similar to that of 100a except that each of the seven motifs that rise from the balustrade is surmounted by a red-winged harpy, joined by swags of leaves attached to their wing tips. There are seven seated women. The first on the left, in blue with red and yellow drapery over her knees and two gold circlets and one narrow red one over her right forearm, holds a blue ewer in her right hand; a pale blue eagle sits on her left wrist. The second woman, in green, rests her right hand on a large red and yellow jug containing a green olive branch and extends her left to a yellow-pink lion or lioness, which holds out its paw as it turns to look at her. The third, in red and blue, her left breast and arm bare, holds a mace in her gauntleted right hand; her right foot is shod, her left bare, and a gray bird is perched on her wrist. The block on which she sits has a design of a trophy of classical arms. The fourth, in pink and blue-green, has a closed blue and gold book on her knee and supports a blue anchor; a wooden beam passes below a ring at the top of the anchor and has a bird with spread wings perched on it. The fifth, in blue, green, and pink, holds a blue globe with gold bands in her right hand; her cap has small red wings and her gold breastplate has a rayed face in the center; her left arm, in armor, grasps a spear. The sixth, in red and orange, holds a seated fox with a long, bushy tail, which sees its head reflected in a blue mirror in the woman's left hand. The seventh has a blue veil over her head, a red dress, and blue cloak; she holds a switch of twigs, which rests on a closed book on her knees.

The mark of Willem de Pannemaker appears in the lower right guard.

#### CONDITION

Substantial areas in the middle distance have been re-woven in neutral tones. The tapestry has been cut on the

left, losing the narrow edging of twisting leaves and flowers. The upper and left guards are replacements. Many slits have been crudely sewn up and there are many small areas of repair.

#### SUBJECT

The Cardinal Virtues in the side borders have unmistakable attributes: Justice, a sword in her right hand and a pair of scales in her left;<sup>40</sup> Prudence, two-faced, looking in a mirror;<sup>41</sup> Fortitude, standing between two columns with a lion at her feet;<sup>42</sup> and Temperance, keeping her balance on two vessels and holding reins and bit.<sup>43</sup>

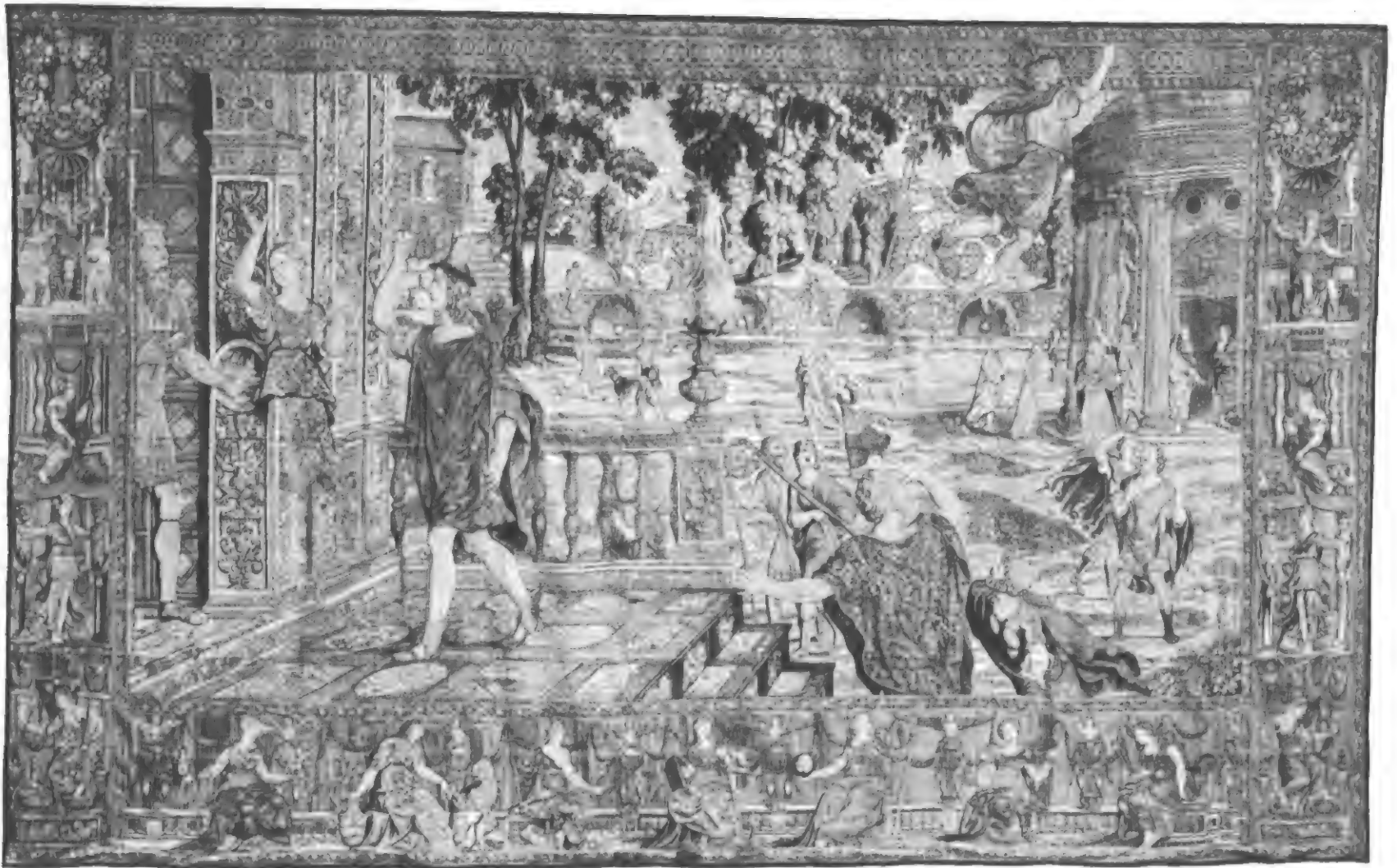
In the lower border, the first figure on the left has not been identified. The second has been called Peace, because of her olive branch.<sup>44</sup> The third, with one arm bare and one in armor, can be compared to Magnanimity, who also is shown in this form on an *Honores* panel,<sup>45</sup> but she has also been identified as Victory.<sup>46</sup> The fourth is Hope, with her anchor.<sup>47</sup> The fifth has been called Fortune, since she holds a sphere,<sup>48</sup> and Prudence,<sup>49</sup> but a woman in armor with an armillary sphere and a lance in the *Prudentia* panel of the *Honores* set is labeled "Providentia."<sup>50</sup> An *Honores* figure called Cautio has a fox and a mirror;<sup>51</sup> the animal has been called a dog and the woman Foresight or Vigilance.<sup>52</sup> The final figure with a switch of twigs and a book is Docilitas in an *Honores* tapestry.<sup>53</sup> No coherent program for this combination of personifications has been discovered.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The composition is based on Raphael's for *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* in the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry series. The steps, the building approached by them, and the temple on the right, with the pedimented entrance between the columns and the half-concealed statues in niches, are similar. The figures on the right, seen only to the waist, also have a certain resemblance, and the head of Cecrops is like that of the bearded man furthest to the left in *Saint Paul Preaching*.<sup>54</sup>

The fabric decorated with lions and birds worn by a man in the foreground is frequently found in Flemish sixteenth-century tapestries. The design is that of a typical late fourteenth-century Italian silk, probably made in Lucca.<sup>55</sup> What may be its first appearance on a tapestry is





10b

in the *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet* and *Pentecost* episodes of the *Life of Christ and of the Virgin* set of 1511 in Aix-en-Provence;<sup>56</sup> a very late one, in a simplified and misunderstood form, appears on a piece of the French seventeenth-century *Artemisia* series.<sup>57</sup> In paintings, it is found on the dress of a Madonna by Colijn de Coter of about 1510–20 in the Art Institute of Chicago<sup>58</sup> and on a blue and gold cloth behind the altar in the right wing of an altarpiece, painted by Bernaert van Orley, 1520–21, in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin.<sup>59</sup>

The Cardinal Virtues are closely copied from the Raphaellesque designs originally made for the *Blinding of Elymas* in the *Acts of the Apostles* set in the Vatican. Both the figures and their settings are reproduced, with only

slight variations, such as the shell instead of a garland over the head of Justice.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The version in Barcelona<sup>60</sup> is cut down at the right, so that Mercury's right hand, most of the temple, and two men looking up are missing. Since the version in Rome<sup>61</sup> is slightly enlarged at the top, the distant building at the left is one story taller, and the head of the departing Mercury does not touch the upper border. All the surfaces are plain, there is much less ornamentation on buildings and costumes, and most of the trees and other vegetation of the background have disappeared. The flight of steps behind

Mercury's head is omitted and the building beside it is in a different position. All four borders have massed flowers, leaves, and fruit.

The Cardinal Virtues are also found on the *Sacrifice of Lystra* in the *Acts of the Apostles* set in the Vatican (originally intended for the *Blinding of Elymas*).<sup>62</sup> Both they and the figures of the lower border are found on the *Blinding of Elymas* in the *Acts* sets in Madrid and Mantua;<sup>63</sup> on *Moses Praising God* in the the Vienna *Moses* set (with five figures only in the lower border);<sup>64</sup> on *Adam Naming the Animals* in the Munich *Adam and Eve* set (with six figures only in the lower border, the farthest left omitted).<sup>65</sup> The figures in the lower border are also found on the upper border of the *Games at Capua* from the *Hannibal* set in Florence; though there are seven figures, the woman with the mirror has been omitted and the woman with the switch of twigs appears twice. Five of the lower border figures are found on the upper border of *Hannibal's March through Etruria* in the Munich *Hannibal* set; the women with an eagle and with a mirror have been omitted. Four of them appear in the upper border of a tapestry sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, November 11, 1972 (no. 243, illus.), and two, Magnanimity and Hope, are seen in the horizontal borders of *Artemisia Greeting Xerxes* in Kronborg Castle, Denmark; the bird on Hope's anchor here has two heads.<sup>66</sup> Four are in the borders of an *Alexander* set in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,<sup>67</sup> and the similar borders of a *Garden Scene* in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.<sup>68</sup>

#### NOTES

- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (London, 1916) bk. 2, lines 708–835.
- This order is given in Mélida, "Una tapicería inédita."
- John White and John Shearman, "Raphael's Tapestries and Their Cartoons: I. The Tapestries," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958) pp. 219–21.
- E. Kumsch, *Die Apostel-Geschichte* (Dresden, 1914) pp. 11, 13, 47, pls. 14, 15; Elías Tormo Monzó and Francisco J. Sanchez Cantón, *Los Tapices de la Casa del Rey N. S.* (Madrid, 1919) pp. 35–41; Art. Jahn Rusconi, "The Tapestries of Mantua by Raphael," *Connoisseur* 59 (1921) pp. 77–82.
- Osvald Sirén, *Italienska Handteckningar från 1400- och 1500-talen i Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1917) p. 80, no. 304, illus.
- Frits Lugt, *Maîtres des anciens Pays-Bas nés avant 1550*, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1968) no. 217, pl. 102.
- John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1972) p. 144.
- Alphonse Wauters, *Les Tapisseries bruxelloises* (Brussels, 1878) pp. 76, 77.
- Blanco, "La tapicería," pp. 11–17.
- Carmen Rábanos Faci, *Los Tapices en Aragón* (Saragossa, 1978) p. 66. Called *Hermes y las Ninfas* and said to be dated 1570 with the mark of Willem de Pannemaker.
- J. Puig y Cadafalch and J. Miret y Sans, "El Palau de la Diputació General de Catalunya," *Anuari*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 3 (1909–10) p. 469, figs. 87, 88–91; Donnet, "Note sur quelques tapisseries bruxelloises à Barcelone," pp. 199–203 (set said to consist of six pieces, four earlier than the other two); Duran, "Els tapissos," pp. 367–84; Ignacio Rubio y Cambroner, *El Palacio de la Disputación de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1972) pp. 79, 81, 84 (said to be dated 1574).
- Mercedes Ferrero Viale, "Essai de reconstitution idéale des collections de tapisseries ayant appartenu à la maison de Savoie au XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *La Tapisserie flamande aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Colloque international, 8–10 octobre 1959*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1959) pp. 269, 270, 298, fig. 1; Elisabeth Dhanens, "Nieuwe gegevens over 'Die slag vóór Pavia' in het Museo Nazionale te Napels," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 22 (1953) p. 111.
- Jozef and Erik Duverger, "Aantekeningen betreffende de zestiende-eeuwse Brusselse tapijtwever Jan Ghieteels," *Archivum Artis Lovaniense, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Kunst der Nederlanden* (Louvain, 1981) p. 246.
- Information from Jean Paul Asselberghs.
- Standen, "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries," p. 115, n. 17.
- Tormo and Sanchez, *Tapices*, pp. 40, 41.
- Ernst von Birk, "Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884) pp. 214, 215. The tapestries were returned to Mantua in 1919.
- Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "Tapisserie," *Cinq Siècles d'art: Mémoires de l'Exposition, 1935* (Brussels, 1936) vol. 2, pl. 164.
- Elisabeth Mahl, "Die 'Mosesfolge' der Tapisseriensammlung des kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 63 (1967) pp. 7–38.
- Erik Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan van Tieghem représentant l'Histoire des Premiers Parents, du Bayerisches Nationalmuseum de Munich," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) pp. 19–63.
- Mercedes Viale and Vittorio Viale, *Arazzi e tappeti antichi* (Turin, 1952) pp. 53, 54, pl. 43. The Munich and the Florence tapestries have the same masks in the upper corners and the same unidentified weaver's mark (Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 6 of reproductions of marks).
- This duke, who was viceroy and captain-general of Sicily, the Christian army in Africa, and Navarre, as well as a member of the Council of State of Philip II, whom he accompanied to England, is not recorded as having held office in the Low Countries (*Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (Barcelona, 1905–30) s.v. "Denia," "Medinaceli."
- Carmenta was a Roman deity, the mother of Evander who assisted Aeneas (*Lemprière's Classical Dictionary* . . . [London, 1948] s.v. "Carmenta," "Evander"). No love affair between her and Mercury is known.

24. As the two representations of Faith are mirror images, only that on the right correctly holds the cross in her left hand and the chalice in her right (Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* [1603; reprint, Hildesheim, N.Y., 1970] s.v. "Fede Christiana").
25. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Speranza divina, e carta."
26. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Giustitia divina."
27. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," p. 19; Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 47, fig. 19. The heart of Faith is said to burn with love for God and the garlands of "roses" to be attributes of this virtue. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Carita," describes Charity as holding a burning heart in her right hand.
28. Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 48, fig. 19.
29. Lynn White, Jr., "The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969) pp. 208–11.
30. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," p. 19.
31. White and Shearman, "Raphael's Tapestries," p. 221, fig. 1, pl. 15d.
32. Standen, "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries," pp. 115–19, fig. 7.
33. Mérida, "Una tapicería inédita," illus. p. 249.
34. Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la Corona de España* (Madrid, 1903) vol. 2, pl. 55; Rusconi, "Tapestries of Mantua," illus. p. 77.
35. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," p. 19, pl. 5.
36. Duverger, "Tapisseries," pp. 37–39, figs. 10, 11.
37. Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 45, fig. 8 (same figure seen as one of the Trivium on the border of *Cain Killing Abel* in the Bavarian *Adam and Eve* set).
38. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," pl. 1.
39. Duverger, "Tapisseries," pp. 44–49, figs. 17, 19, 20.
40. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Giustitia divina."
41. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Prudenza."
42. Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 26, fig. 2.
43. Duverger, "Tapisseries," pp. 26, 28, fig. 3; Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958–59) vol. 1, s.v. "Mors avec les rênes."
44. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," p. 19; Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 28, fig. 4.
45. This identification was made by Guy Delmarcel.
46. Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 28, fig. 5.
47. Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 28, fig. 5, showing the equivalent figure on the Vienna *Moses*, who holds a sword instead of a book and whose bird is a two-headed eagle.
48. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," p. 19.
49. Duverger, "Tapisseries," fig. 6.
50. Annelise Stemper, "Der Prudentia-Teppich des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich im Kurpfälzischen Museum zu Heidelberg," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 2 (1958) p. 88, n. 34.
51. This information from Guy Delmarcel.
52. Duverger, "Tapisseries," p. 29, fig. 6. In the equivalent group on the Vienna *Moses* tapestry the animal appears to be wearing a shawl; on the *Honores* tapestry it is clearly a fox and has a monk's robe.
53. This information from Guy Delmarcel.
54. Standen, "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries," pp. 115, 116, fig. 9.
55. The design was identified as that of a fourteenth-century Lucca silk by Adèle Coulin Weibel, "Tapestries by Franz and Jacob Geubels," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 27 (1947), p. 9. No exact model for the seated lion has been identified, but the pair of birds in profile, very clearly seen on some tapestries, is close to one on a lampas found in several museums (Barbara Markowsky, *Europäische Seidengewebe des 13.–18. Jahrhunderts* [Cologne, 1976] p. 123, no. 16, pl. 2; called Italian, second half of the fourteenth century).
56. Guy Delmarcel, "La tenture de la Vie du Christ et de la Vierge d'Aix-en-Provence," in *Les Tapisseries de la Vie du Christ et de la Vierge d'Aix-en-Provence*, exh. cat., Musée des Tapisseries (Aix-en-Provence, 1977) pp. 78, 83, n. 7, with references to other instances of the motif in tapestry.
57. *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie parisienne, 1597–1662*, exh. cat., Orangerie de Versailles (Versailles, 1967) p. 35, pl. 7.
58. *Paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1961) p. 106. A date of about 1500 is given, but 1510–20 has been suggested by John David Farmer in a private communication.
59. Ludwig Baldass, "Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 13 (1944) p. 158, pl. 140.
60. Duran, "Els tapissos," illus. p. 383.
61. Ferrero Viale, "Essai," fig. 1.
62. White and Shearman, "Raphael's Tapestries," p. 221.
63. Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices*, vol. 2, pl. 53; Rusconi, "Tapestries of Mantua," illus. p. 79.
64. Mahl, "Mosesfolge," fig. 4.
65. Duverger, "Tapisseries," pp. 23–29, fig. 1.
66. Kronborg (n.p., 1972) pl. 43. The tapestry has the same weaver's mark as 19; it is interpreted here as "Willem Segers(?)."
67. Edith A. Standen, "Romans and Sabines: A Sixteenth-Century Set of Flemish Tapestries," *MMA Journal* 9 (1974) p. 224, fig. 19. The borders are not those originally woven for this set.
68. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976), no. 35.

## 11 Grotesques with Minerva

Flemish (Brussels); perhaps designed in the workshop of Perino del Vaga, and woven about 1550.

Wool and silk.

12 ft. 6 in. x 13 ft. 3 in. (3.81 m x 4.04 m).

17–19 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Annie C. Kane, 1926 (26.260.59).

### DESCRIPTION

Minerva, in a pale yellow dress and red sandals, stands in the lower center, wearing a blue pseudo-classical helmet with a pale blue plume. She holds a gray spear with a blue point and supports a red shield with a yellow strap around her upper arm. A small winged head is seen on her breast and there is another on the lower part of a gray banner above. The banner has a central roundel containing, inside a red and yellow frame, a standing woman in red and yellow against a background of blue and yellow drapery. She has a yellow rod in her right hand and extends her arms over two kneeling figures, one, in blue, holding an open book, the other, in red, with a small yellow vase. The banner has on both sides a face with a yellow and red headdress and is surmounted by a red and gray horizontal bar; above this is a female figure in red and yellow, with outstretched arms. Below her, on either side, are nude boys with red, blue, yellow, and gray wings and swirls of gray drapery; on the left, one extends a yellow slab carved with a man's mask to a butting yellow-gray ewe, on the right, the other feeds yellow leaves to a yellow-gray she-goat. On either side of the central motifs are columns or candelabra of grotesques. Below the ewe and the goat are female heads draped in red and yellow, yellow tassels, pairs of gray sea horses with red tails and a yellow scallop shell between them, yellow and gray sphinges in profile with red, blue, yellow, and gray wings, and parts of two yellow-gray classical ships, with boars' heads at the prows, slanting sails, and reliefs of mermen on the sides. The elements that link the motifs of the candelabra are red, blue, yellow, and gray. Flanking these mirror-image candelabra are two identical ones, with winged female busts at the top, large yellow lyre shapes with winged, half-length, armless women at each side, blank, pale green panels, and butterfly-winged women in yellow robes with

blue fishtails holding the horns of a male head; the ones on the outside also grasp long blue and yellow draperies. There is a large pointed heart-shaped form at the bottom of each candelabrum, with yellow olive branches rising from it and a head in the center. Minerva stands on a low gray and yellow stone base, with a blank pale green panel, edged with dark blue and red, in the center; it is flanked by horned satyr masks, outlined in red, yellow ewers, one with a torch, olive branches with red berries, and gray altars. In the corners, on pale gray-pink grounds, are four heads of puffing boys (Winds), with brown or orange hair, rising from pale blue clouds. The ground is dark blue.

There is a narrow blue inner border; the ground of the main border is yellow-gray. In the corners are inserted coats of arms of the Doria family of Genoa (Per fess gold and silver, over all an eagle sable, crowned of the first), shown as a red-brown eagle with a yellow crown on a gray, brown, and yellow ground. There are crossed yellow and blue batons behind the shield, which is encircled with yellow scrolls and surrounded by a red ground. In the center of each border is a blank red panel, framed in gray. Two flattened gray scallop shells on dark brown grounds flank each shield and panel. The upper border includes two pairs of figures with red, blue, yellow, and gray wings, rising from acanthus leaves in the same colors and holding draped masks, with fruit-filled blue and yellow vases above them. There are draperies in the same colors on either side. The ornamentation of the lower border is a mirror image on both sides of the central panel, each side having two pairs of nude boys with red, blue, yellow, and gray wings, holding swags of leaves and fruit in the same colors. Above the swags are a brown lion-mask and two draped female masks.

The side borders have each a column of grotesques, with two small birds perched on blue and yellow leaves at the top, a small red or yellow panel with an ox skull, a blue vase with a mask above it, flanked by two armless half-figures with blue animal legs, a bull with blue and yellow wings and blue legs and horns, seen head-on, a nude half-figure holding up a blue tray, two red, blue, and gray dolphin heads, and an armless half-figure with blue and yellow wings. The guards are blue.

The areas of solid color are almost entirely confined to





the backgrounds: the blue of the main section; the pink inside the lyre-shaped forms and at the corners; the red of the two border panels and behind the mask held by the two women with butterfly wings; the yellow-gray behind the yellow-framed oval above Minerva, the oblong with the satyr masks, and the main border panels; and the pale green panels below the lyre-shaped forms and under Minerva. The flesh tones are a uniform gray. Most of the color is indicated by outlines and slight shading on this gray ground; instances are the red part of the dress of the figure in the center at the top, the red tails of the sea horses, and the blue fishtails of the women with butterfly wings.

#### CONDITION

There are substantial areas of repair in many parts of the tapestry; small reweavings are especially conspicuous in the blue background. All four coats of arms are replacements, and the borders were not woven with the central field.

#### SUBJECT

One of the other two known tapestries with inserted arms (fragments of one now only extant) of the set showed a figure of Neptune, and the other had a trophy of arms with two prisoners that is believed to have represented Mars. Presumably some or all of the deities that appear on sets without the Doria arms may have been included in the Doria set; they are Mercury, Venus, Hercules, Ceres, Diana, Pluto, and possibly Bacchus. Whether the series originally included all the important Olympians (Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, and Vulcan are missing) is impossible to determine; the deities could not have represented the months or the planets, as Hercules is not a tutelary power for a month or a planet.

The medallion may show Minerva as the patron of learning and art, but the figure does not have her attributes, except for the book held by one kneeling girl.<sup>1</sup> A medallion on the *Neptune* of the series shows Minerva in her helmet giving an olive branch to a kneeling girl.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The relationship of the series to the Raphaellesque borders of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries and the frescoes

in the Vatican Logge has been established; it is especially marked in the two candelabra of the *Hercules* in Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> The winged bull in the borders of most of the tapestries of the series, including 11, is also seen in the Logge. These decorative frescoes, completed in 1519,<sup>3</sup> are thought to be primarily the work of Giovanni da Udine, but Perino del Vaga took part in them and in other grotesque paintings in Rome in the 1520s. The frequently made attribution of the designs for the series to Perino or his workshop is thus possible.<sup>4</sup> It has, however, been questioned on the grounds that the *Mars* in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, does not have the elegance and refinement of Perino's work.<sup>5</sup> Amico Aspertini has also been suggested as a possible designer of at least some of the series on stylistic grounds, primarily the stocky figures of Hercules, Ceres, and Neptune, as well as on the existence of a drawing for an antependium with grotesques by this artist.<sup>6</sup> But Minerva has the elongation of Perino del Vaga's figures and can be compared with his drawing in the Rijksmuseum for the same goddess in the decoration of the Sala dei Pontefici in the Vatican (fig. 11).<sup>7</sup>

The general composition of the series, especially the central figures of gods, is related to the grotesques woven by Pieter van Aelst for Leo X about 1520 from designs by Giovanni da Udine or another artist of the Raphael workshop. These tapestries are known only from later copies.<sup>8</sup>

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

A Brussels origin for the series is established by the city mark on the *Mars* in Genoa, which also has the maker's mark of Joost van Herzelee.<sup>9</sup> The date of manufacture of 11 is probably in the mid-sixteenth century.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Neptune* of the set with the Doria arms was in the Emile Gavet sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 31–June 9, 1897 (no. 782, illus.); it was described as having the Brussels mark and an unidentified weaver's mark.<sup>10</sup> Only fragments survive, in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (acc. no. 1926.22.424–429); these include the Doria arms, which are insertions of a later date, but not the city and maker's marks. *Mars* was formerly in the collection of Mrs. John Innes Kane, New York, but was destroyed in a fire.<sup>11</sup>

Another example of *Minerva* with similar grotesques, but without the Doria arms, is in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg;<sup>12</sup> the upper corners have blank shields and the lower border is missing. The ewe and the goat have changed sides and there are other minor differences. Another was sold at Sotheby's, London, October 16, 1959 (no. 82), and June 23, 1961 (no. 67, illus.). The design has been made narrower by the omission of the two inner candelabra, those with the ewe and the goat at the top and the ship's prow at the bottom. In 1969 this tapestry was owned by the Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome.

Tapestries from sets of the same series, but without the

FIG. 11. Study for decoration of the Sala dei Pontefici, Vatican, by Perino del Vaga. Drawing. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Doria arms, are *Venus* formerly in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin;<sup>13</sup> *Hercules* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam;<sup>14</sup> *Ceres* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London;<sup>15</sup> *Diana* in the National Museum, Stockholm;<sup>16</sup> *Pluto* in the John Mikaeloff collection, Lyon;<sup>17</sup> *Mercury* in the J. S. Sargent sale, Christie's, London, July 28, 1925 (no. 163); *Neptune* sold at Sotheby's, October 16, 1959 (no. 82), June 23, 1961 (no. 66, illus.), and July 1, 1966 (no. 10, illus.), owned in 1967 by Antonacci-Efrati, Rome; *Mars* in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa;<sup>18</sup> and possibly *Bacchus* (fragments formerly owned by French & Co., New York).<sup>19</sup>

A very similar figure of Minerva is seen in the center of the *Triumph of Minerva* in the set of the *Triumphs of the Gods* in the Mobilier National, Paris. This set was woven for Pope Gregory XIII in 1570–75 by Frans Geubels. The design is attributed to a Raphael follower, such as Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine, or Perino del Vaga.<sup>20</sup>

#### HISTORY

In a French collection in 1873.<sup>21</sup>

Stanford White collection, New York, probably about 1900.<sup>22</sup>

Obtained from Stanford White by Mrs. John Innes Kane before 1906.<sup>23</sup>

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Annie C. Kane, 1926.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*L'Art pour Tous* 12 (1873) p. 1297. Engraving after a drawing by Ch. Durand. Described as sixteenth-century, designed by an Italian, and woven by Flemings.

Saxe, Eleanor B. "A Tapestry in the Kane Bequest." *MMA Bulletin* 22 (1927) pp. 72–74, illus. Described as Brussels, sixteenth-century, from the Gavet collection (an error), probably made for Andrea Doria, after a cartoon by a Flemish artist based on an Italian design, possibly by Perino del Vaga. A *Mars* formerly in the Kane collection, but destroyed by fire, is described from a photograph of a watercolor (no longer available); naval scenes are mentioned, and profile and full-face heads are said to represent Andrea Doria. Candelabra in Berlin *Venus* and London *Ceres* described as taken from the borders of the Raphael *Acts of the Apostles*.

Möller, Liselotte. "Grotteskentepich 'Minerva.'" *Stiftung zur Förderung der Hamburgischen Kunstsammlungen, Erwerbungen* 1960 (1961) pp. 34, 35. Mentioned.

Erkelens, A. M. Louise E. "Rafaëleske grotesken op enige Brusselse wandtepijtsieries." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*

- 10 (1962) pp. 115–38, fig. 14. Dated 1530–40. All sets and individual pieces identified and relationship to other grotesque tapestries clarified. The figure of Minerva is related to a drawing by Perino del Vaga in the Uffizi and the medallion above to a drawing in Zurich, but Amico Aspertini is suggested as the designer of at least some of the series, including *Hercules*.
- Oberhuber, Konrad. "Observations on Perino del Vaga as a Draughtsman." *Master Drawings* 4 (1966) pp. 172, 179. n. 23. Doria tapestries mentioned; attribution to Amico Aspertini said to be quite unlikely.
- Duverger, E. "Tapijtwerk uit het atelier van Frans Geubels." *L'Age d'Or de la tapisserie flamande, Colloque international, 23–25 mai 1961*. Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, 1969, p. 189. Mentioned as probably from the manufactory of Frans Geubels.
- Armani, Elena Parma. "Il palazzo del principe Andrea Doria a Fassolo in Genova." *L'Arte* 10 (1970) pp. 33–38, n. 73. Tapestry set with Doria arms mentioned.
- Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop." *MMA Journal* 4 (1971) p. 121, n. 27. Mentioned. Attribution to Perino del Vaga said to remain more convincing than that to Amico Aspertini.
- Blake, Channing. "Stanford White's New York City Interiors." *Antiques* 102 (1972) pp. 1061, 1067, fig. 13. Stair hall, White house ("probably started in the late 1890s"), partly visible on wall.
- Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Grotesque Tapestries." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) p. 230. Attributions of design and relationship to other grotesque tapestries discussed.
- Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 51, no. 45 (*Ceres*). Mentioned as only known survivor (with possible *Neptune* in the Gavet sale) of set of four made for the Doria Palazzo Bianco in Genoa.
- Boccardo, Piero. "Pietro Buonaccorsi detto Perino del Vaga." In *Raffaello e la cultura raffaelsca in Liguria*. Exh. cat., Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola, Genoa, 1983, p. 74, fig. 133. Said to have almost certainly been made for Admiral Andrea Doria's palace at Fassolo, 1530–40, and probably designed by Perino del Vaga.
- NOTES
1. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958–59) vol. 2, s.v. "Livre."
  2. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," p. 121, figs. 7, 8, 9.
  3. Adolf Rosenberg, *Raffaello* (Stuttgart, 1908) p. 247.
  4. Saxe, "A Tapestry," p. 74.
  5. Piero Torriti, "Dipinti inediti o poco conosciuti di Perino del Vaga a Genova," *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on his Eightieth Birthday* (London, 1959) p. 204 n. (m).
  6. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," pp. 133, 134, fig. 18. The fringe indicated on the antependium suggests that it is an embroidery rather than a tapestry.
  7. Ultimately derived from a figure in Room 26 of the Golden House of Nero (Hermann Egger, *Codex Escorialensis, ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios* [Vienna, 1905–06] vol. 1, p. 142; vol. 2, illus., fol. 58 of sketchbook); Bernice Davidson, "Early Drawings by Perino del Vaga," *Master Drawings* 1, no. 3 (1963) p. 10, pl. 4b. Though Giovanni da Udine received the commission to decorate the Sala dei Pontefici, Perino del Vaga did most of the work.
  8. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," p. 121.
  9. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," fig. 5; Boccardo, "Pietro Buonaccorsi," p. 74.
  10. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," figs. 2, 3.
  11. *L'Art pour Tous* 16 (1877) p. 1667 [1627] engraving after a drawing by Charles Durand, reproduced in Boccardo, "Pietro Buonaccorsi," fig. 72.
  12. Möller, "Grotteskentepich," pp. 33–35, illus.
  13. Hermann Schmitz, *Bildteppiche* (Berlin, 1919) fig. 156.
  14. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," fig. 1.
  15. Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, no. 45, pl. 65.
  16. *Kontakt med Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1961) pp. 8–10, illus.
  17. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 367, called Florentine, about 1550; *Les Fastes de la tapisserie*, exh. cat., Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, 1984) no. 17 (called Saturn); previously sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, May 11–14, 1941, no. 793, illus., and May 22, 1979, no. 465, illus.
  18. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," fig. 4.
  19. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken," p. 136, n. 3x.
  20. Germain Viatte, *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle européen: Tapisseries*, exh. cat., Mobilier National (Paris, 1965) no. 29, illus.
  21. *L'Art pour Tous* 12 (1873) p. 1297.
  22. Blake, "Stanford White's New York City Interiors," pp. 1061, 1067, fig. 13 (shown hanging on stairs).
  23. Information obtained from a letter from Lawrence Grant White to Eleanor B. Saxe, dated March 26, 1927. Stanford White died in 1906.



## 12 Grotesques on a red ground

Two panels from a set of bed hangings

Flemish (Brussels); probably designed and woven about

1550–60.

Silk, wool, and silver and silver-gilt thread

12a 5 ft. 5½ in. x 6 ft. 11¾ in. (1.66 m x 2.13 m);

12b 5 ft. 5½ in. x 6 ft. 8 in. (1.66 m x 2.03 m).

20–22 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.384 [12a];

41.100.385 [12b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces have a crimson silk ground, with an elaborate symmetrical grill in metal thread, orange-red, blue-green, and pink, simulating a three-dimensional framework across the entire surface. The backgrounds of the central areas are dull pale yellow and pale blue. Each interstice of the grill is filled with a seated couple, or animals, birds, flowers, leaves, fruit, candles, musical instruments, and ribbons, in shades of red, blue, pink, brown, gray, green, and dull pale yellow with metal thread.

The borders have pale and dark blue grounds, with gray swans in the upper corners and orange-red vases in the lower. The vertical borders have candelabra in red, cream, and metal thread, and motifs including trophies of arms, winged masks, vases, canopies, ox skulls, and other objects. The horizontal borders have a scrolling pattern in red, cream, and metal thread, with a face not in the exact center. The yellow and orange guards are not original.

Both silver and silver-gilt threads are used lavishly throughout. The tapestries are mostly silk, with wool used primarily for flesh areas and animal bodies.

### CONDITION

The metal thread is tarnished and the background is worn in places, leaving the warps exposed; there are small areas of repair.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Though the general scheme and most of the motifs are standard in Flemish grotesque prints, the tapestries are

closest to the works attributed to Cornelis Floris (1514–1575), especially the *Fantastic Chariots*, published by Hieronymus Cock in 1552. Characteristics of these prints that are said to be typical of Floris are also found in the tapestries, such as the small holes in the narrow simulated metal strips, the strings with the dangling clusters of fruit and leaves, sometimes held by birds and running continuously across the tapestry, and the bars of the framework cut in half at the outer borders of the design.<sup>1</sup> The goat with a ring of strapwork around him is like one pulling a car in a *Fantastic Chariot* print (fig. 12). But the flowers, leaves, and fruit are much more lush on the tapestries than in contemporary grotesque prints.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The fine workmanship is characteristic of Brussels but no evidence is available to indicate a weaver. The date is probably soon after the publication of Floris's *Fantastic Chariots* in 1552.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four small triangular pieces of tapestry in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, have similar grotesques on a red ground and borders close to the horizontals on the Metropolitan Museum tapestries. They were certainly once joined to form the ceiling of a bed.<sup>2</sup> The bases of the triangles are 175 centimeters long, shorter than the widths of 12a and b, so it is not possible to say how the latter were joined to them, if they were.

Almost exact replicas of 12a and b are in the Spanish National Collection; the only marked difference is that all the figures are nude and that there are elaborate horizontal borders only. They are part of a set of bed hangings, which also includes a ceiling made up of four triangles and a back cloth. The quality is extremely fine, with gold and silver thread, but without marks.<sup>3</sup>

Among other sets of grotesque tapestries, the most closely related is that known as the *Monkeys* in the Spanish National Collection. The ten pieces of this set are signed S.B. (Seger Bombeck).<sup>4</sup>

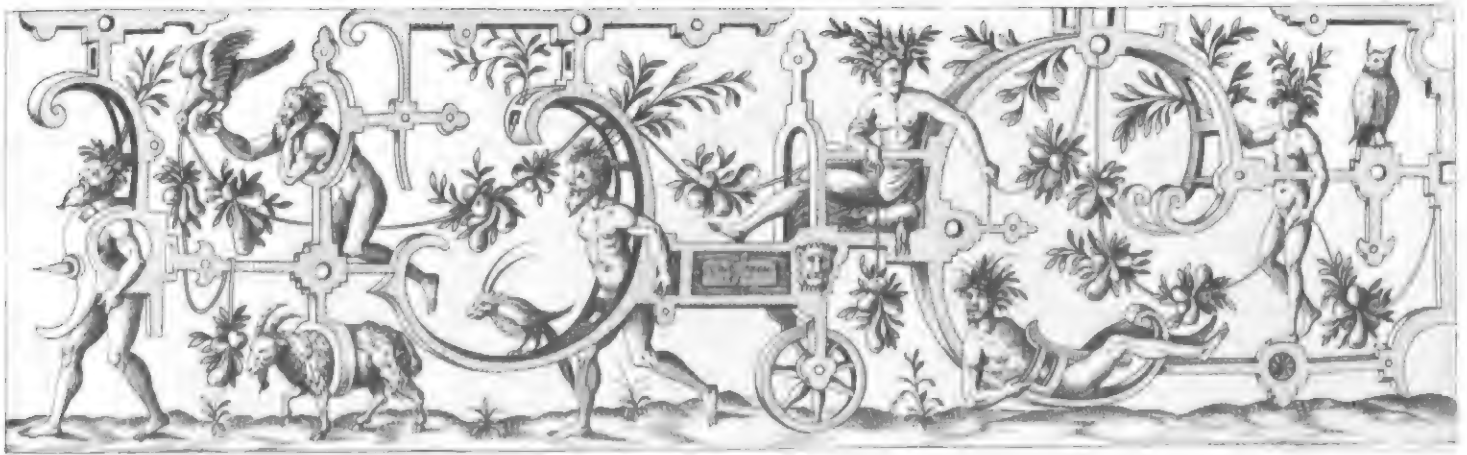


FIG. 12. *Fantastic Chariot*, attributed to Cornelis Floris. Engraving, published by Hieronymus Cock. MMA, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.373).

#### HISTORY

Perhaps made for Philip II of Spain.

Said to have been owned by Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, but not included in the catalogue *La Collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1890–92).

Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild collection, Paris, before 1876.

James A. Garland collection, New York. Sold, American Art Galleries, New York, March 20, 1909, nos. 132, 133, both illus. Called Italian and said to have been made for the bed of Margaret of Parma.<sup>5</sup> Bought by Seligman & Co.

George and Florence Blumenthal collection, New York, before 1912.

Given to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

#### EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie, 5th exhibition, 1876. *Histoire de la tapisserie de Louis XIV à nos jours*. Not included in the catalogue.

New York, MMA, 1943. *Masterpieces in the Collection of George Blumenthal, a Special Exhibition*. Not included in the catalogue.

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Baltimore Museum of Art, 1951–52. *2000 Years of Tapestry Weaving*, cat. no. 91 [12b]. Said to have been designed by Cornelis II Floris, after an Italian cartoon in the style of Giulio Romano.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Darcel, Alfred. "Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie: Exposition de l'histoire de la tapisserie (suite et fin)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 14 (1876) pp. 418, 419 illus. (12b, reversed engraving). Owned by the baron de Rothschild. Said to be in the style of Frans Floris, Mathias Zundt, and Benedictus Battini.

De Champeaux, Alfred. *Les Arts du tissu*. Paris, n.d., pl. 71 (12b, reversed engraving). Owned by the baron de Rothschild.

Müntz, Eugene. *La Tapisserie*. 6th ed. Paris, [after 1890], p. 222, illus. (12b, reversed engraving); p. 246 (12a, engraving of lower central motif, reversed). Owned by the baron de Rothschild.

Hunter, George Leland. *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, p. 406. Mentioned as lent to the Metropolitan Museum by George Blumenthal.

Hunter, George Leland. "Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum." *International Studio* 45 (February 1912) p. 87. Mentioned as lent by Mr. Blumenthal, attributed to Italian looms.

Rubinstein-Bloch, Stella. *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*. Vol. 4, *Tapestries and Furniture*. Paris, 1927, pl. xv, illus. [12b]. Called Brussels, mid-sixteenth century. Said to be in the style of Giulio Romano and attributed to him or Cornelis Floris.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947–48) p. 126. Said to be in the style of Cornelis II Floris and, according to tradition, made for the bed of Margaret of Parma.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop." *MMA Journal* 4 (1971) p. 121, n. 27. Mentioned.



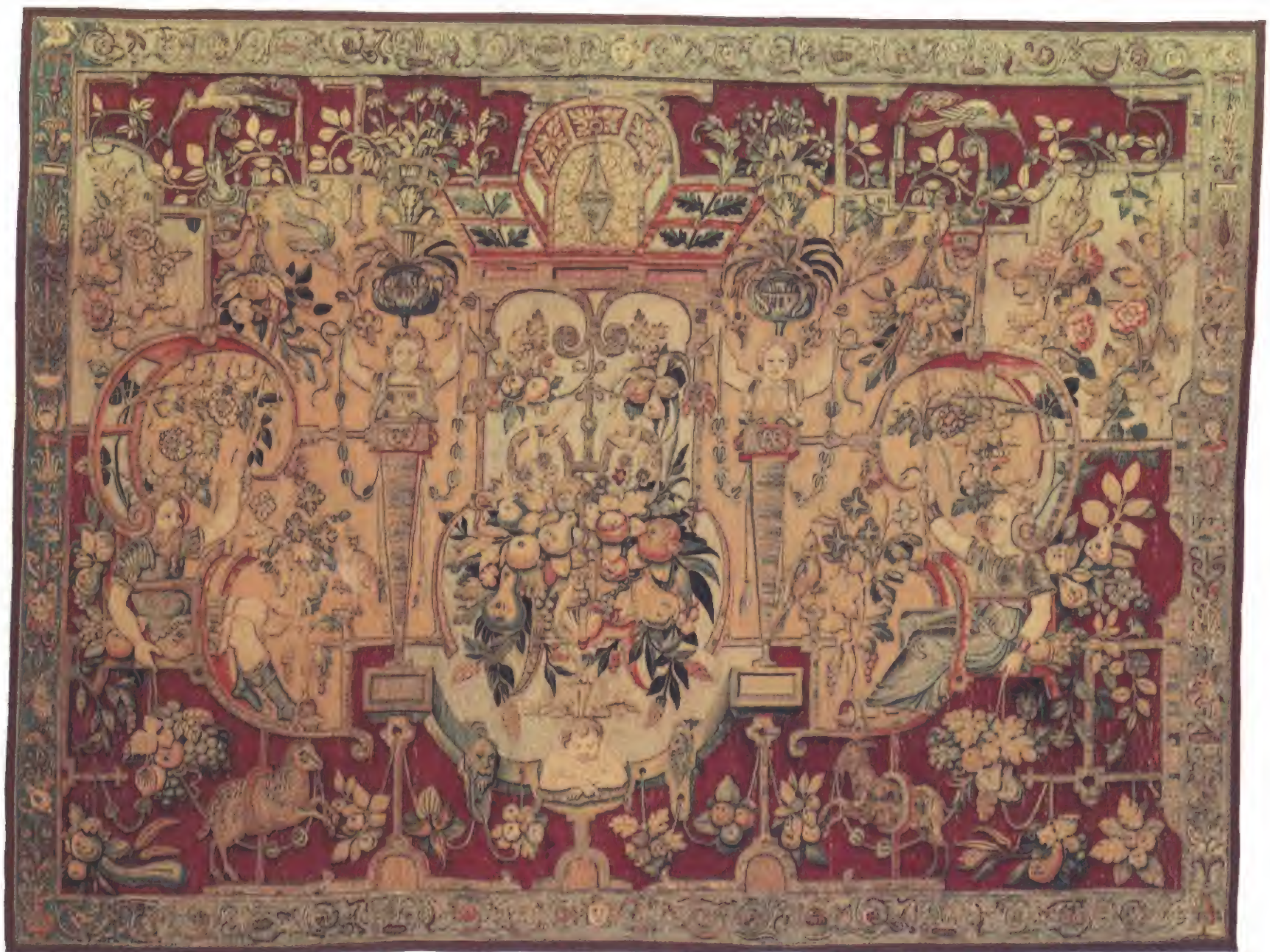
Junquera de Vega, Paulina. "Les séries de tapisseries de 'Grotesques' et 'l'Histoire de Noé' de la Couronne d'Espagne." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) pp. 157 n. 21 (suggested as possibly from the second tapestry bed listed in Philip II's inventory), 162 n. 23. Described as replicas of the Spanish bed hangings, in the Rothschild, Garland, and Blumenthal collections.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Grotesque Tapestries." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) pp. 234–37, pls. 3, 4. Relationship to Floris's *Fantastic Chariots*, Spanish bed hangings and tapestries at Wawel Castle, Cracow, discussed; dated 1545–60.

## 12a Panel

### DESCRIPTION

A small arbor in the center is flanked by two female herms with large blue and silver vases on their heads; their raised arms hold loops of pale blue and silver strings. On either side, the curves of the metallike framework form seats for a bearded man in blue and silver classical armor on the left, and a young woman, also in blue and silver, on the right. Except for their heads and costumes, they are



mirror images of each other. He holds a bulrush in his raised left hand, she a flowering branch in her right; in the other hand, each has a loop of the blue and silver string that crosses the lower part of the tapestry. Other loops of the string are held by a pale brown and silver sheep rearing on the left, which has a ring of the metal framework around its body, and by a pale brown goat on the right, similarly posed. A vase of fruit, flowers, and leaves, in dark and light blue, red, pale yellow, and pink, is in the center of the tapestry; below it is the upper part of a nude boy, leaning on the framework, which, on either side of him, includes a lion-mask.

#### CONDITION

The goat is largely repaired. Spots of bare warps are visible on the background.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The man and the woman in the Spanish replica are completely nude and the two herms are bare breasted. There are slight variations in the central container of fruit. In the wide upper and lower borders are nude children and bands with Latin inscriptions.<sup>6</sup>

## 12b Panel

#### DESCRIPTION

An arbor in the upper center is covered with a grapevine. Below it is a curved, looped container formed by the metal framework, filled with pink carnations, blue leaves, and red, green, and blue fruit. On either side, seated in the curves of the framework, are a young woman in pink, yellow, red, and silver on the left and a bearded man in a crimson and gold robe and yellow leg coverings on the right. Except for their heads and costumes, they are mirror images of each other. Below the figures are a blue and silver basin of water on each side, each with two birds, the inner one drinking, the outer holding a loop of string. The

bird furthest to the left is a green parrot. The spaces to left and right of the central motif have each a vase of flowers at the top, pairs of fantastic birds (one a blue and green peacock with orange-red wings), a flying bird, and at the base, an animal putting its head through an opening in the metal framework; the one on the left is a gray rabbit, on the right, a brown catlike creature, probably a lynx. There are trophies in the lower corners; that on the left is of musical instruments, that on the right, of arms.

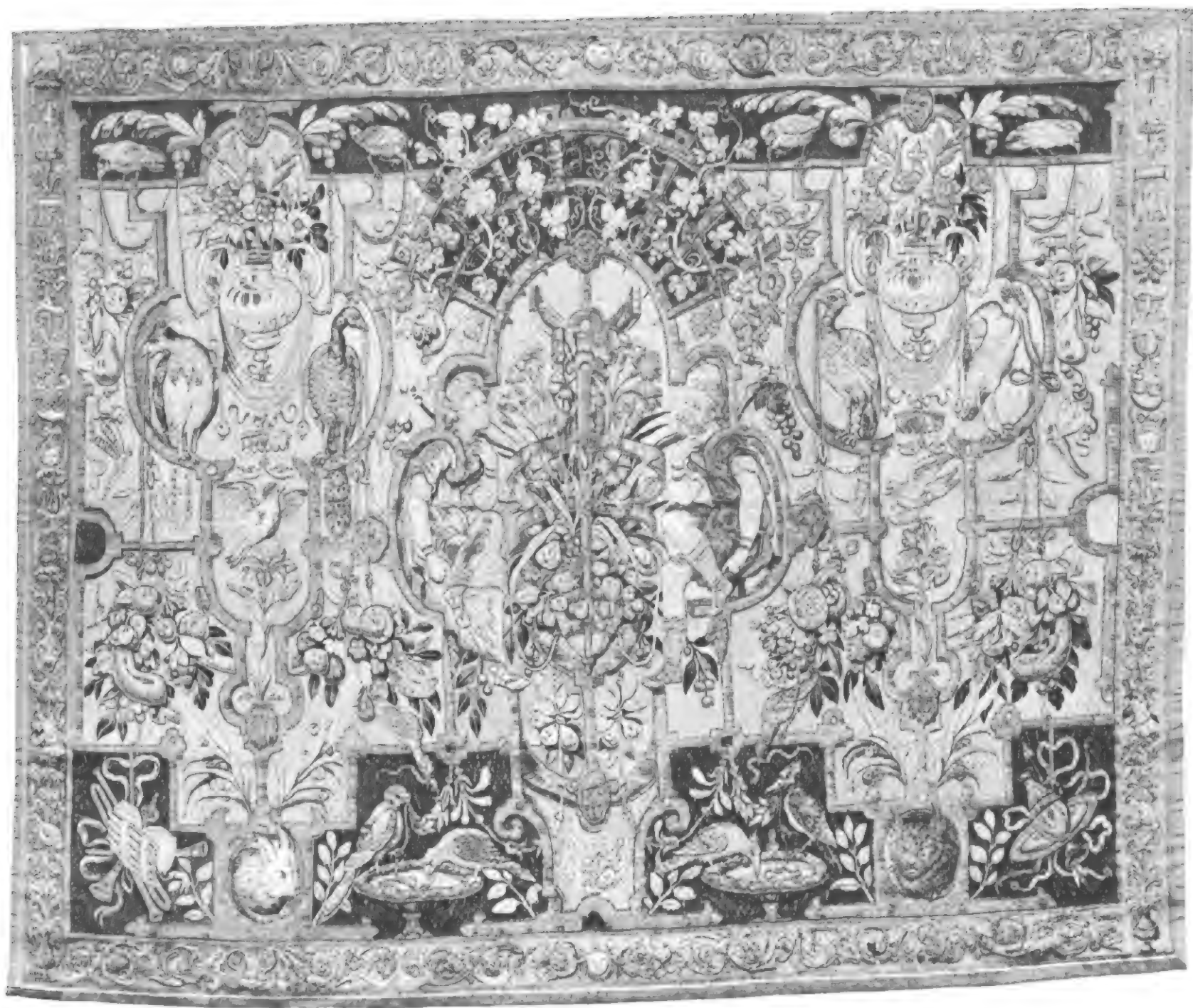
#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The man and the woman in the Spanish replica are nude. There is a wide upper border with nude children and a band with a Latin inscription.<sup>7</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Sune Schéle, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherland Grotesque* (Stockholm, 1965) pp. 212–14, nos. 256–59, pl. 64. These characteristics are listed as the basis for the attribution to Floris instead of to Bos, to whom the prints have also been given.
2. Two were exhibited in *Le Triomphe du Maniérisme européen*, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1955) cat. no. 276, where their relationship to 12 (described as in the Blumenthal collection) is noted.
3. Junquera, "Séries de tapisseries," pp. 157–62, figs. 10–13. Willem de Pannemaker suggested as weaver, about 1550–60; perhaps sent from Flanders to Spain in 1566 for the bed of Philip II, in whose inventory after death two beds with grotesque tapestries are listed.
4. Junquera, "Séries de tapisseries," pp. 143–57, figs. 4–9. Mark said to be that of Seger Bombeck, woven after his return to Flanders, 1560–63 (see 137).
5. Though Margaret of Parma is recorded as purchasing tapestries in 1563 (Leo van der Essen, *Les Archives Farnésiennes de Parme* [Brussels, 1913] p. 38), nothing is known of their type. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 522, mentions Margaret's purchase of an Enghien tapestry from the Brussels dealer Nikolaus Hellinck. Two tapestries with her arms by a member of the van den Hecke family, dated 1559, are in the Quirinale Palace, Rome (Elisabeth Dhanens, "Twee tapijtwerken uit het bezit van Margareta van Parma," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 20 [1951] pp. 223–36). None is included in the inventory of her possessions compiled in 1586 after her death (Charles Piot, "Inventaire des joyaux et autres objets de prix trouvés dans la succession de Marguerite de Parme," *Bulletin, Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 5th ser., 5 [1895] pp. 328–56).
6. Junquera, "Séries de tapisseries," p. 161, fig. 13. The sheep and goat are described as symbols of Patience, suitable for a marriage bed.
7. Junquera, "Séries de tapisseries," p. 159, fig. 11. The animals are called a rabbit and a lynx, symbols of Fear and Astuteness.





## 13 Gluttony

From a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Flemish (Brussels); designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst  
(1502–1550), probably about 1540, and probably woven  
1560–75.

Wool, silk, and silver-gilt thread.

12 ft. 9 in. x 22 ft. 3 in. (3.89 m x 6.78 m).

19–23 warps per inch, 8–10 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., in memory of Mr. and  
Mrs. Hugh A. Murray, 1957 (57.62).

### DESCRIPTION

Each tapestry of the series shows a cardinal or “deadly” sin, personified as a woman with wings and horns, riding in a chariot drawn by symbolic beasts away from hell and the Devil on the left. Victims lie under the chariot wheels. Various figures, mounted or on foot, form an accompanying procession led by a rider on the far right, who carries a banner picturing symbolic animals. There are wide landscape backgrounds with small figures. Flying above is the Virtue opposed to the depicted Sin, surrounded by cherub heads in the clouds.

Gluttony is a plump young woman crowned with yellow and green grape leaves. She has gray horns, red and yellow wings, and a yellow-brown robe with red stripes; she holds pale brown sausages in one hand and a blue jug with a long spout in the other. She sits on a yellow-brown stool with animal legs and rests her feet on the top of the yellow-brown chariot; in front of her is a two-handled pale blue vase with a cup placed on it as a lid. The front wheels of the chariot are visible; attached to it are a yellow-gray jug with two sausages strung through the handle, two wine cups, a dead gray rabbit, and three dead birds in gray, brown, and blue. One of them has pink legs. Alongside the chariot walks a young man in a red hat, a blue, green, and yellow jacket, red and yellow sleeves, dull red leggings, and brown shoes, holding a massive blue covered ewer in each hand. Behind him are two large dogs, one yellow-gray with a decorated pink collar, one red-brown. On the other side of the dogs is a woman in a red and yellow hat with blue spots and green and red garments. She bends under the weight of a blue tray on which are one large and five small pale brown pies. Beside her, a bare-

headed bearded man holds a huge spit with both hands, a white cloth covering his right; five yellow-gray and pink animals and birds ready for roasting are impaled on it. He wears a pale yellow shirt and a red costume and has a decorated white and blue napkin over his shoulders. His shoes are blue. Behind him can be seen the head of a girl holding a yellow-brown basket of buns on her shoulder. At the mouth of hell is a running youth (Death), wearing a blue cloak, carrying a brown stick over his shoulder, and blowing a pale blue horn.

Gluttony's chariot is drawn by three harpies (Aello, Ocypete, and Celeno), who have elaborately dressed yellow or pale brown hair, bare blue human breasts, blue and pale yellow wings, blue-feathered bodies, and yellow-gray claws; the harnesses that attach them to the chariot are red. In the foreground between them and the chariot is a pale brown horse, its rear turned to the spectator and its mouth open. An elaborate piece of red and yellow harness passes under its tail and over its chest. On the horse, riding sidesaddle backwards, sits a yellow-haired woman (Judith) in a yellow-gray turban, white shirt, red and yellow sleeves, a yellow bodice with red and blue ornament, a yellow-green dress with a pattern in red, and a gray-brown cloak, who points to the sky. A body in blue lies in front of the chariot wheels and another, in red, blue, and yellow, is seen beneath them. On the far side of the chariot a fair-haired man (Philoxenus), in blue with a red and yellow cloak, holds the head and neck of a blue-gray swan with a yellow beak and rides on a red-brown horse. The head of a young woman in red, blue, and yellow, with a green cloak, is seen beside him and on the other side of Judith is another in a red and yellow hat and a bald, orange-bearded man in red. Immediately in front of the harpies is a bucking, dark-headed, gray horse with decorated yellow and blue harness. It is ridden by a young man (Alexander the Great on Bucephalus) with a green laurel wreath in his yellow hair, dressed in blue armor with red and yellow ornament, a yellow-pink cloak, and red and yellow leg coverings; he points at Gluttony. Beside him is a young woman (Thais) with a high pink and metal-thread hat, riding a gray-brown horse with red, yellow, and blue harness. In front of this couple is a nearly nude old man

(Silenus), swaying on the back of a donkey with dull yellow and pink harness, ornamented with dark brown crescents and dots. He has gray horns and blue grapes with green and yellow leaves on his head and blue-green drapery; he carries a large blue jug. The procession is headed by a young man (perhaps Bacchus) in blue on a rearing pale brown horse with red, white, blue, and yellow harness and blue shoes; the rider wears a headdress of green and yellow hops and holds a red banner with a gray and brown falcon and a brown hedgehog on it. Between him and the couple on horseback are a man in blue and yellow with a pink cloak and a woman with a fantastic headdress (probably Antony and Cleopatra).

In the background on the left is hell in shades of red, blue, yellow, green, brown, and gray, with clouds of gray-brown smoke pouring out of it. There are a number of flying monsters, one fish shaped, in blue, yellow, and red, with a jug on its back, others like birds or butterflies in

shades of brown, blue, and red. A tiny figure of the Devil with a skull for his head holds up a blue hourglass. Between the main figures and the landscape background rise two trees, a large oak behind the chariot and a more distant tree behind the leader of the procession; both have brown and gray trunks and green and yellow leaves. The trunk of another is partly visible on the extreme right.

The background is a wide landscape, with the pale blue and gray sea on the left and towering blue and white mountains, green and yellow trees, and blue and gray buildings in the center and on the right. A large gray and brown ship is at anchor in a bay, with one of its sails being raised or lowered; a rowboat with two men in red and blue is near the prow. On the adjacent shore, a small nude figure holding a cup (the infant Bacchus) is threatened by two men in blue with yellow helmets; a third, in red, with a white turban, holds a huge battle-ax. Farther to the right is a group of blue and pale brown tents; in the largest,



which has red flags and a red band below its roof and is guarded by two sentries in blue, Judith in pink and Holofernes in blue sit at a table with yellow dishes on it. Four men are fighting in the distance on the left. On the right, Judith and her servant, both in blue and yellow, are seen leaving the tent, in which is Holofernes's pink and blue bed; the servant carries a large yellow-gray bag and Judith has a blue knife and Holofernes's head. Troops in blue with a banner are visible in the distance. On the right is the walled yellow-gray city of Bethulia, with blue roofs; on a tower beside the gate is Holofernes's head on a pole. In the center of the sky is a flying figure (Temperance) with yellow-brown hair, gray and brown wings, a dull yellow robe, and green sleeves, emerging from blue-gray clouds. Above are rays of light in metal thread and many small cherubs' heads with blue and yellow wings. There are also several brown and gray birds. The sky is in shades of blue and gray. The foreground is in shades of green, brown, and gray, with many green plants, some with red and blue flowers. The border is a replacement.

The outlines are principally in dark brown or black. Metal thread is lavishly used throughout, especially on the costumes, but also in the foreground plants, the leaves of the trees, and the red-brown dog.

#### CONDITION

Most of the metal thread has blackened. The dark brown sections show many bare warps, especially on the legs of Judith's horse, the tree trunks, and the outlines. There are small areas of repair in the distant mountains.

#### SUBJECT

A mid-sixteenth-century manuscript in French in the Spanish National Library in Madrid gives an outline of the iconographical program of the series, except for *Sloth*; it was apparently based on the *petits patrons*, not the cartoons, for the tapestries, and does not always agree with the woven designs.<sup>1</sup> The section describing Gluttony comes after *Envy*. The rider on the chariot is "damme gloutonnie sans souci tenant le pot tousiours preste a faire grosses chieres." She is accompanied by "Cuysiniers tau-reniers [taverniers] cabarretiers patissiers et toutz maistres et maistresses de friandise. La mort la pourchasse comme veneur." In the procession are "philoxenus desirant auoir

le col aussi grant que dung cygne pour plus longuement percevoir et gouter le bon vin" and "Cleopatra royne degipt fort prodigue laquelle mist a pourete marc anthoine consul rommain et luy fist despendre vng tresor infini." Harpies pull the Gluttony's chariot "pour demonstrier que gourmandise et gloutonnie deuorent le bien et la substance familiere en peu de temps"; they are "aello que vault tollisante le bien daultruy ocipete legierement emblante et celeno tenante secretement son larchin." They have "faces de vierges car toutte rapine est sterile."

Other personages present are "Alexandre le grant" "forte note de gourmandise par trop boire Thays la pail-larde Silenus lyvroigne." "Mais la sobre et discrete Judith sest eslongee de l'infame compaignie de gourmandise et se tient soubz le celestial aspect de la belle vertu de temperance." Two lines at the end of the manuscript read: "Gloutonnie tout consume et despentz / en son abisme dont en fin se repent," a sentiment that accounts for the presence in Gluttony's train of Cleopatra, notorious for her extravagance.

Most of the people named in the Madrid document can be more or less certainly identified with figures on the tapestry. The strange headdress worn by the woman immediately behind the standard-bearer is very like that of the named Cleopatra on an earlier *Gluttony* tapestry in the Detroit Institute of Arts;<sup>2</sup> the man beside her would then be Antony. The standard-bearer, though not named in the document, has been plausibly identified as Bacchus,<sup>3</sup> though he is crowned with hops (used in making beer) rather than grape leaves. The falcon and the hedgehog on his banner are well-known symbols of Gluttony;<sup>4</sup> the latter was thought to carry off grapes or apples by sticking them on its prickles. The bald man with the young woman beside him and the woman closer to the chariot may well be Lot and his daughters;<sup>5</sup> the scene of his drunkenness appears in the background of the Detroit tapestry. The dogs on the left are symbols of Gluttony.<sup>6</sup> In the background on the left, three pirates capture the infant Bacchus,<sup>7</sup> who changed them into dolphins.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The Madrid document is entitled "Significance de sept tappis des sept pechez mortelz pour guillaume panne-makere desquelz a faict les patrons et ordonnances maistre pierre van aelst paintre d'anuers." Willem de Pannemaker's



mark appears on pieces of the sets in Vienna and Madrid,<sup>8</sup> and Pieter Coecke has long been recognized as the designer. He apparently knew the earlier series of which the Detroit *Gluttony* was a part. The general scheme of the earlier and later tapestries is the same: the Sin and some of the other main characters mounted, others on foot, with smaller figures in the background acting out scenes illustrating the sin, or its opposite virtue (temperance in the case of gluttony), which is also personified as a flying figure. The scene of Judith and Holofernes is used in both versions of *Gluttony*. There are also some resemblances in detail in the two tapestries, such as the peculiar headdress worn by Cleopatra. The hand of Coecke's pupil and son-in-law, Pieter Breugel, has been detected in the background of the Apostle Paul series;<sup>9</sup> the fantastic mountains in the background of 13 could indicate Breugel's collaboration here.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Though the cartoons of the *Seven Deadly Sins* presumably remained in Willem de Pannemaker's workshop after the sets with his mark were woven, 13 may not have been made there. It is inferior in quality to the other known weavings and is thus probably considerably later in date. Coecke's designs are considered to have been made about 1540.<sup>10</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A set, presumably the editio princeps, was delivered to Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, by the Antwerp dealer Pierre van de Walle in 1544.<sup>11</sup> Four pieces of this set are in the Spanish National Collection;<sup>12</sup> three have the mark of Willem de Pannemaker, the fourth (*Lust*) that of an unknown weaver. They are extremely rich in silver-gilt and silver thread, with borders of flowers and fruit, and putti in the lower corners. Each piece has an inscribed tablet in the upper border, that of *Gluttony* reading:

SINT IGNOTA LICET MAGNI PATRIMONIA CROESI  
IMMENSÆ ABSVMVNT ALTA BARATRA GVLAE.

This tapestry shows almost all the trunk of the large tree on the far right; otherwise, only in small details, such as the foreground plants and the distant trees (for example, a

palm beside Holofernes's tent), does it differ from 13. The head of the bucking horse is the same color as its body.

Another set belonged to the count of Egmont and was sent to Spain after his execution in 1568. Six pieces of this set are in the Spanish National Collection, with the same unidentified weaver's mark that appears on the *Lust* in the four-piece set.<sup>13</sup> They have very rich borders, with herms at the sides and grotesque figures at top and bottom. *Gluttony*<sup>14</sup> is inscribed on the tablet in the upper border:

SINT CONGESTA LICET DITIS PATRIMONIA CROESI  
IMMENSÆ ABSVMVNT ALTA BARATHRA GVLAE.<sup>15</sup>

There is less foreground and less sky than in the editio princeps; the lower border cuts through the legs of all the animals in the foreground, the upper through the angel's wing. The large tree on the extreme right is only partly visible.

A complete set of seven pieces is in the Austrian National Collection. They have grotesque borders, but not of the same design as those of the Madrid six-piece set. Six of them have Willem de Pannemaker's mark, the seventh that of an unknown weaver.<sup>16</sup> There is very little metal thread. *Gluttony* has the same inscription as in the Madrid four-piece set, but Cleopatra and most of the tree on the extreme right are missing. The lower border leaves room for the animal's legs, but the upper cuts through the angel's wing.<sup>17</sup>

A single piece, *Avarice*, in the Pierpont Morgan Library (formerly in the F. B. Palmer collection, London) has a border like the four-piece set in Madrid, but the frame of the tablet with the inscription is different. There is no inner band, and the flowers of the main border protrude into the central field in several places. It thus cannot belong to the same set as the four pieces in Madrid or as 13 and must represent a fourth weaving of the series. The mark is a P, possibly a form of Pannemaker's monogram.<sup>18</sup>

#### HISTORY

Leon de Somzée collection, Brussels. Sale, Salles des Fêtes du Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, May 24, 1901, p. XIV, no. 540, pl. XXXIII. Bought in. Sale, 22 rue des Palais, Brussels, June 3, 1904, no. 707. M. de Somzée is said to have begun collecting tapestries some years after 1880; tapestry described as having been in Padua and as reflecting the style of Giulio Romano. Bought by Duyardin.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh A. Murray, 1957.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Hunter, George Leland. *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, p. 20, pl. 359. Said to have been bought by Duyardin at the de Somzée sale. The woman on horseback is identified as Gluttony.

MMA Annual Report 1956–1957. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 16 (1957–58) p. 65. Listed as designed by van Aelst, woven by van Pannemaker, 1525–50.

Marlier, Georges. *La Renaissance flamande: Pierre Coeck d'Alost*. Brussels, 1966, p. 333, n. 34. Mentioned as formerly in the de Somzée collection.

Bauer, Rotraud. *Tapisserien der Renaissance nach Entwurf von Pieter Coecke van Aelst*. Exh. cat., Schloss Halbturn, Burgenland, 1981, p. 87. Mentioned as later than the Vienna and Madrid examples and of poorer quality.

#### NOTES

1. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, pp. 56, 57, account of document; pp. 96, 97, description of *Gluttony*; pp. 91–99, transcription of complete text of document.
2. Adolph S. Cavallo, "The Procession of Gula, a Flemish Tapestry," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 32 (1952–53) pp. 86–89. The tapestry was included in the Evaristo Sanz Sagasetta sale, American Art Association, New York, April 28, 29, 1922, no. 362, illus., when it was said to have come from the Cathedral of Saint Paul, Saragossa.

3. Margaret Durham Anderson, "'Triumph of the Seven Deadly Sins,' a Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestry Set, Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst" (M. A. thesis, Columbia University, New York 1964) p. 67.
4. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, p. 71. *Gluttony*, in the set of prints of the *Sins* by Heinrich Aldegrever, dated 1552, carries a banner with a hedgehog (F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*, vol. 1 [Amsterdam, 1954] p. 61).
5. Anderson, "Triumph," p. 69.
6. Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Michigan State College (East Lansing, 1952) p. 248.
7. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, p. 72.
8. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, p. 55, fig. 20.
9. Julius Held, "Pieter Coecke and Pieter Breugel," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 14 (1934–35) pp. 108, 109.
10. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, p. 58.
11. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, p. 84.
12. *Tapisseries des Maisons Royales en Espagne*, exh. cat., Galerie des Beaux-Arts (Bordeaux, 1968) no. 18, illus., with bibliography.
13. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, p. 85.
14. Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la Corona de España* (Madrid, 1903) vol. 2, pl. 100.
15. The Latin of this version is better than of *Gluttony* in the four-piece set: *congesta* and *ditis* are more exact and expressive than *ignota* and *magni*, and *barathra* is a more correct spelling than *baratra* (information from Brian Cook).
16. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, pp. 55–59.
17. Bauer, *Tapisserien*, pl. 8.
18. W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry* (London, 1906) pp. 209, 210, 476 (mark, no. 184), illus. facing p. 208, as owned by F. B. Palmer (probably Francis Beaumont Palmer, but the tapestry was not included in the sale of his collection at Christie's, April 10, 11, 1919).

## 14 Scene from the Old Testament

Flemish (Brussels); woven by Willem de Kempeneer (fl. 1521–1548), 1535–48.

Weaver's mark.

Wool and silk.

13 ft. 6 in. x 21 ft. 7 in. (4.11 m x 6.58 m).

16–17 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Constance McCann Betts, Mrs. Winston F. C.

Guest, and Frasier W. McCann, 1942 (42.193.1).

### DESCRIPTION

The scene shows the aftermath of a victory. The leader of the successful troops stands in the center, extending his right arm and resting his left hand on a blue and red war hammer. He wears blue, red, and yellow classical armor. His helmet is surmounted by a brown holder for huge red, blue, and pale brown plumes, which are decorated with gems, and a large red and yellow sword in a gray sheath hangs at his side. He has red sleeves and leg coverings and a blue cloak (pale gray in a modern replacement on the right shoulder) ornamented in red at the hem. His boots are blue with red and yellow cross lacing and lion heads at the tops. On the right, in the foreground, is a man stepping forward. He has a red and blue helmet with red and pale brown plumes, decorated with gems, perhaps pearls. His armor is pale brown, with a yellow-gray and red lion-mask at the shoulder, over a blue and red undergarment. He has a blue cloak lined with gray (a modern replacement) and red and yellow leg coverings. His right hand rests on a blue weapon behind his back. Between him and the commander stands a man in a blue hat with blue and gray plumes, decorated with red gems. He has a blue undergarment slashed with red, a dull pale yellow costume decorated in brown and slashed with red, and a red and pale yellow cloak. To the right is a man in elaborate blue armor ornamented in red; there are red and brown plumes on his helmet. He holds a long blue-headed brown spear and has a gray sword in a yellow and red scabbard at his side; his leg coverings are red and he wears pale yellow-brown and red boots.

On the far right is a pale gray horse (the brown tail is a modern replacement) with a red spike and red, pink, gray, and brown plumes on the blue and red armor of its head; it has red and brown harness with pale brown tassels, a blue

and brown saddle, and a red stirrup on a blue strap. Its elaborate coverings, chiefly in dull pale yellow and red, have panels showing a nude child holding a platter in front of two crossed arrows, a cherub head, and other motifs. The horse is held by a young man in a blue and brown hat with gray feathers, a gray costume (largely a modern replacement), a blue cloak and leg coverings, and red shoes; he holds a blue-hilted sword in a red sheath. Above the horse is another of the same color, with red, yellow, and pink harness, ridden by a young man in a pink hat with blue feathers, ornamented with red and yellow gems, and a blue strap under his chin. He has a blue costume and brown leggings and raises a dull yellow stick. Another young man, bareheaded, sits on a pale brown horse with red and blue harness. He has a white shirt and pink costume, with a blue pouch and a yellow dagger at his waist; he raises a short pointed brown stick.

On the left, beside the commander, is a man in a red and blue helmet with red and gray plumes, ornamented with gems. His costume is yellow-gray and red, with red cuffs, blue sleeves, and blue leg coverings; he has a blue-green cloak and dull yellow and red-brown boots. He holds a huge banner with a pale yellow and pink ground; it shows gray stars above a band of blue and white clouds, from which issue pale and dark blue streamers and red and pink flames. The staff is pale brown. To the left is a man gesturing in a contrapposto attitude, dressed in blue with red decoration and bejeweled red plumes; he has a long gray sword with a red and yellow hilt. Below him, a man in a dull red coat, blue sleeves and leg coverings, and blue and red boots, stoops to lift a dull yellow and red-brown gold statuette of a woman holding a cornucopia. Behind him on the left a man strides forward carrying a huge red-brown and yellow vessel on his shoulder. He has a blue and red helmet, a dull pink sleeve, a blue-green jacket with a red stripe, red stockings, and red-brown shoes. Above him on the left a man bends under the weight of a large red-brown and yellow flat stand; he is dressed in red and blue with yellow-pink leg coverings and has a brown-hilted sword at his side. Next to him a man in green, red, blue, and pale brown, with a gray helmet, supports something wrapped in red on his shoulder. The heads of three men, one carrying a red burden, the others in gray and



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blue helmets, are seen above; one has a gray-headed spear with a yellow tassel.

In the middle distance on the left are two warriors with gray helmets carrying a pale brown and red chest; they are dressed in blue and pale brown. Three men are partly seen behind them, one in red and one in blue with a red turban, holding a large brown shield or dish. Most carry long brown spears or sticks. A tree with a dark green and brown trunk and dark blue-green, gray, and brown leaves rises to the right of this group. Behind the gesticulating man is another in profile holding a brown spear with a blue head; he has a gray helmet, dull yellow and pale red

armor, and a red cloak. Behind the spear is a young man in red and dark blue carrying a red-brown and yellow vase on his shoulder. Another spear-carrying warrior in profile is partly visible, and a young man in a blue hat with pale brown feathers and a red and blue costume holds another spear with an unusually long blue head. Other heads, helmets, and a bunch of dark plumes are seen above these foreground figures, and a man in a red, blue, and yellow helmet stands behind the banner holder. To the right of the commander's helmet is a partly visible man in blue, wearing a pale yellow-brown turban, and several heads of warriors with blue and red helmets carrying blue-headed



spears. One man has pale gray plumes in his elaborate helmet; the man below him, who gestures with his left hand, has a blue slashed hat tied with a red and gray cloth and a blue and green costume. A spear holder above him has a red and yellow shield.

In the background on the far right is a pale yellow-pink tent with pale yellow decoration, a blue fringe, and a red lining; in the brown interior is a white and blue table supporting red-brown and dull yellow vessels. Behind it is a white tent with a blue pomegranate pattern and a pale brown fringe; a red standard at the top flies a gray banner with a meaningless brown inscription. The peak of a red and brown tent behind has another gray banner with a pink bend across it. Red and yellow flames and gray smoke rise from scattered pale gray and brown buildings in the distance and there are some running men with spears. Behind the bareheaded rider is a tall tree with a brown trunk and leaves in green, brown, and dark and pale blue. To the left are three pale brown cannon, one with red flames issuing from its mouth; they are tended by two gunners in red and blue. To the right is a man in pale blue and pink, waving a dull yellow and red banner; behind him, a group of soldiers in blue, carrying spears, are largely concealed by blue-green, pale yellow, and brown trees. Long rows of spears in the distance are carried by an army entering a pale blue and gray walled city in the center of the tapestry. Between the city and the foreground figures are several tents in red, pale yellow, red-brown, gray, and blue; four have gray banners with meaningless brown ornamentation. Two cannon are seen between two of the tents.

In the far distance on the left are pale brown and gray buildings with spear-carrying soldiers, some issuing from a city gate. One tower has several men at the top with trumpets and flags. A number of figures are seen in the open spaces inside the city walls. Many of the buildings have blue roofs; there are two strangely shaped blue-topped structures with pink banners flying from them. The sky is in shades of blue and gray; the distant landscape is in similar colors and includes on the left a huge hill with a gray castle on top.

The foreground is in tones of green, gray, brown, blue, and dull yellow. At the commander's feet is a pile of treasure, including a dull yellow and red-brown triangular basin with sphinges at the corners, a huge blue candlestick, and a large gray and brown oval with red gems.

Elsewhere in the foreground there are a number of green and dull yellow plants, some with gray, pale blue, or pale pink flowers. The outlines are mostly brown.

The borders, all different, have red-brown grounds and are filled with leaves, flowers, fruit, and red, pink, or gray ribbons, in shades of red, orange, yellow, green, blue, and brown; pink and red roses, blue and green gourds, gray and yellow daffodils, blue and gray pansies, red and yellow lilies, red and green apples and pears, pale red poppies, gray turnips, red and dark blue currants, blue columbines, and gray and blue grapes can be distinguished. The guards (missing at the top) are dark blue and have the mark of Willem de Kempeneer (see detail) in pale blue on the lower right side.



Detail of 14

#### CONDITION

Substantial areas have been completely rewoven; the colors do not always approximate those of the adjacent parts. They include the lower left portion of the cloak worn by the man to the left of the commander; the upper part of the commander's right arm and shoulder; vertical brown bands in his cloak; the left hand and the gray part of the cloak of the man stepping forward, with much of the space below the hand, now rendered incomprehensible (two blue and red slashed shoes here cannot be accounted for); most of the body and right arm of the man holding a horse; the tail and part of one leg of the foreground horse; and a section in the center of the right border. There are numerous smaller instances of repair,

especially in dark areas in the sky, and many brown outlines have been worked over. There are some small holes and black spots in the sky. The upper border has apparently been cut at the top.

#### SUBJECT

The subject is probably the aftermath of a victory of the Israelites. The city in the background appears to have been captured, but as its walls are standing, it cannot be Jericho. The man stepping forward might be Joram, the son of Toi, king of Hamath, who was sent by his father to salute David and “brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass” (2 Samuel 8:10), but this episode is not described as taking place after the capture of a city and the treasure in this tapestry is clearly loot. A similar event is shown in the last panel of the *David and Bathsheba* set in the Musée de la Renaissance, Ecoen, described as Joab receiving the booty of Rabbah. The chief character on this tapestry is Joab, not David, but the red, yellow, and gold banner with a device of rays or flames, not unlike the one in 14 though less precise, is found on other pieces of the set in association with the king.<sup>1</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The mark (see detail), found on a *Jacob* set in the Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels, on *Abraham* sets in Vienna and Madrid, and elsewhere, has been identified as

that of Willem de Kempeneer.<sup>2</sup> A date in the second quarter of the sixteenth century is suggested by the style of the design.

#### HISTORY

Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. F. McCann sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 21, 1942, no. 1108, illus. Called the *History of Scipio Africanus*, made by Willem de Pannemaker, about 1540. Bought in.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. Constance McCann Betts, Mrs. Winston F. C. Guest, and Frasier W. McCann, children of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. F. McCann, 1942.

#### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report* 1942, p. 28. Listed as probably representing a scene from the story of Joshua, made by Willem de Pannemaker about 1550.

#### NOTES

1. Francis Salet, *David et Bethsabée* (Paris, 1980) pp. 89–96 (“Le Rassemblement du butin”), pp. 26, 34, 50, 74, 82 (mentions “oriflamme royale ornée de rayons flamboyants”).
2. M. Calberg and H. Pauwels, “Découverte de la marque du tapissier sur la tenture de l’Histoire de Jacob,” *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire* 33 (1961) p. 112, 113; Sophie Schneeberg-Perelman, “La tapisserie flamande et le grand témoignage de Wawel,” in Jerzy Szablowski, ed., *Les Tapisseries flamandes au Château du Wawel à Cracovie* (Antwerp, 1972) pp. 417–20.

## 15 Passion scenes

a *The Last Supper*

b *The Ascension*

Flemish (Brussels); probably designed by Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592), and woven 1540–45.  
Marks of Brussels and an unknown weaver.  
Wool, silk, and silver-gilt and silver thread.  
15a 10 ft. 3 in. x 9 ft. 7 in. (3.12 m x 2.92 m);  
15b 10 ft. x 9 ft. 7 in. (3.05 m x 2.92 m).  
18–19 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.  
Fletcher Fund, 1944 (44.63.4,5).

### DESCRIPTION

The borders to both tapestries, though not identical, are alike in that they simulate convex wooden frames on which are placed columns of overlapping leaves, like the trunks of palm trees; round these are entwined leaves, flowers, and fruits. At each lower corner is a two-handled pale blue and silver vase with a pale blue, pink, and yellow parrot, seen from behind, with its head turned to the left. An iris plant with long, pointed, blue-green and yellow leaves and pale blue and gray flowers rises from each vase. The guards are dark blue; Brussels marks (BB in gold thread, with a red or orange shield) appear on the far left lower guards, an unidentified weaver's mark in gold thread or yellow silk on the right side guards near the bottom (see details).

Detail of 15a



Detail of 15b



### CONDITION

The gilt thread is somewhat worn and the silver thread has tarnished.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The attribution of the designs to Michiel Coxcie has much to support it. Besides the resemblance between his paintings of the *Last Supper* and 15a, both tapestries can be related to his *Abraham* set in Madrid.<sup>1</sup> The facial types and attitudes in 15a and b can also be found in other tapestries attributed to this artist, such as the *Genesis* sets in the Polish State Collection.<sup>2</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

The weaver's mark has not been identified. It is also found on a *Transfiguration* of 1537/38 in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich. A date of 1540–45 is probable on stylistic grounds and accords with the time by which 15 is known to have been in the collection of the Electors of Saxony.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

No other tapestries unquestionably from the same set have been identified. When these two were first discovered, they were associated with four other sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries, representing the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the *Crucifixion*, and the *Ascension*; these are now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. The *Crucifixion* is from a set of fifteen tapestries acquired in 1515 by Duke George the Bearded of Saxony.<sup>3</sup> The other three were owned by the Electors of Saxony from at least 1565; as they include another *Ascension*, they probably are not part of the same set as 15.<sup>4</sup>

## HISTORY

Both tapestries may have belonged to the Electors of Saxony as early as 1554, when the church of the new palace in Dresden (built 1548–53) is recorded as decorated for a christening with *Passion* tapestries, woven with silk and gold thread.<sup>5</sup> They were certainly owned by the Elector in 1565, when an inventory entry describes two sets of ten tapestries each, both woven with gold, silver, and silk; one set was called the “old” *Passion*, and among the named pieces are a *Last Supper* and an *Ascension*.<sup>6</sup> A 1589 inventory calls the *Old Passion*, “sehr kunstreich gemacht,”<sup>7</sup> and one of 1611 lists eleven pieces of the *New Passion* in the church and ten pieces of the *Old Passion*.<sup>8</sup> Presumably most of these tapestries were destroyed when the castle was burned down in 1701. 15 was noted as stored, with the four other existing tapestries mentioned above, in the Brühl Palace, Dresden, in 1790 and again in the 1840s.<sup>9</sup> All the pieces were removed and hung in the new Dresden Picture Gallery in 1855, but were recorded as the property of the royal family.<sup>10</sup> The last king of Saxony, Frederick Augustus III, abdicated in 1918; 15 was consigned to the family in 1924 and brought to the United States by the son of Frederick Augustus, Prince Ernst Heinrich, a few years later. It was acquired by the New York firm of French & Co. before 1935 and purchased for the MMA in 1944 through the Fletcher Fund.

## EXHIBITIONS

- Brussels, Exposition Universelle et Internationale, 1935. *Cinq Siècles d'art*, cat. nos. 629, 630. Lent by French & Co. Dated 1525–50.
- Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1935. *De Van Eyck à Bruegel*, cat. nos. 130, 131. Lent by French & Co.
- Cleveland Museum of Art, June–October 1936. *The Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Official Art Exhibit of the Great Lakes Exposition*, cat. nos. 67, 68, illus. pl. VIII [15a]. Lent by French & Co. Described as from a set woven for Margaret of Austria or Mary of Hungary, completed in 1532, from designs by Bernaert van Orley. Eagles and lions on floor tiles of 15a called devices of Holy Roman Empire and Austria.
- Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, May 1937. *The Art of the Renaissance Craftsman*, cat. nos. 1, 2. Lent by French & Co., New York. Dated about 1532. Described as from the *Old Passion* mentioned in the 1565 Saxony inventory; owls and parrots of border of 15a said to be birds of wisdom and folly; eagles of Holy Roman Empire and Austrian lion on floor tiles. Angels' heads and skull in clouds of 15b said to suggest supernatural power and triumph over death; apostles in foreground called Paul, Peter, and John.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Hübner, Julius. *Verzeichniss der Königlichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Dresden*. Dresden, 1856, pp. 68, 70, 71, 72, 79, 80. Described as moved to new picture gallery, discoverer in 1790 quoted as ascribing all six Dresden *Passion* tapestries probably to designs by Cranach; Quentin Massys named as designer of the *Crucifixion* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*, but not others.
- Schäfer, Wilhelm. *Die Königliche Gemälde-Galerie zu Dresden*. Dresden, [1859], introduction pp. 25, 86; cat. pp. 6–8. Costumes of 15a said to date from 1510–20.
- Hübner, Julius. *Catalogue of the Royal Picture Gallery in Dresden*. 5th ed., trans. from 4th ed. by J. Pond. Dresden, 1884, pp. 79, 89, 90. The attribution by Alfred Michiels<sup>11</sup> to Herri met de Bles of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* tapestry is extended to 15a on the strength of the owls in the borders.
- Woermann, Karl. *Katalog der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*. Dresden, 1887, pp. 818, 820. Attribution to Herri met de Bles said to be without foundation.
- Bruck, Robert. *Friedrich der Weise als Förderer der Kunst*. Strasbourg, 1903, pp. 234, 235. Said to be from a set of fifteen, earlier than the other four pieces.
- Katalog der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*. 8th ed. Dresden, 1912, p. 306. Said to be from the *Old Passion* set.
- Kumsch, Emil. “Die Dresdner Passionsteppiche und ihre Beziehungen zu Dürer.” *Mitteilungen aus den Sächsischen Kunstsammlungen* 4 (1913) pp. 19, 25–29. All Dresden tapestries discussed and their history given. 15 (called Group III) attributed to Bernaert van Orley, about 1532. Influence of Dürer seen in 15a only.
- Göbel, Heinrich. “Heinrich von der Hohenmuel, Hugo von Thale and Seger Bombeck, Wirker im Dienste Johann Friedrichs des Grossmütigen.” *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1921, pp. 89, 92. Dresden inventory of 1589 transcribed, *Last Supper* and second *Ascension* tapestries in Dresden collection mentioned.
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 417, 599. 15a related to Dürer print; p. 8 of maker's marks, mark reproduced as Brussels, unknown, 1537.
- Fierens, Paul. “Cinq siècles d'art à l'Exposition de Bruxelles.” *L'Art et les Artistes*, n.s. 30 (1935) p. 312. 15a described as after van Orley, a “flamandisation” of Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Milan; p. 301, 15a illus. as from the collection of Ritchell [Mitchell] Samuels, New York (i.e., French & Co.).
- Milliken, William M. “The Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art.” *Art News* 34 (June 13, 1936) p. 14; p. 10 illus. [15a]. Said to have been designed by Bernaert van Orley.
- MMA *Annual Report* 1944, p. 24. Acquisition mentioned.
- Phillips, John Goldsmith. “Two Famous Tapestries from Sax-



ony." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 3 (1944-45) pp. 172-75, both illus. Said to be from the *New Passion* set, about 1550, made for the Elector Maurice (died 1553) or his successor Augustus. History related. Said to be later than van Orley (died 1541/42) and attributed to Michiel Coxcie on the grounds of the stylistic relationship to the Madrid *Abraham* set and *Last Supper*. Tiles said to have the lion of Brabant and the Hapsburg eagle. The weaver's mark may represent a member of the Geubels family.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947-48) p. 126, illus. p. 124 [15a].

Van Trump, James D. "The Church of the Ascension, Pittsburgh." *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 48 (1965) p. 15. 15b mentioned as almost identical with Pittsburgh tapestry.

## 15a *The Last Supper*

### DESCRIPTION

Christ, with pale brown hair and beard, sits in the center of the long side of an oblong table. He wears a pale gray-pink and gold robe, raises his right hand in blessing, and holds a piece of bread in his left. Light rays in gilt thread stream from his head. In front of him on the table are a pale blue plate and the red, gray, and gold chalice, which is decorated with cherubs' heads. Its cover leans against it. Saint John, with fair hair, in red, gold, and blue, sits on Christ's left and rests his head on Christ's shoulder. An apostle in blue and yellow stands behind him, placing his right hand on John's shoulder and extending his left arm. A seated apostle in brown and blue holds his hands together, and the head of another is visible next to the one with a red cap and blue and gold robe at the head of the table on the right. In the right foreground is Judas, half-turned and seen in profile. He raises his right hand and holds his blue money bag in his left. He wears a red and gold robe over blue-green and gold sleeves, a pale brown and gold cloak, and blue sandals, and places his foot on the wooden crossbar of the table. A pale gray dog with a red collar studded with gold bells gnaws a bone beside him.

An apostle, with pale brown hair and beard, sitting on an X-stool with a pink cushion, turns sharply to the left. He wears a red and gold robe and blue and gold cloak. The

pink, gray, and gold stool has a mask at the crossing; its legs end in dolphin heads. The apostle at the head of the table on the left is in blue, blue-green, and gold and places his left hand on his chest; another, in dull pink, standing behind him, makes a similar gesture. Another, seated, holds his hands in prayer, and a bald one leans forward, placing his left hand on the shoulder of the man next to him. This figure, on Christ's right, wears a blue-gold robe and a red cloak, and clasps his hands. The table is covered with a pale gray damask cloth; an elaborate fringe with red and gold tassels is visible in front. On the table are blue plates, a knife, and a yellow wineglass.

Behind Christ is stretched a cloth of state, dark blue at the top and pale green below with a dimly seen gold pattern including affronted birds. This hangs from an elaborate pale yellow canopy with gray and blue swags and red and gold tassels; in a wreath in the center is a bust of Moses holding the tables of the law. A millefleur tapestry with a dark blue ground is nailed to a low wall behind the group; the flowers and leaves are in shades of blue, pale yellow, and red. The wall supports six richly carved red and gray columns, decorated with cherubs' heads. Four round blue arches are visible with a landscape behind them. The sky is gray, the foliage blue-green, and the foreground yellow. Fields, trees, buildings, rocks, a gate, and a windmill on a hill are seen in the distance. Patterned tiles on the floor show two-headed eagles and heraldic lions in pale and dark blue on gold. On the left is a gray amphora with a measuring stick hanging from its handle, and in the center is a small low table in red and gray supported by adorsed griffins with a child's head between their wings. On the table are a tall thin red, blue, and gold covered ewer, two fluted blue cups standing one on the other, and a small blue covered jug.

The borders have a gray and pale brown owl and two small gray birds on each side, with a blue, red, and yellow parrot at the bottom. The flowers and fruit include a dull yellow gourd with a dark brown and orange-red butterfly on it in the center of the upper and lower borders; red roses and poppies; pale blue and gray convolvulus; blue grapes and red cherries.

### CONDITION

The dark area behind the tassels of the tablecloth is worn, exposing the warps.



## SUBJECT

The incident of the *Last Supper* depicted is that of the institution of the sacramental rite, not the accusation of Judas. Moses represents the Old Law, and the dog, who frequently accompanies Judas in this scene,<sup>12</sup> is a symbol of envy or avarice.<sup>13</sup> The double-headed eagle on the floor tiles stands for the Holy Roman Empire and the lion has been thought to represent Brabant. The birds in the borders are probably not symbolic.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Dürer's 1523 print of the *Last Supper* has three disciples on Christ's left very like the three on his right in the tapestry, one with clasped hands, one leaning forward, his hand on his neighbor's shoulder, and one turning his head away from Christ.<sup>14</sup> As in 6, the openings in the background derive from Leonardo, and the dog eating a bone is from the print of about 1500 attributed to Fra Antonio da Monza after Leonardo's *Last Supper*.<sup>15</sup> Another influential engraving is the *Last Supper* by Marcantonio Raimondi; it shows on the left the man with his hands in an attitude of prayer seen on the right in the tapestry; some other gestures are also similar.<sup>16</sup>

The paintings most closely related to the tapestry are by Pieter Coecke and Michiel Coxcie. Pieter Coecke's paintings of the subject, of which some forty variants are known, dating from 1527 to 1550, have several points of resemblance, especially the dog, but they represent Christ's denunciation of Judas and are full of movement.<sup>17</sup> A work by Coecke's pupil, Willem Key, of about 1555, in the Dordrecht Stadhuis,<sup>18</sup> shows the two foreground figures in very similar poses, the same amphora on the left and the disciple on the far left, with his right arm on the table and his left hand on his chest. An embroidered orphrey in the Brussels Cathedral of Saint Michael, known to have been made by the embroiderer Barthélemy van den Kerckhove and given to the church in 1562,<sup>19</sup> shows Judas, the blessing Christ, and the jug on the floor in the center much like their counterparts in 15a. But the works that seem most closely related are the paintings of the *Last Supper* by or attributed to Michiel Coxcie, especially those in the Institut Saint Nicolas, Anderlecht,<sup>20</sup> and in the Cathedral<sup>21</sup> and the Musée de l'Art Ancien, Brussels; the last is signed and dated 1567.<sup>22</sup> Judas is here seen leaving the table, but the attributes and gestures of some of the

other figures, the chalice, with its cover lying beside it, and the ewer on the floor are very like those of the tapestry. Tapestry and paintings all present large, calm, and dignified figures in simple draperies; the maker of the cartoon has added a wealth of detail to the surroundings, but Coxcie's basic characteristics are still apparent. The tapestry is probably at least a decade earlier than the paintings; if Coxcie made the full-scale cartoons himself, the richness of detail may have been his own invention.<sup>23</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

An almost exact duplicate, except for the border, is in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich. It has no marks and is slightly narrower than 15a. The border has a somewhat similar design, but with pairs of very small birds only.

## 15b *The Ascension*

### DESCRIPTION

The dark-haired Christ, wearing a red and gold robe that leaves his arms and torso bare, stands on a hillock in the upper center; he holds the Vexillum of the Resurrection, a dull pink cross on a gray ground, in his left hand and raises his right in blessing. He is encircled by pale gray clouds, which cover his legs except for his left foot; four angel heads are visible in the clouds. Three apostles kneel in the foreground. The one on the left, in a yellow and gold robe, a blue and gold cloak, and brown sandals with red ties, places his left hand on a rock. The one in the center, with upraised arms, is probably Saint Peter; he has pale brown hair and beard, and wears a green and gold robe and a red and gold cloak. His feet are bare. The one on the right, probably Saint John, has yellow hair and bare feet, and is dressed in a red and gold robe and a blue and gold cloak. To the left of the central figure, closer to Christ, the kneeling Virgin is visible; she is in blue and gold and raises her hands in prayer. To the left and right of the main figures are crowds standing or kneeling, many raising their arms. They are dressed in shades of red, blue, green, and gold. Between Saint Peter's head and the cloud is a large red and pale yellow leafy bramble branch. Jerusalem is

seen in the landscape background on the right, with houses, walls, and towers in shades of gray and blue. Beyond it are fields, trees, and distant pale blue mountains. The landscape on the left has a large green, yellow, and gold tree behind the crowd of spectators, with trees and buildings in the distance. The sky is pale blue and gray. The foreground is brown and tan with a number of pebbles and plants. Under Saint John's left hand is a blackberry plant with blue and red fruit and pale blue flowers and dull red, pale yellow, and blue-green leaves.

The lower border has two pale blue and brown birds, one above the other, over some green and yellow pea pods. The side borders have each a pale gray and brown bird above the iris plant. The fruit and flowers are the same as those of 15a with variations in detail and no ribbons.

#### CONDITION

Spots of bare warps are visible on the sole of the apostle on the right and in small areas elsewhere.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designer must have known the *Ascension* tapestry of the Vatican *Scuola nuova* set, which shows the complete figure of Christ rising into heaven and the eleven apostles, large in scale and clothed in plain, flowing draperies, kneeling below.<sup>24</sup> The composition and gestures are not the same, but some of the facial types, especially the young Saint John and the disciple on the left, are very similar. Another source was probably the Dürer woodcut from the *Small Passion*, with three large figures below, a hillock in the center, and background crowds on either side.<sup>25</sup> But neither of these works of art was the actual model and no contemporary Flemish rendering of the subject that could have served as such has been identified.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

An almost exact duplicate, in the Residenz Museum, Munich, also with gold and silver thread, but without borders, is slightly larger at the top, so that the entire crosspiece of Christ's banner is visible, and slightly cut down on the other three sides. Another, containing gold thread and with borders very close to those of 15b, is in the

Church of the Ascension, Pittsburgh. This is also higher at the top, so that sky is seen above the banner.<sup>26</sup>

The *Ascension* of about 1530 that also belonged to the ruling house of Saxony and that is still in Dresden shows a full-length Christ rising above a hillock. Three large-scale apostles and the Virgin are in the foreground; one apostle is very close to Saint Peter in 15b.

A *Transfiguration*, dated 1537/38, in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, has three similar figures in the foreground; an apostle on the left is almost a mirror image of the central apostle. The weaver's mark is the same as that on 15a and b.

#### NOTES

1. Phillips, "Two Famous Tapestries," p. 173.
2. Jerzy Szablowski, ed., *Les Tapisseries flamandes au Château du Wawel à Cracovie* (Antwerp, 1972) pp. 75–187. The head of Judas in 15a is close to that of Cain in *Cain and Abel before the Murder* (Szablowski, illus. p. 97), and the attitudes of the three apostles in the foreground of 15b resemble those of Noah and his family in *God Blessing Noah* (Szablowski, illus. pp. 152, 153). The head of the young disciple in 15b can be compared to that of a man in the background of the *Dispersion of the Peoples* (George Wingfield Digby, "Tapestries from the Polish State Collections," *Connoisseur* 138 [1956–57] p. 3, fig. 8).
3. Christian Emmrich, "Die niederländischen Bildteppiche in der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie," *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 7 (1963) pp. 18–23.
4. Schäfer, *Königliche Gemälde-Galerie*, cat. p. 7.
5. The account reads: "Die Kirche zu Hof ist mit köstlichen seidenen und mit Gold gehöhten Tapezerein, darinnen die Historie des Leidens Christi oder Passion gewirkt und sonderlich in der Kirche verordnet sein, bekleidet und verziert gewesen" (Kumsch, "Dresdner Passionsteppiche," p. 28).
6. The entry reads: "Zehn stücke die passio von Gold, Silber vnd seyde . . . Zehen stuck von einer Alten passion Inn gold, Silber und seyde." The named pieces are the *Last Supper*, the *Ascension*, *Ecce Homo*, *Christ before Pilate*, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the *Descent from the Cross*, the *Resurrection*, the *Nativity*, and the *Adoration of the Kings* (Kumsch, "Dresdner Passionsteppiche," p. 27).
7. Göbel, "Heinrich von der Hohenmuel," p. 89.
8. Kumsch, "Dresdner Passionsteppiche," p. 28. If the words "old" and "new" referred to the age of the tapestries, then 15 must be from the *New Passion*, as the other remaining *Passion* tapestries from this collection are certainly earlier. Even if the adjectives refer to the dates when the tapestries were acquired by the Electors, the "old" *Passion* was presumably the set bought in 1515.
9. Schäfer, *Königliche Gemälde-Galerie*, cat. pp. 7, 8.
10. Hübner, *Verzeichniss der Königlichen Gemälde-Galerie*, pp. 68, 79.
11. Alfred Michiels, *Histoire de la peinture flamande*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1867) pp. 347, 393, 394.





12. John Baptist Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth* (Nieuwkoop, 1974) vol. 1, pp. 192, 193.
13. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958–59) vol. 1, s.v. “Chien,” a symbol of envy, of medieval origin; X. Barbier de Montault, *Traité d'iconographie chrétienne* (Paris, 1900) vol. 1, s.v. “Chien,” a symbol of laziness, envy, avarice, the Jews, apostates, and heretics.
14. Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, trans. Silvia M. Welsh (New York, 1946) pls. 230, 328.
15. Wolfgang Krönig, “Das Abendmahlsbild des Pieter Coecke,” *Miscellanea, Prof. Dr. D. Roggen* (Antwerp, 1957) fig. 3.
16. Krönig, “Abendmahlsbild,” fig. 2.
17. Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande: Pierre Coeck d'Alost* (Brussels, 1966) pp. 94, 99, 101, 104.
18. G. J. Hoogewerff, “Werken van Willem Key,” *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 17 (1947–48) pp. 48, 49, fig. 8.
19. Henri Velge, *La Collégiale de Saints Michel et Gudule à Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1925) pp. 354, 355, pl. 87.
20. Frans van Molle, “Un Dernière Cène inconnue de Michel Coxcie,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal de Patrimoine Artistique* 2 (1959) pp. 59–66, pl. 1.
21. Velge, *Collégiale*, pl. 61.
22. *Catalogue de la peinture ancienne*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Brussels, 1953) p. 40, no. 118.
23. Eight full-scale cartoons in oil (now destroyed), with over-life-size figures, for or after Coxcie's *Genesis* tapestry series, were in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart. They showed the wealth of flowering plants and other details that would be expected from an experienced designer (Ludwig Baldass, “Tapisserieentwürfe des niederländischen Romanismus,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 2 [1928] p. 264, pl. XVIII, figs. 314, 315).
24. Eugène Müntz, *Les Tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican et dans les principaux musées et collections de l'Europe* (Paris, 1897) p. 43, illus.
25. Kurth, *Complete Woodcuts*, pl. 256.
26. Van Trump, “Church of the Ascension,” pp. 14, 15, illus. pl. facing p. 9.

## 16 Story of the Romans and the Sabines

From a set of four

a *The Romans with Their Sabine Wives*

b *The Sabine Women Stopping the Battle between the Romans and the Sabines*

Flemish (Brussels or Antwerp); designed by Nicolas van Orley (fl. 1550–1586/91) about 1560, and probably woven by Joost van Herzele (fl. 1570–1585) for a member of the Peretti family of Montalto, Italy, 1570–85.

Weaver's mark on 16a; designer's monogram on 16b.

Wool and silk.

16a 6 ft. 9 in. x 20 ft. 2 in. (2.06 m x 6.15 m);

16b 6 ft. 11 in. x 19 ft. 6 in. (2.11 m x 5.94 m).

19–21 warps per inch, 7–9 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1942 (42.56.1, 2).

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The monogram on the shield in 16b can be read as N.v.O., indicating Nicolas van Orley as the designer. He was the son of Gomar van Orley, who is known to have

### DESCRIPTION

The coats of arms in the upper corners of the tapestries and the one in the center of the upper border of 16a are the same, showing a gray lion with red tongue and claws holding a white branch with three fruits. The narrow bands framing the borders have blue panels, decorated in white or cream, separated by masks of men, women, or lions. The colors of both pieces are similar and all the borders have white grounds. A modern twill fabric has replaced a dark blue guard, except for the weaver's mark on 16a (see detail).

### CONDITION

See under individual entries.

### SUBJECT

The two pieces of 16 and one in the Cleveland Museum of Art probably show the Romans admiring the Sabine women at a distance, the Romans with their Sabine wives, and the Sabine women stopping the battle between their fathers and their husbands. A tapestry showing the *Rape of the Sabine Women* was once associated with these three pieces; it was lent by Marcel Chavannes to the *Exposition Rétrospective* of the Exposition Universelle, Paris, in 1900 (cat. no. 3208).



Detail of 16a

designed tapestries, and the nephew of Bernaert van Orley. He worked in Brussels until he left Flanders for religious reasons in 1566 and went to Stuttgart, where he designed tapestries for the weaver Jacob de Carmes.<sup>1</sup> A *Death of Saul* with the Württemberg arms is in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart; it is one of 139 scenes from the Old Testament designed by Nicolas and woven by de Carmes.<sup>2</sup> A near replica of the design, representing the battle of the Israelites and the Amalekites, is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>3</sup> Other tapestries related to these and so probably after Nicolas van Orley include a *Death of Goliath* in Vienna, *Scipio Rescuing His Father* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, a *Battle of Philippi* in the Almudaina Palace, Palma de Majorca, a *Trojan Horse* in the Abegg-Stiftung Bern, and a *Battle of Alexander and Porus* in Vienna.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The mark on 16a is presumably IVH, upside down. It is probably that of Joost van Herzelee, who worked both in Brussels and in Antwerp. Tapestries with similar or closely related marks include five landscapes in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with the Brussels mark, the arms of the Contarini family of Venice, and borders much like those of 16,<sup>5</sup> two grotesques in the Château of Azay-le-Rideau and one in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, with the Antwerp mark,<sup>6</sup> and a *Moses and the Burning Bush* in the Polish State Collection.<sup>7</sup> The mark is also found on a *Garden Scene* in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; though modern, it was presumably copied from the original mark.<sup>8</sup> Other tapestries with VH can be attributed to Leo van den Hecke (fl. c. 1576) and later pieces with IVH to Jan van den Hecke (died 1633/34).<sup>9</sup>

The set to which 16 belongs might have been woven in Brussels or Antwerp. The date of the design must be before 1566, when Nicolas van Orley left Flanders. The date of weaving must be before 1586/87, when Joost van Herzelee seems to have gone to Hamburg,<sup>10</sup> and it can be supposed to be after 1570, as the arms are clearly related to those adopted by Sixtus V (1521–1590) in that year, when he became a cardinal. His family was originally called Ricci and came from Montalto; their arms were a gold lion on a blue ground with a red band across the lion. Sixtus, when cardinal of Montalto, added a star and three mountains to the band, taken from the arms of his city,

and three pears on a branch held by the lion in honor of the name Peretti adopted by his father.<sup>11</sup> The arms on 16, though very inaccurate, are probably a simplified version of those used by the Pope. The scarcely legible coat in the center of the upper border of 16b may be intended to represent the star and mountains that should appear on the band across the lion. As there are no ecclesiastical symbols, such as a cardinal's hat or the papal tiara, it seems impossible that they were made for Sixtus himself.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The other two pieces of the set are the *Romans Admiring the Sabine Women* in the Cleveland Museum of Art,<sup>12</sup> and the *Rape of the Sabine Women*, formerly in the Chavannes collection. The dimensions and coats of arms of the former are the same as those of 16 and the borders are very similar; there are no marks. The *Rape* has the IVH mark.<sup>13</sup>

Very similar borders appear on a *Rape of the Sabine Women* formerly in the Rudolph von Fluegge collection, New York.<sup>14</sup> The same central scene with different borders was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, January 4, 1951 (no. 187, illus., called *The Capture of the Virgins who Danced at Shiloh*). Three hunting scenes with very similar borders were in the Mrs. Benjamin Stern sale, American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, April 4–7, 1934 (nos. 945–47, illus.), one of which was sold again at Parke-Bernet, January 13, 14, 1950 (no. 406, illus.), and one in the John Ramsden sale, Christie's, London, May 23, 1932 (no. 116, illus.). The borders are also found on two scenes from the story of Moses in the Prince Centurione sale, Rome, April 27–29, 1903 (nos. 122, 123, illus.); these have the Brussels mark and weavers' marks that were read as MT and MV. Another piece of the same set, showing Moses at the battle with Amelek, was owned by the Paris dealer Vidal in 1967. The distinctive pattern of the narrow inner and outer bands of 16 is found on a hunting tapestry in Kronborg Castle, Denmark.<sup>15</sup>

#### HISTORY

Chavannes collection, France, from before 1874. Owned by Pierre Chavannes, 1900.  
William C. Whitney collection, New York.  
James Henry Smith sale, American Art Association, January 18–22, 1910, nos. 390, 391 illus.



Harry Payne Whitney sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 29, 1942, nos. 151, 152, illus. 16a called *The Wealth of Rome: An Allegory*; coats of arms said to be those of the Barbo family of Venice.<sup>16</sup>

Bought at this sale for the MMA by means of the Rogers Fund.

#### EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Union Central des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie, 1874. *Exposition Rétrospective: Histoire du Costume*, cat. p. 74 [16a]. Called *Ulysses and Circe*. Lent by M. Chavannes.

Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1900. *L'Exposition rétrospective de l'Art français*, cat. p. 304, no. 3207 [16a], called *Circé*, lent by Pierre Chavannes.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Jacquemart, Albert. *Histoire du mobilier*. Paris, 1876, p. 179. Artist's monogram on 16b and weaver's mark on 16a reproduced. *Rape of the Sabine Women* mentioned as having the weaver's mark and being in the same collection.

Wauters, Alphonse. *Les Tapisseries bruxelloises*. Brussels, 1878, pp. 306, 307. Three pieces in Chavannes collection mentioned. Weaver's mark said to be that of Jan van den Hecke.

MMA Annual Report 1942, p. 28. Acquisition mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. "Romans and Sabines: A Sixteenth-Century Set of Flemish Tapestries." *MMA Journal* 9 (1974) pp. 211–28. Set identified, history established, related tapestries listed, weaver said to be probably Joost van Herzelee, designer called Nicolas van Orley, other tapestries probably after him listed, relationship to Gerard de Jode and Vredeman de Vries prints indicated.

Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 58. Mentioned, as having the same border as the Contarini set, suggesting a common workshop.

## 16a *The Romans with Their Sabine Wives*

#### DESCRIPTION

Four figures in the center are gathered around an open chest. In the foreground on the left is a seated woman with a light blue dress and red drapery over her knees. She has a gold bracelet and pale blue sandals and lifts a decorated belt out of the chest. Behind her stands a bearded man in a

plumed, light blue helmet and classical armor, with a yellow sleeve and red cloak; he holds a pale blue shield. Turning her head toward him is a standing woman with a pink headcloth, white skirt, red overgarment, long open blue sleeves, and bright red sandals. She has a gold bracelet and holds up a mirror in her left hand. On the right is a standing bearded man in a red cap, short blue robe, red cloak, calf-length yellow trousers, and elaborate blue and yellow boots. He holds an ornamented belt. The blue, cream, and pale brown chest contains metal cups and ewers; on its thrown-back lid are a yellow jug and a striped red and white band. A sword and a dagger lean against the end of the chest, which is ornamented with a lion-mask; a rich yellow urn and a silver cup stand on the ground in front of it. On the far left of the tapestry, a girl approaches. She wears a yellow headdress, a red scarf, a blue upper garment, a red-and-white striped skirt, and yellow sandals. To the right are a young couple. The woman wears a long blue and yellow kerchief over her yellow elaborately dressed hair. She has blue sleeves, a pink upper garment with a yellow shawl over it, a blue skirt decorated in yellow, and yellow sandals. She places her left hand on the arm of a young man, who wears a short blue robe over a yellow undergarment, and a red cloak. He has blue and red yellow-topped boots that leave his toes bare. In the foreground, between the couple and the central group, are two dogs, one pale and one dark gray. To the right of the central group stands a woman wearing a red cap, blue underskirt with yellow-ornamented border, red and yellow sleeves, a white tunic, and red sandals; she holds with both hands a long chain of yellow beads with red tassels at each end. Beside her sits a woman in a red and yellow headdress, a pale blue dress trimmed with red, a pale yellow and lavender wrap over her knees, a gold bracelet, and red and blue leg coverings and sandals. A nude child leans against her and another, in a red and yellow dress, approaches from the right, holding an apple. All the figures have fair hair.

The background shows large trees and an extensive landscape in blue, green, yellow, brown, gray, and white, with many distant trees and buildings. The sky is gray. In the distance on the far left is a man driving a loaded donkey; behind him is a watermill with a bridge over a stream. Above the two dogs in the foreground is a large building with a formal garden in front of it and an arched gate and long wall with a guardhouse on the right; a man descends

the steps leading from the garden down to a lake. In the lake is a circular structure with arches below and trimmed foliage above, its roof supported by herms. Three women in red and yellow are sitting on the near bank of the lake with a dulcimer and a small harp; a man standing beside them holds a bow in one hand and a musical instrument in the other. Another large building is seen behind the woman with the children, and there are three cows in the nearby fields. A village appears in the distance and, on the far right, a castle on a steep cliff. Two gray monkeys are climbing in the large tree on the right side of the tapestry. The green foreground is covered with a variety of plants in pale greens and yellows.

The wide border is divided into unequal sections by uprights with masks of men and lions at top and bottom. The sections of the horizontal borders are filled with seated women in red, green, blue, and yellow, or vases, or bunches of foliage, flowers, and fruit in the same colors. The upper border has coats of arms in the center and at

each corner; a blue drapery behind the central shield is held by two winged children. The gray lion on the central shield holds three white objects, probably intended to represent fruits; the field of the shield is red, orange-yellow, and pale blue. The shield on the left is the same, but that on the right has a ground of two shades of yellow and pale blue. There is only one woman on the left side of the upper border; she holds a looking glass in her right hand and what is probably a snake over her left shoulder. The two women on the right, who are identical, except in color, each have an armillary sphere.

In the center of the lower border are two birds, one mostly blue, the other red, at a round water basin in which is a large fish; on the edge of a lower rectangular part of the fountain is a snail. The first woman on the left side of the border holds a mirror; a stag lies beside her. The second is identical, except that the stag is missing. The next on the right has a mirror and an eagle, and the last, a lamb and a dove. The upright borders have each two figures. On

16a



the left, above, is a woman in blue and yellow between two herms; she holds a basket of fruit and lifts a piece to her mouth. At her feet, a monkey does the same thing. At the lower corner, under a blue canopy, is a seated woman in yellow with a red cloak; she holds a bunch of flowers and has a dog beside her. The spaces between the figures are filled with flowers and fruit and vestiges of strapwork ornament. In the right border, the upper figure stands under an arbor, holding a cornucopia. The one below is seated and wears a large red hat and red skirt; she holds a spray of leaves and has a blue vase beside her. In the lower right of the modern guard is an inserted weaver's mark, IVH (see detail).

#### CONDITION

The tapestry was woven in two pieces, the dividing line running immediately to the left of the large building in the

background and between the dogs in the foreground. There are a number of rewoven areas: under the dogs, including their feet, extending from below the man on the left to the right side of the chest; on the child at the far right, including the back of his head and his left arm; in the sky above him, cutting off the top of the castle and extending to the border on the right, including the head of the climbing monkey; and several narrow horizontal ornamental sections of the lower border. Small areas of silk have perished, especially in the costumes, and there are many instances of repair throughout.

#### SUBJECT

The men and women are apparently the same people shown in the first tapestry of the series in Cleveland, but they are now clearly on friendly terms. This tapestry may



be the happy ending of the whole subject, but it could as well represent the state of affairs between the abduction of the Sabine women and the attempt of their fathers and brothers to rescue them.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The palace and garden are derived from a print by Vredeman de Vries, first used in a work published in 1560 and again in his *Variae Architecturae Formae*, published by T. Galle, Antwerp, 1601 (fig. 13).<sup>17</sup>



FIG. 13. *Palace*, by Jan Vredeman de Vries. Engraving, included as plate 47 of his *Variae Architecturae Formae*, Antwerp, 1601. MMA, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.2631[28]).

## 16b *The Sabine Women Stopping the Battle between the Romans and the Sabines*

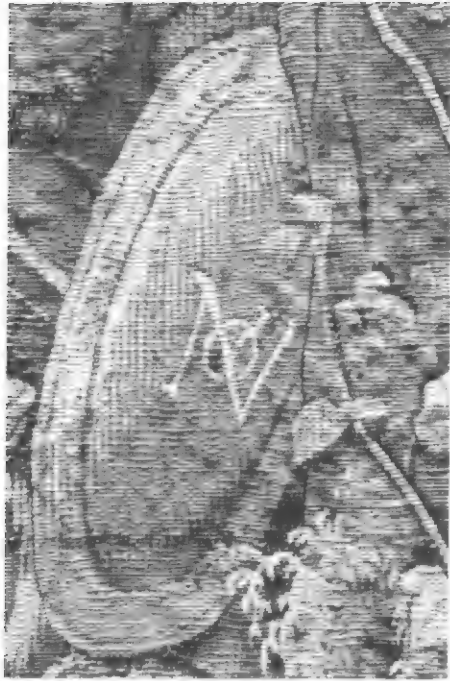
#### DESCRIPTION

On the far left, a man holds a shield with a two-headed eagle (showing he is a Roman) on his right arm. He holds a short sword in his left hand and wears a red hat with a blue

feather, yellow armor, a red and yellow skirt with blue stripes, red leggings, and yellow boots. He strides across a fallen man in blue armor, lying on his shield and sword; his blue and yellow helmet, with a white plume, is beside him. Other warriors are visible behind these two, with an array of spears and a pale yellow banner above them. The blue sword of a man in an elaborate blue and yellow helmet is seen against the banner. Its wielder has blue armor and a yellow cloak, blue leg coverings with yellow lion heads below the knee, and red sandals. He holds his blue and yellow shield on his left arm, as his Sabine wife clasps him round the neck. She wears a red headdress, pale yellow upper garment, blue and yellow skirt, and red sandals. The red legs of a fallen man are seen behind her.

In the foreground of the open space between the contending armies are two fallen men on top of each other. The uppermost is in yellow, with a blue shield over his right shoulder, and half of a sword beside him; the one underneath is in dark blue with a yellow helmet. His red shield, decorated with a yellow star and crescents, partly covers him, and there is a blue battle-ax on the ground. To the right, a prone man in blue armor has his right hand on the hilt of his blue sword, as he tries to rise. On him kneels a woman in a pale yellow-pink upper garment, pink skirt, and blue sandals; her cloak is lined in red with blue stripes. Another woman in a pale blue and pink upper garment, red sleeves, and dark blue skirt is seen gesticulating behind her. To the right, a falling warrior holds his short, bent, dark blue sword in his right hand. He wears a yellow helmet, red and yellow armor, red breeches and boots, and blue sleeves and skirt. He is attacked by two men with spears. The one on the left has a blue helmet and blue sleeves, yellow jacket, red skirt, yellow leggings, and sandals. His left leg is grasped by a supine man in blue with a blue and yellow helmet, surmounted by three red plumes. A woman approaching from the left seizes the spearman's arm. She has a red headdress and wears a pale pink and blue costume. The second spearman is bareheaded and has blue-green armor, pink skirt, red shorts, and red leggings with blue bands. Behind him, a warrior in a red cap and yellow leggings, carrying a yellow shield, raises a short sword, but his hand and arm are clasped by a woman in pale yellow and blue-green. Between his legs, a supine man in red is visible. Behind the foreground figures are other warriors and women with spears and pink and yellow banners, and, on the right, dense green, yellow, and



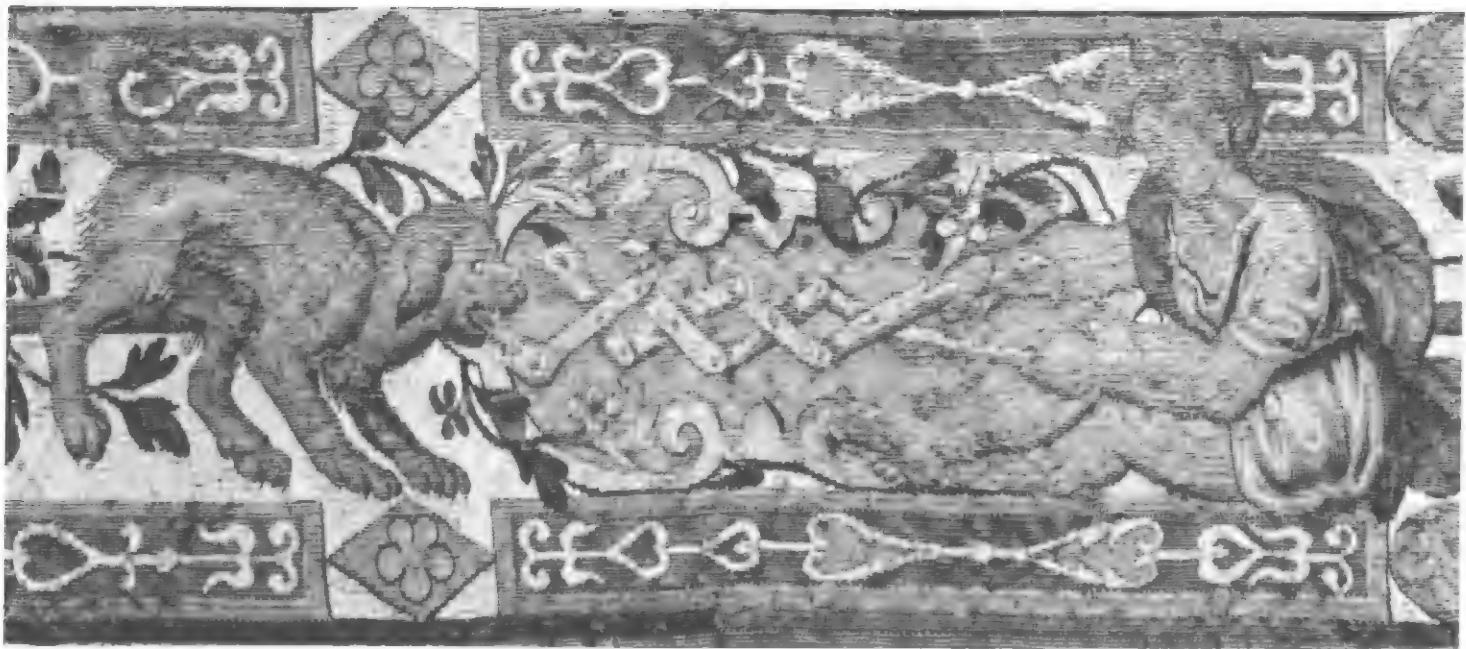


blue foliage. The trunks of the trees appear between the bodies of the contestants and a large oak frames the scene on the right. One man attacking a fallen enemy has a shield with a monogram, probably N.v.O. (see detail). To the left of the oak, the background is filled with spears and

a dull gray-pink banner inscribed in gray: SABINEN.

The background, where not covered with spears, banners, or leaves, shows a gray sky and a landscape, with distant hills and buildings. The two opposing armies are visible in the open space to the left, with two women, one kneeling, one standing, addressing the men on the right. The foreground is dark green, with many green and yellow plants, as well as broken weapons.

The shields in the corners of the upper border have gray lions on pale yellow, pink, and blue grounds; that in the center is in barely distinguishable tones of pale pink, yellow, and green, with one black and one dark red spot. The wide borders have white grounds with blue strapwork and a profusion of blue, green, red, and yellow leaves, flowers, and fruit, among which gourds, cherries, apples, pomegranates, pears, plums, pea pods, and grapes can be distinguished. The coat of arms in the upper center is flanked by two seated boys in pale blue and blue-green holding strings with large tassels. On the left is a seated boy in blue with a red cloak, about to seize the head of a gray dog with a yellow lazy tongs (see detail).<sup>18</sup> A boy seated farther left is a repetition of the boy to the left of the central shield; a blue and pink owl is perched on the strapwork at his feet. To the right of the central shield, a crouching boy in yellow has caught a gray cat by the tail. In the center of the lower border, a reclining woman in red



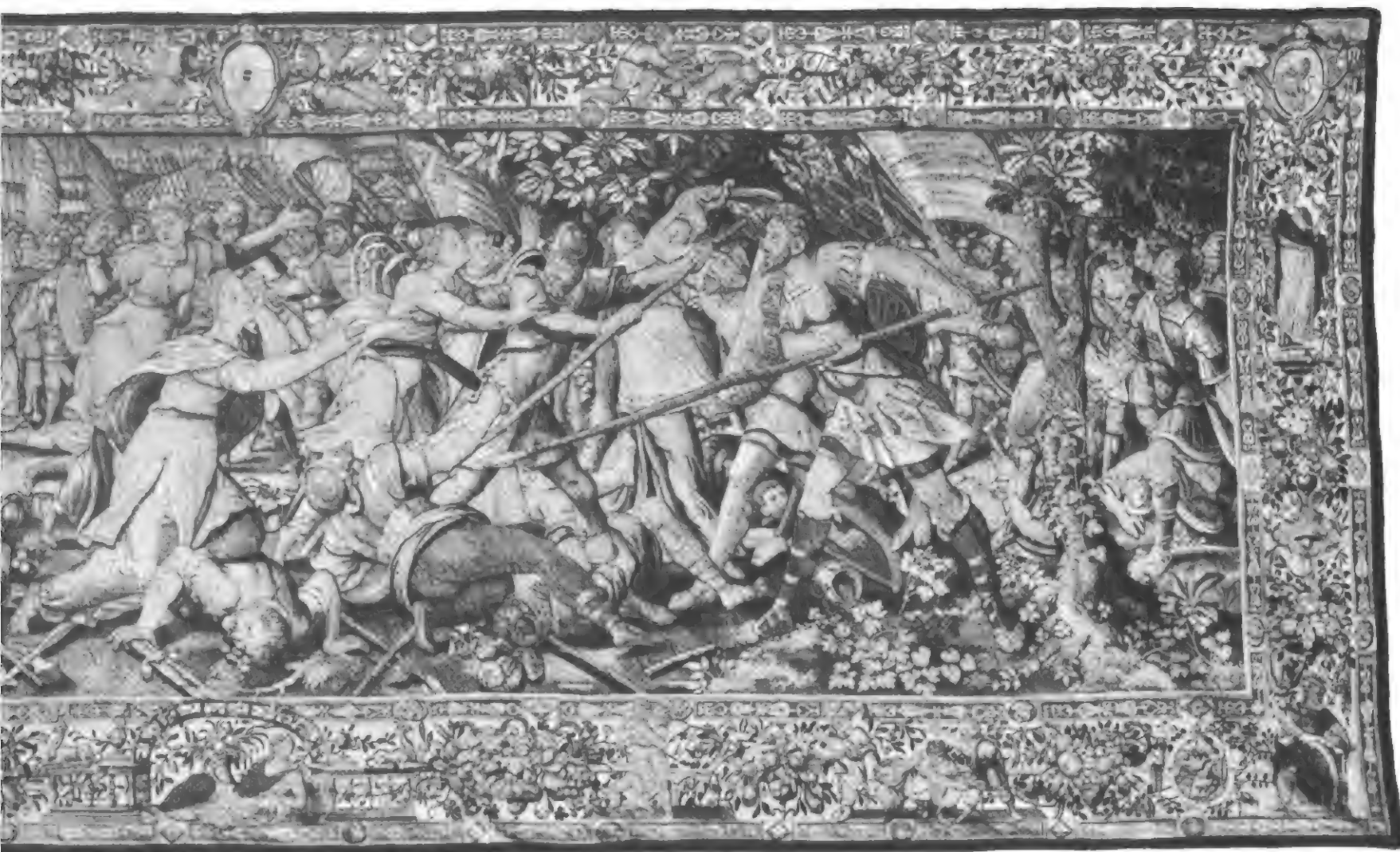
Details of 16b



16b

Detail of 16b





and yellow holds a blue cornucopia. She is in a red arbor with a balustrade on either side, flanked by smoking blue urns; at each end is a fantastic, couched green animal. To the left is a pair of nude, seated children wrestling and a group of four in red, blue, and yellow, riding piggyback and trying to pull each other off. On the right are a standing nude pair wrestling and four children in red, blue, and yellow playing hot cockles (see detail); the blindfolded one, who is being struck by the others, holds a stick with a weight at the end of a string. At each end of the border is an oval medallion with a bird. The vertical borders have each at the top a woman standing in an arbor holding a cornucopia at her right side and a blue pruning knife in her left hand. They have green wreaths, pale blue dresses, and

red cloaks. In the lower corners are women seated on blue chairs. The one on the left wears a red upper garment and a gray skirt with an orange drapery over it. She places each hand on a large vase, with plants in them. The woman on the right is in red, with a pale blue undergarment. She holds a long yellow cornucopia with both hands.

#### CONDITION

The entire narrow section immediately above the guard at the bottom of the tapestry is a replacement. Silk areas in many places have perished. There are small areas of repair, but no extensive reweaving.



FIG. 14. *Strenuitas*, by Gerard de Jode. Engraving. Biblioteca del Escorial.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The man in a helmet in the center right and the man lying on the ground at whom he directs his spear, as well as some more distant figures, are related to a print by Gerard de Jode (1509–1591), which shows one of the qualities of Scipio Africanus, *Strenuitas* (fig. 14).<sup>19</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A very similar tapestry was formerly owned by the New York dealers, French & Co. It has a different border with no coats of arms and no figures. Though the main figures are the same, it is less tall, with no armies in the background, and less wide, ending at the tree on the far right. Some figures are missing, such as the supine man in the

lower left corner and the prone man with his head on his arms in the center.

A battle scene from the same set as the *Rape of the Sabines* formerly in the von Fluegge collection was also formerly owned by French & Co.; it shows several of the same figures as 16b and represents an earlier stage of the combat, before the intervention of the Sabine women.

#### NOTES

1. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 405, 406, 418; vol. 2, pls. 380, 381; *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 1, pp. 227, 230.
2. Previously in a private Swedish collection. Sold at Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1975, no. 15, illus.
3. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," p. 219, fig. 14.
4. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," pp. 220–24. The design of *Scipio Rescuing his Father* was used for a *Death of Remus* in Cotehele House, Cornwall, signed Jan van Rottom (Geoffrey Wills, "Cotehele House," *The Antique Collector* 45 [May 1974] pp. 40, 41, illus.).
5. Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, nos. 52–56. Called Brussels late sixteenth–early seventeenth century; mark (read as J.V.H.) identified as that of Joost van Herzele or Jan van den Hecke.
6. *Antwerpse Wandtapijten*, exh. cat., Het Sterckshof (Deurne, 1973) nos. 20–22, p. 24, no. 10 (reproduction of mark), p. 27 (identification of weaver as probably Joost van Herzele).
7. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," p. 218, n. 20. Joost van Herzele delivered Brussels tapestries of the *History of Moses* to the city of Antwerp in 1582 (J. Duverger, "Notes concernant les tapisseries du seizième siècle au Château de Wawel," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 [1973] p. 71).
8. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) no. 35.
9. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," p. 218.
10. Erik Duverger, "Antwerp Tapestries of the Seventeenth Century," *Connoisseur* 194 (1977) p. 275.
11. F. de Broilo, "La patria e la famiglia di Sisto V," *Rivista Araldica* 3 (1905) pp. 390–93.
12. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," pp. 214, 215, fig. 7.
13. Jacquemart, *Histoire du mobilier*, p. 179.
14. Sold, William Doyle Galleries, New York, January 25, 1984, no. 577, illus.
15. *Kronborg* (n.p., 1972) no. 40, illus.
16. The Barbo arms are a silver lion on blue, crossed by a gold horizontal band; the lion has a red tongue, but does not carry anything (G. B. di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane* [Pisa, 1886–90] vol. 1, p. 93).
17. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," p. 227, figs. 22, 23.
18. Dog tongs of this type have been recorded as kept in churches for stopping dogfights ("For Stopping Dog Fights," *Country Life* 112 [July 4, 1952] p. 50).
19. Standen, "Romans and Sabines," pp. 224, 225, fig. 20.



## 17 The Story of Jacob

Six pieces from a set

a *Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob*

b *Rachel Giving Bilhah to Jacob*

c *Rachel and Bilhah with Dan*

d *Laban Looking for the Images and Making a Covenant with Jacob*

e *Jacob Sacrificing after Making a Covenant with Laban*

f *Jacob Burying Idols Under an Oak Tree*

Flemish (Brussels), 1550–75.

City and unidentified weaver's marks.

Wool and silk.

17a 12 ft. 8½ in. x 8 ft. 7¼ in. (3.87 m x 2.62 m);

17b 12 ft. 8 in. x 8 ft. 7½ in. (3.86 m x 2.63 m);

17c 12 ft. 6 in. x 8 ft. 7 in. (3.81 m x 2.62 m);

17d 12 ft. 7 in. x 10 ft. 7 in. (3.84 m x 3.23 m);

17e 12 ft. 6 in. x 6 ft. 7 in. (3.81 m x 2.01 m);

17f 12 ft. 3½ in. x 10 ft. 10 in. (3.78 m x 3.30 m).

18 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Gift of Estate of Amy Warren Paterson, 1983

(1983.73.1–6).

### DESCRIPTION

The outlines are mostly dark brown. Lips are usually shown as very red.

The basic design of all the borders is the same, though the vertical borders of 17e consist of narrow bands only. A very thin pale yellow or white line surrounds the central scene. Outside it is a narrow band with twisting blue and green leaves and pale gray flowers on a dark yellow ground. A similar band frames the outside of the main borders, which have a very pale yellow or white silk ground. The main vertical borders have blue, pink, red, and yellow architectural elements, acting as supports or frames for birds and animals: two birds, one above the other, and an animal on either side at the bottom. The upper horizontal border has one or two pairs of birds, the lower, one or two pairs of animals.

At the top on each side border is a blue gadrooned vase holding green, blue, and yellow fruits and leaves; below is a yellow draped canopy. The support for the topmost bird has a yellow or red head in the center and is held up by two yellow snakes. Below it is a blue gadrooned vase with blue or yellow grapes and other fruit and leaves in red, green,

and yellow. The yellow openwork arch on which the second bird stands has a blue lamp hanging from it on yellow strings; red flames and gray smoke rise above it. The animal at the base stands on green grassy turf, which rests on a pink and red slab; underneath is a yellow scrolling ornament on dark blue. Two very thin blue columns rise on both sides above the animal, flanking a hanging red or yellow vase filled with red, blue, yellow, and green fruit, flowers, and leaves, with dangling tassels and fringed pink ribbons.

The central pairs of birds or animals of the horizontal borders of 17a, b, c, and e are placed within a curved blue and red architectural element with yellow lion-masks on red at the ends. Above these stand blue lamps with tall handles, emitting red flames and gray coils of smoke. Pale blue draperies with a draped female mask in the center are looped above the animals. On either side, red strapwork supports blue vases with usually a head of a man or animal in the center and masses of blue, green, red, and yellow leaves, flowers, and fruit. When there are two pairs of birds and animals (17d, f), a vase filled with fruit, leaves, and flowers stands in the center.

### CONDITION

All the pieces have silk areas that have been rewoven and many small repairs.

### SUBJECT

The story of Jacob, later called Israel, son of Isaac and Rebekah, is told in Genesis. The scenes depicted in 17 do not include some of the best-known events of Jacob's life, such as his vision of a ladder reaching to heaven and his wrestling with an angel, so it seems probable that the complete set contained more than these six pieces.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Another version of 17d and e, together with two pieces representing scenes not included in 17, has been attributed to Michiel Coxcie.<sup>1</sup>

## WEAVER AND DATE

All the tapestries except 17d carry the Brussels city mark, and 17b, e, and f have a weaver's mark, CT or TC, that was once tentatively assigned to Corneille Tseraerts.<sup>2</sup> But this weaver's mark is now known to have been a more complicated one.<sup>3</sup> Other tapestries with the same mark as 17 are five pieces from a *Scipio* set, two in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;<sup>4</sup> two in the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Charlottenburg;<sup>5</sup> and one in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne.<sup>6</sup> The borders of this set repeat those of 17, except that human figures replace the birds and animals and there are inscribed panels held by putti in the upper borders. One of the Boston tapestries includes the bowls with ears of maize seen on 17b and f.

The mark also appears on pieces of the *Jewish Wars* in the Chiesa Madre, Marsala, believed to have been woven about 1570,<sup>7</sup> which have bowls of fruit and flowers in the borders resembling those of 17. As another version of 17d and e (joined) is signed by Jan van Tieghem (active in Brussels between c. 1550 and 1568), it is possible that the mark should be read as GT and be considered an alternative to van Tieghem's usual marks, all of which include these letters.<sup>8</sup>

A date in the third quarter of the sixteenth century is suggested by the style of both central scenes and borders. If Jan van Tieghem was the weaver, the set must have been made before 1568, when he was banished. But among his confiscated property were tapestry cartoons,<sup>9</sup> which presumably were acquired by other weavers. The unknown CT who wove 17 and other tapestries may have been among them.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

Another set with some of the same central compositions, but different borders, is represented by a tapestry owned by the Galerie Ostler, Munich, in 1974;<sup>10</sup> it shows the compositions of 17d and e. This was clearly the original design, as is shown by the presence of the men carrying stones on the right of 17d and the same figures repeated on

the left of 17e. The other known pieces of the Munich set depict the events that immediately follow the scene of 17a: Esau at Isaac's bedside, with Jacob sent to find a wife (Genesis 27, 28), and Jacob at the well of Haran (Genesis 29).<sup>11</sup>

The finest *Jacob* set of the sixteenth century is one of ten pieces in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. It was designed by Bernaert van Orley and woven about 1535 by Willem de Kempeneer (see 14).<sup>12</sup> The designs are totally different from those of 17 and even the events depicted are not usually the same. The first tapestry of the set, in which the main subject is Isaac blessing Jacob, has in the background Esau selling his birthright and hunting in the fields, as in 17a, with Rebekah standing by her fire, handing the "savory meat" to Jacob. In the sixth tapestry, Jacob and Laban make their covenant, and in the background Laban takes leave of his daughters and departs, as in 17d. None of the other tapestries of the set shows the same scene as any of 17.

Another *Jacob* series is represented by a *Meeting of Jacob and Esau* in a German collection in 1923, when it was described as Brussels work from the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> It is not related to 17.

## HISTORY

Morton F. Plant collection, New London, Connecticut. Sold from his estate, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 27, 28, 1939, nos. 290–95, three illus. [17b, c, d]. Mark attributed to Corneille Tseraerts.

Owned by Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Paterson, New York, before 1957.

Given to the MMA by the Estate of Amy Warren Paterson, 1983.

## PUBLICATIONS

Gaines, Edith. "Living with Antiques: The New York Home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Paterson." *Antiques* 71 (1957) p. 355, illus. (17c, d on walls of drawing room). Said to be from set of six depicting the story of Jacob, dated 1575, and signed with the monogram CT for Corneille Tseraerts.

Comstock, Helen. *100 Most Beautiful Rooms in America*. New York, 1958, pp. 198, 199, illus. (same as *Antiques*, 1957).

*MMA Annual Report 1982–1983*, p. 30, listed.

A.M.Z. [Alice M. Zrebiec]. "Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob." *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1982–1983*, pp. 28, 29, illus. [17a]. Set described, called Brussels, 1550–75, related tapestries and marks discussed.







## 17a *Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob*

### DESCRIPTION

Esau, seated on the left, wears a red and dull yellow armor-like close-fitting costume with a blue cloak over his shoulder and knees. He has a dull yellow striped cap and red and blue leg coverings with a yellow lion head at the shin. With his right hand he clasps Jacob's, as he points his left forefinger to heaven. The youthful fair-haired Jacob has a blue costume with yellow undersleeves and belt, and a red and dull yellow cloak sprinkled with pale yellow stars. His leg coverings are blue with yellow turned-down tops, ornamentation, and bands at the ankles. He proffers a blue and white bowl with a spoon stuck in it.

In the middle distance on the right, in front of a pale blue and yellow striped tent, his mother Rebekah in pale brown and yellow holds a dark brown cooking pot as she moves toward the red and yellow open-air fire; in front of it is a large yellow-brown bowl. In the distance, in the center, is Esau, wearing the same costume as in the foreground figure; he holds a gray-brown dog on a leash while another hound runs ahead.

Esau's yellow bow and blue and yellow quiver lie at his feet in the foreground; the quiver has a red strap with a yellow clasp and the feathers of the arrows are yellow and blue. There are green and yellow plants on a dark green ground covering the lower part of the tapestry. The background in the center is yellow and green, with trees in shades of green, blue, pale yellow, brown, and gray. The distant landscape is in shades of green and pale yellow; there is a small gray building with a tower in the center. The sky is gray.

The animals of the borders are, on the left vertical border, a large gray, brown, and pale yellow eagle, a small gray hawk with yellow legs and a pink hood, and a gray, brown, and pale dull yellow elephant; on the lower border, a gray and brown stag and doe; on the right vertical border, a large gray, blue, and brown stork, with red beak and legs, a small gray and brown owl, and a gray, brown, and pale yellow quadruped (perhaps a marmot or beaver); on the upper border, a spotted brown, gray, and pale pink bird attacking a dark blue and brown one. The Brussels mark in silk on the lower left guard has a pink shield flanked by yellow B's.

### SUBJECT

The main scene is described in Genesis 25:27-34: "And the boys grew; and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents. And Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison: but Rebekah loved Jacob. And Jacob sod pottage: and Esau came from the field, and he was faint: And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage; for I am faint: therefore was his name called Edom. And Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright. And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and what profit shall this birthright do to me? And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he swore unto him: and he sold his birthright unto Jacob. Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of lentiles; and he did eat and drink, and rose up, and went his way: thus Esau despised his birthright."

Esau, the first born of the twin brothers, points to heaven to witness his oath. Rebekah, in the background, is preparing the "savory meat" which Jacob, pretending to be Esau, will take to his dying father to obtain his blessing (Genesis 27:1-29).

Detail of 17a







## 17b *Rachel Giving Bilhah to Jacob*

### DESCRIPTION

Jacob, who now has a long beard, wears the same starry cloak as in 17a over a long-sleeved pink and blue garment. His leg coverings are red and blue. Rachel takes him by the hand. She wears a yellow dress, the bodice ornamented with a scalelike pattern, and a red necklace with a blue jewel. White material shows through the slashes in her upper sleeve, and her cloak is red and yellow with blue ornamentation, held by a blue band around her neck. Her sandals are blue and yellow. Bilhah, behind her, holds Rachel's cloak. She has a pale pink cap and a blue costume with yellow decoration.

In the middle distance on the left are four riders in blue, pink, red, and yellow; their horses are gray, blue, and brown, with pink, yellow, and blue harnesses. Two men running in the distance behind them are in blue and yellow. A large blue and gray castle rises above them and an extensive walled city in the same colors is in the center; a blue and white river flows alongside it with a brown boat drawn up at the shore. The trees and distant mountains are in shades of green and pale yellow. The plants in the foreground are yellow and green on a ground of shades of green; one bears tomatoes, mostly yellow, though one is red. The sky is blue above, gray below.

The animals of the borders are, in the left vertical border, a large blue peacock with gray and brown wings and a gray tail, the eyes in the feathers, blue and dull red; a blue parrot with a red wing holding a red fruit in its claw; and a brown and gray hare. The lower border has two brown and gray quadrupeds (perhaps stoats or badgers). In the right vertical border are a large brown and gray bird (perhaps a heron) with a black patch on its head; a small gray, brown, and blue bird; and a gray and brown stag. In the upper border are two large birds, one gray and brown standing beside one lying down, which is gray, brown, and blue. The upper and lower borders both have one vase filled with yellow ears of Indian corn (maize) instead of fruit and flowers.

The Brussels mark is on the lower guard at the left and the weaver's on the lower vertical right-hand guard (see details).



### CONDITION

Rewoven passages are noticeable under the feet of the personages. Some slits have been coarsely sewn up and there are areas of bare warps.

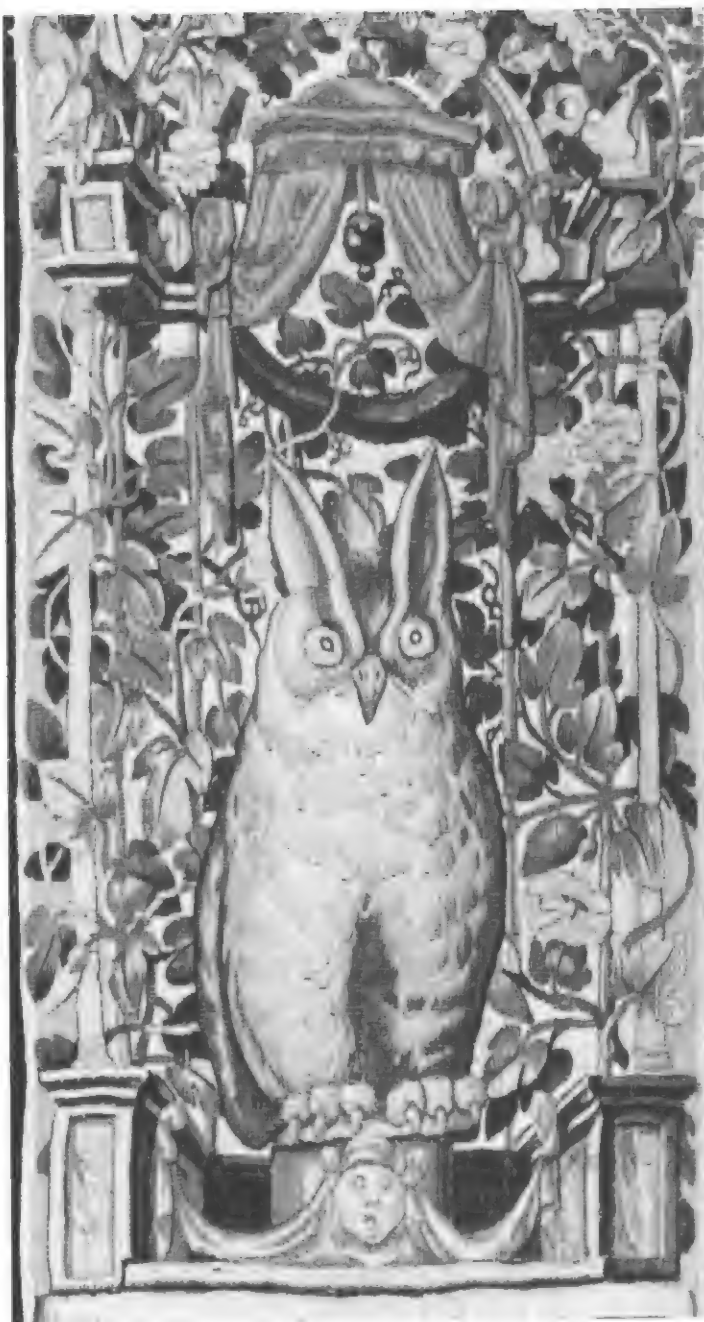
### SUBJECT

Rachel is shown presenting her handmaid Bilhah to Jacob so that he could have a son by her, as described in Genesis 30:1-4, Rachel herself having no children.



Details of 17b





Detail of 17c

## 17c *Rachel and Bilhah with Dan*

### DESCRIPTION

Rachel, on the left, has a winged head in the center of her yellow bodice. She wears a yellow dress with blue and brown decoration at the hem, dark blue-green sleeves with yellow stripes, a red and yellow jeweled tiara, red and yellow cloak, and blue and pale brown sandals. Bilhah has a blue ribbon with a red jewel on her hair and a pale blue, yellow, and blue-green dress, with red and yellow belts at waist and hips. Her yellow sandals are worn over blue socks. Dan stands between the two women; he wears a red costume decorated in yellow over a blue undergarment, short red leggings, and red boots, and he holds a pink and green piece of fruit.

In the distance on the left, a man in red and yellow, holding a stick, is wading a stream, and in the center a shepherd in pale blue sits among a flock of gray sheep, playing a pipe. Trees on either side are in shades of green, blue, and pale yellow with brown, gray, and green trunks. The distant hills are blue and pale yellow with some small buildings at the left and in the center. The foreground plants are green and pale yellow on a ground in shades of blue, green, and yellow. The sky is gray.

The animals in the borders are, on the left vertical border, a large gray and brown owl with yellow eyes (see detail); a gray and brown bird; and a gray, brown, and pale yellow quadruped (perhaps a polecat). In the lower border are the stag and doe of 17a. In the right upright border, a large gray and brown bird; a small gray and brown bird with blue on its wings (perhaps a hoopoe); and a gray, brown, and pale yellow calf. In the upper border are the two birds of 17a.

### SUBJECT

Rachel is clearly identified by her costume and is presumably accepting Bilhah's elder son, Dan, whom Rachel considered as her own (Genesis 30:6).



## 17d *Laban Looking for the Images and Making a Covenant with Jacob*

### DESCRIPTION

Laban, on the left, wears a yellow robe, blue cloak, pink turban, and pink and red shoes; he has a yellow short sword in a blue scabbard at his side. He is interrogating Rachel, who sits beside him on a sheaf of yellow wheat. Her bodice has the winged head in the center and she wears a red and yellow dress, blue sleeves with yellow stripes, blue shoes, and a green and yellow hat. The child on her lap is presumably Joseph; he holds a yellow pear and has pale blue drapery thrown partly over him.

Laban, in the same costume, is seen again in the middle distance on the right, facing Jacob, who wears his starry robe and has a piece of striped cloth over his shoulder. Jacob places his hands on a gray upright block of stone. Similar stones lie at the feet of the two men.

In the distance, in the center, Laban embraces Rachel, who wears a blue skirt; the two small boys with her are in pale pink, yellow, and red. Seven men and women behind them are in blue, red, pale pink, and dull yellow; two of them carry spears. Two more spear carriers in blue and dull yellow are following a gray path into a wood, preceded by two pale brown and pink camels, one ridden by a man in blue, and a man with blue leggings on foot.

Near Jacob and Laban in the middle distance on the right are two men in red, blue, yellow, and pink taking gray and brown stones to the pillar held by Jacob. There are gray and brown cattle in the distance above them, with a cowherd leaning on a stick.

The trees have foliage in shades of blue, green, and yellow, with gray, brown, and green trunks. Two oaks on the far left have some very dark blue-green leaves and some acorns. The foreground plants are yellow and green; some have dull red and yellow berries. The distant landscape is in shades of blue, green, and yellow and contains some small buildings.

The animals in the borders are, in the left vertical border, a large gray and brown bird with a fuzzy head; a dull yellow crested cockatoo with some red and blue feathers; and a dull pale yellow and brown fox attacking a gray,

blue, yellow, and red bird. In the lower border is a gray and brown spotted feline (perhaps a leopard) attacking another beast of the same colors, and a gray and brown elephant fighting a green and yellow dragon. In the right vertical border is a large gray and brown bird with blue feathers at the end of its wing and pale blue legs; a small blue bird with a dull yellow beak and gray legs; and a gray and brown beaver, suckling a young one. In the upper border are two birds like those on the upper border of 17b and two long-tailed pheasants in gray and red-brown with blue heads and necks.

### CONDITION

Areas under the distant figure of Jacob and under Rachel in the foreground have been rewoven.

### SUBJECT

The events shown are described in Genesis 31, which recounts how Jacob secretly left his father-in-law Laban, but was pursued by him and overtaken in the mount Gilead. Laban then hunted for the images that Rachel had stolen from him. "Now Rachel had taken the images and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them." Though the Hebrew word translated as "furniture" means a saddle or cushion, the Latin "strumenta" of the Vulgate can also mean straw, and Rachel in the tapestry is sitting on wheat straw.<sup>14</sup> Laban failed to find the images but he made a covenant with Jacob. "And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap: . . . And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold this pillar, which I have cast betwixt me and thee; This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm. . . . And early in the morning Laban rose up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place."

### RELATED TAPESTRY

The same scene appears on the left side of the tapestry owned by the Galerie Ostler in 1974. There is another



figure holding a long spear between Laban and the two men carrying stones, and the vegetation below the latter in 17d is the trunk of a tree that separates this scene from the representation of Jacob sacrificing. Otherwise the two tapestries have almost identical compositions and coloring.

## 17e *Jacob Sacrificing after Making a Covenant with Laban*

### DESCRIPTION

Jacob wears the same costume as in the earlier scenes; the cloth over his shoulder, seen in 17d, is striped in red, blue, and yellow and has a tassel at one corner. He kneels before an altar in shades of pale yellow, gray, and brown; red and yellow flames and gray smoke rise from the pale brown logs. The foremost kneeling woman on the other side of the altar has an elaborate blue and yellow head-dress, a yellow and pink dress, and a blue cloak decorated in yellow. She places her hands on the head and shoulder of a kneeling boy, who wears a striped red and yellow garment with a blue sash and pink leg coverings with a yellow band below the knee. The group of kneeling people partly seen on the right consists of a woman in red and yellow with a pink headress, another in blue, and one with a red hat, a man with a gray beard, a yellow scarf round his head, and pink sleeves, holding up his hands, and a man in blue with a red cloak, crossing his hands over his chest. The head of a bald man in dull yellow is seen between Jacob and the smoke of the sacrifice.

A tree rises behind Jacob; further to the left, in the middle distance, are the two men who bring stones for the heap of stones in 17d. The same animals and cowherd are seen above them, though one cow, on the right, is bright pink. The foreground plants are green and yellow, with some pink flowers and red and pale pink berries. The meadows behind the cows are yellow, and the trees have green, yellow, and brown foliage, with gray, brown, and pale blue trunks. The distant landscape is in shades of blue-green and pale yellow; there are several buildings in the center and a blue pond with rushes on the left. The sky is gray.



The border animals are, in the upper border, the two birds and, in the lower border, the stag and doe of 17c.

The Brussels city mark is on the lower guard at the left and the weaver's mark at the lower right corner.

#### SUBJECT

Though Jacob is often described as making a sacrifice, the presence of the men carrying stones shows that this is the occasion described in Genesis 31:54, the sacrifice on the mount Gilead, immediately after the covenant between him and Laban.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The same scene appears on the right side of the tapestry owned by the Galerie Ostler in 1974. It is slightly extended to the right, so that there is another head in the group of kneeling worshipers and the foot of the foremost woman is visible.

## 17f *Jacob Burying Idols Under an Oak*

#### DESCRIPTION

Jacob, dressed as in earlier scenes, is seated on the left. Behind him are two men. The one on the left wears a yellow turban, and a blue jacket and red cloak, both with pink linings; the other has a blue jacket with a yellow collar, a red sleeve, and a red cloak.

A woman approaches carrying a small, open cradlelike chest, with dark and light blue sides and yellow bands, lock, claw feet, and handles. She wears a short, pale blue tunic with yellow decoration and pink belt, blue undersleeves with yellow cloths tied at the elbow and shoulder, a dull yellow-pink dress with blue decoration at the hem, a red and yellow cloak, blue socks, and a red ornament with a blue stone in her hair. The chest contains a brown and yellow statuette of a bearded god in classical armor holding a spear. The bearded head of another statuette is visible. A standing woman on the right wears a striped red and yellow

short-sleeved tunic over a pale blue undergarment, a blue belt with a yellow buckle, a voluminous blue cloak with a yellow decoration of small birds, dragons, and foliage, red socks, and yellow sandals. She carries a yellow and brown deep tray containing a yellow statuette of a youthful god holding a panpipe, yellow rings threaded on a blue stick, and other yellow and red jewelry.

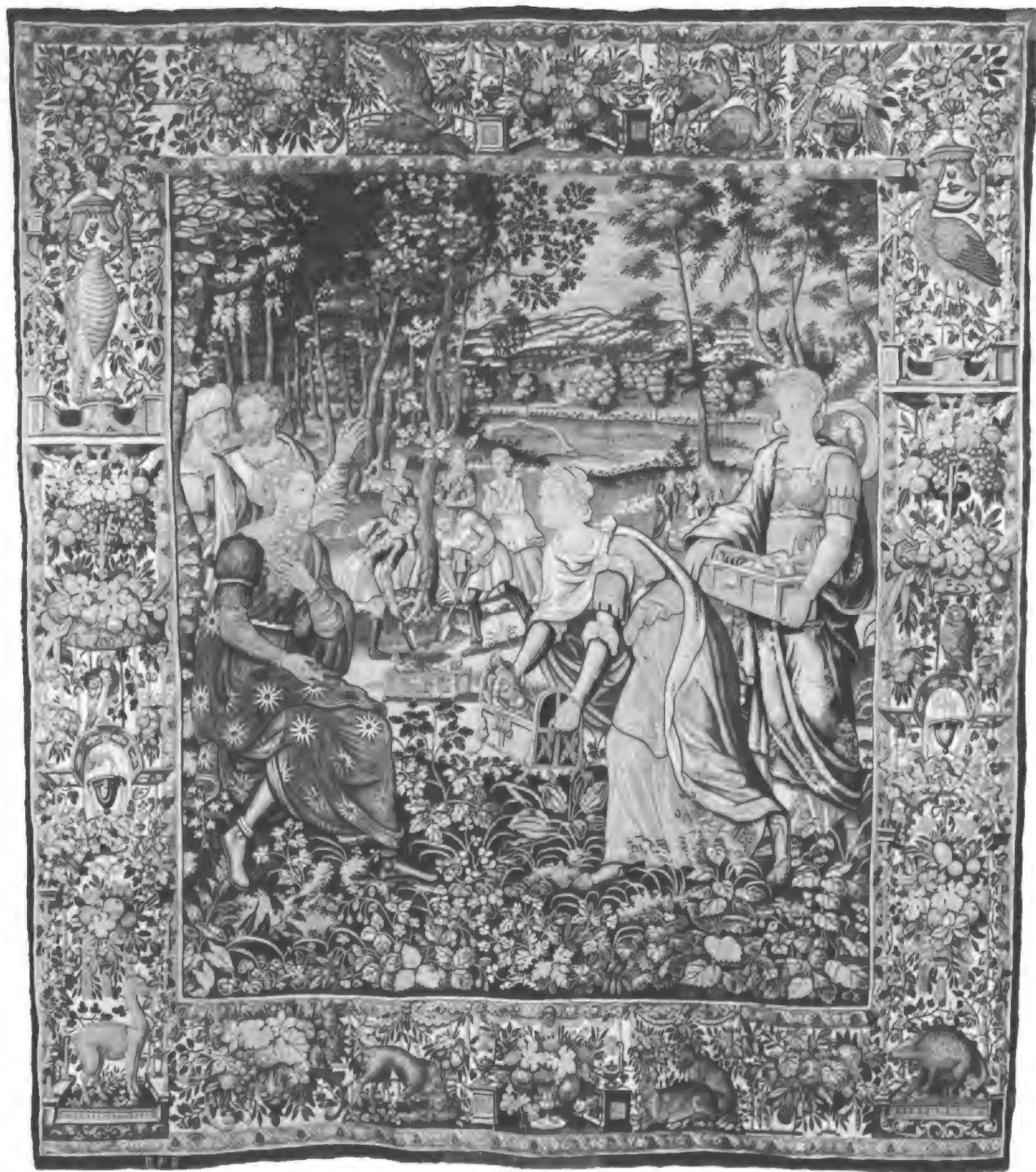
In the middle distance on the left, two men with blue-headed spades are digging a hole at the foot of an oak. The one on the left wears a blue tunic and leg coverings, yellow sleeves and skirt, and a pale blue scarf around his head; the one on the right has a red tunic and shoes, pale blue skirt, and dark blue trousers. A man and two women stand behind them. The woman on the left is in blue with a red cloak and carries a yellow statuette. The bearded man in the center is in red and blue and has a blue-headed spade over his shoulder. The woman on the right has a pink tunic, a dull yellow skirt, and red shoes; she carries two yellow statuettes, one male, the other a nude female. In front of the hole is a dull yellow and pink open box containing two yellow statuettes, one a bearded man, the other a nude female.

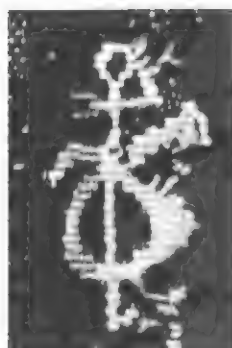
Farther off on the right are five figures in red, blue, and yellow; one has a long orange beard. In the upper right corner is a pale brown deer. The trees have foliage in shades of green, brown, and yellow, with brown, gray, and green trunks.

The animals in the borders are, in the left border, a large gray and brown hawk; a yellow, blue, and red parrot with a yellow beak and gray feet, holding a red fruit in its claw; and a gray and pale brown camel. In the lower border are a gray and brown blue-nosed lion attacking a brown sheep whose blood shows red where it is being bitten and two gray mammals with pointed noses, perhaps stoats. In the right upright border are a brown and gray stork similar to that on 17a, but with yellow legs and beak, a small owl, and a spotted animal like those on 17a. In the upper border are a gray, brown, and pale blue hawk attacking a blue and gray duck and two gray and brown storks with yellow beaks, and pink legs, one standing, the other crouching with two chicks partly visible beneath her. The vase on the right is filled with ears of corn, like those on 17b.

The Brussels mark is on the lower guard at the left and the maker's mark on the right guard near the bottom (see detail). A mark of an unknown weaver has been inserted into the right guard near the top (see detail).







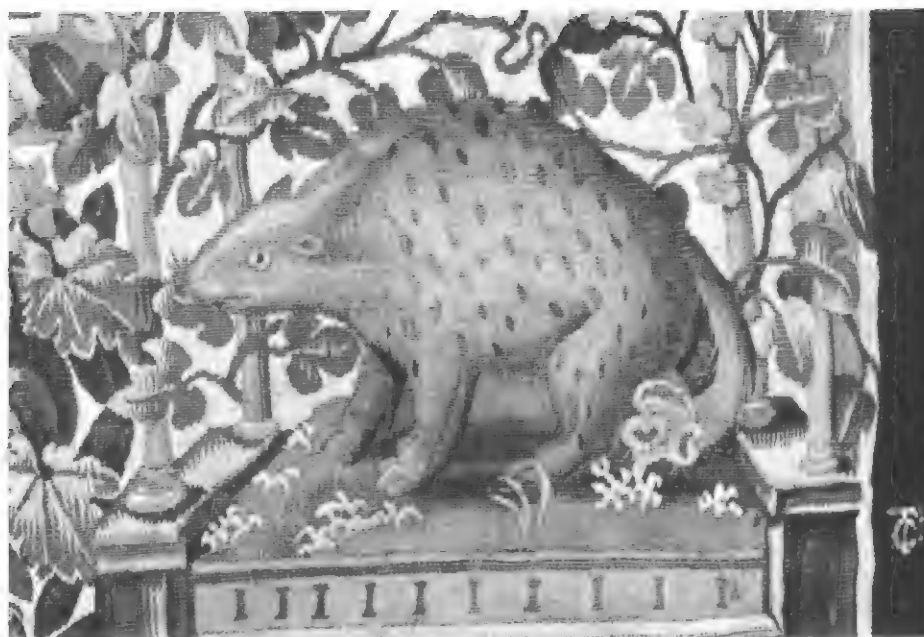
## SUBJECT

Genesis 35:2–4 tells how Jacob, when God had commanded him to go to Bethel, “said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments: . . . And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their earrings which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Shechem.”

## NOTES

1. Leonie von Wilckens, “Drei unbekannte Jacobsteppiche aus der Manufaktur des Jan van Tiegen,” *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger* (Gent, 1968) vol. 2, pp. 784–86.
2. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 5 of list of marks. No tapestries with the mark are described.

3. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, “Marques et signatures de tapisseries bruxellois,” *Annales de la Société Royale d’Archéologie de Bruxelles* 40 (1936) p. 181. Two tapestries with this mark were sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, March 2, 1974, nos. 85, 86.
4. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) no. 31. Dated 1550–1625.
5. *Europäisches Kunsthandwerk vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart: Neuerwerbungen 1959–1969*, Kunstgewerbemuseum (Berlin, 1970) no. 55. Dated end sixteenth–beginning seventeenth century.
6. Brigitte Klesse and Hans Mayr, *Verborgene Schätze aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, Kunstgewerbemuseum (Cologne, 1977) pp. 58, 59. Dated 1550–1600.
7. Nicole Dacos, “Pedro Campaña dopo Siviglia: arazzi e altri inediti,” *Bolletino d’Arte*, 6th ser., 65, no. 8 (October–December 1980) p. 32, pls. 21, 22, 27.
8. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 4 of list of marks. An account of this prolific weaver is given on p. 327.
9. Jerzy Szablowski, ed., *Les Tapisseries flamandes au Château du Wawel à Cracovie* (Antwerp, 1972) p. 431.
10. Advertised in *Apollo* 99 (June 1974) p. 11. Said to have been woven by Jan van Tieghem in 1562; von Wilckens, “Drei unbekannte Jacobsteppiche,” p. 783, fig. 3.
11. Von Wilckens, “Drei unbekannte Jacobsteppiche,” pp. 778–86, figs. 1, 2.
12. Jean Paul Asselberghs, *La Tenture de l’Histoire de Jacob* (Brussels, 1972). For the later versions of these designs, see J. P. Asselberghs, *Chefs-d’oeuvre de la tapisserie flamande*, exh. cat., Château de Culan (Saint-Amand, 1971) no. 25.
13. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 2, pl. 374.
14. She is shown sitting on straw in a tapestry in the Jacob Klausner sale, Lepke, Berlin, October 10, 11, 1938, and in another at Powis Castle (information from the Marillier Archive in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London).



Details of 17f

## 18 Paris as a Youth

Flemish (Brussels); probably designed and woven 1560–80.  
Wool and silk.

11 ft. 5 1/2 in. x 17 ft. 3 in. (3.49 m x 5.26 m).

18 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Gift of H. Edward Manville, 1941 (41.203).

### DESCRIPTION

Paris, wearing a blue-green undergarment, red sleeves and sash, dull yellow cloak and leggings, and red and yellow boots, is seated on a hillock, holding a music book on his knees. The lower border of his undergarment is inscribed in pale yellow: ALEXAN. At his feet is a yellow-gray dog and a long gray wind instrument lies on the ground beside him.<sup>1</sup> A woman in a red and blue head-dress, blue sleeves, dull yellow dress, and red skirt stands behind him on the right. A seated woman on the left has elaborately dressed fair hair with a dull yellow headcloth, blue undergarment, and red dress with pale yellow grotesque ornamentation; she holds a viol of fantastic outline. To the left of the group is a gray and blue stone table, partly covered with a gray and blue cloth; on it are a blue and yellow ewer, a cup, and a blue plate of yellow grapes and red and yellow-green apples. The table is set in a fountain and blue water runs from a yellow lion-mask into a basin. A blue iris with green and yellow leaves grows beside it. The left side of the tapestry shows a tree with green apples standing in a space enclosed by a red and yellow fence. Two children in blue and yellow at the foot of the tree are gathering fruit, one into his held-up dress, the other into a brown basket. A third, sitting in a fork of the tree, hands down a fruit.

The background consists of an elaborate garden. On the left, a three-tiered, round, open, blue and yellow arbor stands on an island in a moat. The lowest roof is supported by yellow herms standing on their intertwined tails; it is red inside and blue out. The upper stories are covered with green and yellow foliage. Inside the building is a round table with dishes and three people sitting at it; a woman plays a stylized antique lyre for a man and a woman in blue and yellow dancing outside. On the island, to the left, are two women and a child in pink, blue, yellow, and gray; a peacock walks by an opening in the green and yellow

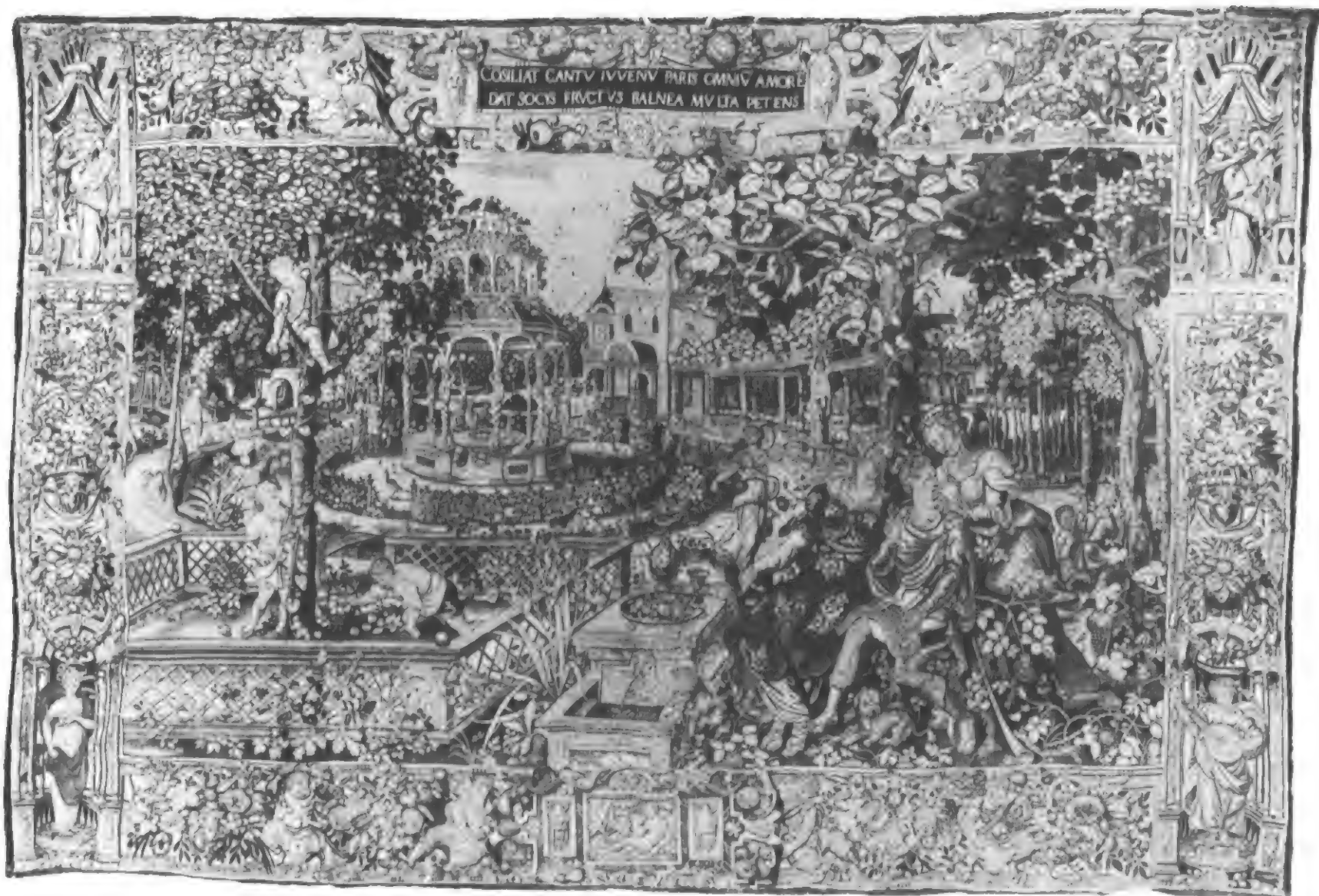
hedge around the island that leads to a brown bridge over the blue water of the moat. Two nude figures are bathing in the moat, watched by a man in blue and gray. Farther away, a nude person walks into the thick wood that covers this part of the background. In the center, beyond the island, is a large blue and gray building with dark blue roofs. From it, a portico extends in a curve to the right, ending in an arch supported by a male herm holding a basket of fruit on his head. The columns have red and yellow capitals and bases; the roof is formed by a trellis covered with yellow leaves. The keystone of the red arch is a yellow lion head. There are several very small figures in the distance. A tree with a brown, green, and gray trunk, green and yellow leaves, and red and blue fruit rises immediately behind Paris, and another, with dark green leaves, on the extreme right. Three children in red, blue, and yellow, are playing with a small gray bird at its foot and a large, long-legged bird, probably a stork, stands in a fork halfway up the tree. A grove of green and yellow trees, a long arbor, and blue-roofed buildings are seen in the distance. The sky is yellow-blue. The foreground is in shades of green and blue, with yellow and green plants; among these, on the right, are a red rosebush and a yellow vine with blue grapes.

The border has a yellow ground. There is a blue tablet in the center of the upper border, inscribed in yellow:

CÖSILIAT CANTV IUVENŪ PARIS OMNĪV AMORĒ  
DAT SOCYS FRVCTVS BALNEA MVLTA PETENS

(Paris by his song gains the love of all the youths  
and seeks many baths).

Elongated red and yellow grotesque masks flank the tablet and two boys in yellow and red (mirror images) hold blue draperies behind it; there is a mask with blue drapery above. On either side is a blue vase filled with green, red, yellow, and blue leaves, flowers, and fruit. The lower border has a central cartouche with a red ground; in the middle is a dull yellow simulated bas-relief showing Leda and the swan, with an elongated grotesque mask on a blue ground at either side and a winged cherub head above. Two boys in red and yellow (mirror images) hold blue scrolls round the central tablet; the interstices are filled



18

with red, green, and yellow fruit, including cherries, pears, and pomegranates. On either side is a crouching boy in blue and red classical armor and a yellow skirt, and two blue vases, filled with leaves, flowers, and fruit. Three of the vases have small masks and there are vestiges of red and yellow strapwork ornament in the background throughout. In the side borders stand figures under blue and yellow arches at top and bottom. The upper ones are identical, except in coloring, a woman in red, blue, and yellow, under a green and yellow canopy, holding a yellow palm branch, flanked by yellow ewers, each with a

single flower. The columns of the arch are surmounted by yellow lion masks. The lower figure on the left is a standing woman in pale yellow with red drapery. The one on the right wears a green and yellow bodice and a red and yellow dress; she plays a yellow-gray lute. The space between the figures is filled with three blue, red, and yellow containers for leaves, flowers, and fruit, with red and yellow three-dimensional strapwork and blue and green draperies. The central container shows three small yellow animal masks. The guards, found at the sides only, are dark blue.



## CONDITION

All the colors except the dark blues are badly faded. The tapestry is in a state of advanced dilapidation, broken along most of the slits, much of the silk rotted, and with many areas of bare warps.

## SUBJECT

Paris was exposed at his birth by his father Priam and brought up as a cowherd. But he showed signs of his royal lineage and won the name "Alexander" (as indicated by the inscription) for his ability to protect his companions and their herds, a pun on the Greek meaning of the name "Protector of Men."<sup>2</sup> The tapestry presumably shows him at this period, before his love affair with Oenone. It probably was one of a series illustrating the life of Paris or the story of the Trojan War, but no other tapestries of the set have been identified. Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, bought from the Pannemakers in 1539 a set of six pieces of the *Histoires de la jeunesse de Pâris Alexandre*, three of which are probably the tapestries of this subject, with Pannemaker marks, in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome.<sup>3</sup>

## MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The quality and style suggest a Brussels manufactory in the second half of the sixteenth century.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

Three *Trojan War* tapestries, known only from their appearance in sale catalogues, may have belonged to the same series as 18, but they have different borders and could not have been from the same set.<sup>4</sup>

The woman with a lute in the lower right corner is seen in the right side border of a *Perseus* tapestry dated 1559 in the Quirinale Palace, Rome. This has a copy of the original weaver's mark, described as probably that of a member of the van den Hecke family.<sup>5</sup>

## HISTORY

Sold, Christie's, London, May 18, 1911, no. 103, not illus., as the property of a gentleman. Bought by Bush. In the collection of H. Edward Manville, Pleasantville, New York, who acquired it from P. W. French & Co. Given to the MMA by H. Edward Manville, 1941.

## PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1941*, p. 22. Called *Paris Visiting the Realm of Menelaus*, from a set of the *Judgment of Paris*.

## NOTES

1. Dr. Emanuel Winternitz described this as an unusual cornetto, combining a trumpetlike mouthpiece, side holes to be stopped with the fingers, and a tube, the shape of which is not that of an ordinary cornetto.
2. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (Baltimore, 1955) vol. 2, p. 270; Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. James George Fraser (London, 1921) vol. 2, p. 47.
3. Jacqueline Versyp, "Vlaamse Wandtapijten uit de eerste helft van de XVI de eeuw in het Palazzo di Venezia te Rome," *L'Age d'Or de la tapisserie flamande, Colloque international, 23-25 mai 1961*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1969) pp. 399-412.
4. Michael Stettler, "Das Trojanische Pferd, ein Brüssler Wandteppich," in *Artes Minores* (Bern, 1973) pp. 344-47, pls. 9-11.
5. Elisabeth Dhanens, "Twee tapijtwerken uit het bezit van Margareta van Parma," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 20 (1951) pp. 223-36, pl. 3; Edith A. Standen, "Romans and Sabines: A Sixteenth-Century Set of Flemish Tapestries," *MMA Journal* 9 (1974) p. 218 (Hector Vuyens is suggested as a possible user of this mark).

## 19 The Colosseum

From a set of the *Wonders of the World*

Flemish (Brussels); designed from prints after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), and woven about 1575–1600. Brussels and unidentified weaver's mark.

Wool and silk.

11 ft. 4 in. x 16 ft. 11 in. (3.45 m x 5.16 m).

18–20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Elizabeth U. Coles, in memory of her son, William F. Coles, 1892 (92.1.12).

### DESCRIPTION

The ruined Colosseum, reversed, in tones of blue, gray, and dull yellow, takes up most of the background. A number of its seats are occupied by sitting or standing figures. The arena is filled with men in red, blue, and yellow, some on horseback in lively action. A bear is being baited by dogs, several men attack a bull, while another bull, a red cloth caught on its horns, chases one of its tormentors. Two boys are perched on an end of the broken wall and three men with halberds stand at the entrance below. In the foreground on the right is a Roman emperor on a gray horse. He wears a yellow closed crown over his yellow helmet and blue and yellow classical armor with a dull red cloak; he holds the yellow reins in his right hand and a red and yellow scepter in his left. His leg coverings are blue and red. The horse's pale yellow peytrel is decorated with a shield between two eagles; the shield has a brown two-headed eagle holding a small shield under an imperial crown. The horse's yellow harness has red tassels. To the right are two men on foot in classical armor. The one in the foreground has a blue helmet with red and yellow plumes, a red and yellow lorica over a tunic, blue and yellow leggings, and red and yellow sandals. A blue bird-headed sword is slung at his back and he holds a dull yellow banner on a long shaft. His companion has a yellow helmet with blue and red plumes, partly scaled blue armor, and red and gray leg coverings. He holds a hammerlike weapon with a long handle. Between his leg and that of the horse is the broken base of a gray, yellow, and red column. On the far right is a huge dull yellow stone left foot on a similarly colored pedestal, which is carved with a relief of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus. Above the

foot two men in blue, red, and green, on horseback are visible.

To the left of the emperor, in the middle distance, are two men walking; one, bareheaded, has blue body armor and tunic, the other wears a red and blue turban and a yellow and blue short robe. On the far left are two men; one, beardless, wears a pale blue tunic, a blue and yellow cloak, and yellow and red sandals, and the other is in yellow with pale blue leggings and yellow sandals. Between them and the arena are two women on gray mules; they wear gypsy garments of blue, yellow, and red. There are other distant, partially seen, figures. Immediately in front of the entrance to the arena are two men in yellow, blue, and red, restraining a yellow lion with blue chains; behind them is a man in yellow holding a leopard on a leash. Another man in red and blue raises a club in his left hand as if to strike the animal. To the left is a man in yellow with a blue bow and one in blue with a spear.

The background shows a gray sky and an extensive landscape with hills, trees, and buildings in tones of green, gray, and pale yellow. On the left, in the distance, a mounted man approaches with a group of soldiers; on the right are some ruined arches and a broken column, with more small figures, chiefly in red and blue. The foreground is dark green and yellow, filled with plants and flowers in green and yellow; a small gray dog faces the emperor.

The narrow inner and outer borders are blue and yellow on a red, pink, or yellow ground; there are yellow lion heads on blue at the corners. The main border shows a





cloudy gray sky at the top, with, in the center, a gray and brown owl being tormented by many flying or sitting birds in gray, brown, green, blue, yellow, and red. The vertical borders have landscapes in green, pale blue, and yellow, with many animals. On the left a gray unicorn, a leopard, a pink and gray stag, and a doe can be distinguished, with a large brown and gray bird at the lower corner. On the right are cattle, deer, two gray goats fighting, a red-tongued leopard, and a long-legged gray and dull red bird at the lower corner. The lower border is mostly gray-blue water with a number of yellow-gray and blue fish. Two nude children (mirror images) each grasp a trident in one hand

and a sea creature in the other. There are yellow-green plants in the foreground. The guards are dark blue with a yellow stripe.

The Brussels mark in the lower left corner has cream letters and a yellow shield; the weaver's monogram (see detail) on the right just above the corner is cream.

#### CONDITION

Opened slits have resulted in many bare warps along the horizontals, especially in the upper border and in the sky.

## SUBJECT

The series may have consisted of eight pieces representing the Colossus of Rhodes, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the Colosseum, the walls of Babylon, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the Pharos of Alexandria. Sets of the first four of these *Wonders* have survived and a single piece of the *Pyramids* has been identified. A very similar but later series, of which there is a set of five pieces in the Musée Réattu, Arles (mostly derived from engravings by the de Passe family after Martin de Vos), adds the *Mausoleum* and the *Walls of Babylon*.<sup>1</sup> A set of *Seven Wonders* in six pieces was sold by Francis Swerts, the Antwerp weaver and dealer, to the archduke Ernst in 1594/95,<sup>2</sup> and an inventory of the Hôtel de Condé, Paris, made in 1719, includes "Huit pièces de tapisserie représentant les Sept Merveilles."<sup>3</sup>

The Colosseum was not one of the Wonders of the World as they were usually listed in antiquity, but it attained that status in the late Middle Ages, in part, at least, because the colossal statue of Nero that it had once contained was confused with the Colossus of Rhodes.<sup>4</sup> It is

not, however, in the list with the descriptions that was the literary source for Maarten van Heemskerck, the *Silva de Varia Lección* by Pedro Mexía of Seville, first published in 1540.<sup>5</sup> It may have been added by van Heemskerck to make an even number of prints, or perhaps because it was the only Wonder he had seen; it appears in the background of his self-portrait in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>6</sup> He could have used as his authority Martial, who, after listing several of the accepted Wonders, wrote, "All labour yields to Caesar's Amphitheatre: one work in place of all shall Fame rehearse," in a poem composed to celebrate the opening of the Colosseum by Titus.<sup>7</sup> The Latin verse under the van Heemskerck print specifically states that Martial added the "sacred amphitheater of Caesar" to the usual list.

The identity of the emperor on horseback has been variously given as Titus,<sup>8</sup> Charles V, Trajan,<sup>9</sup> or Charlemagne.<sup>10</sup> The arms on the peytrel are those of the Holy Roman Empire, but the face of the emperor is not that of Charles V. Charlemagne's arms, from the thirteenth century on, were thought to be "miparti de l'aigle impériale et des lis de France."<sup>11</sup> They so appear in van Heemskerck's

FIG. 15. *The Colosseum*, after Maarten van Heemskerck, by Philip Galle. Engraving, MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.4[213]).



FIG. 16. *Amphiteatrum sive Arena*, after Maarten van Heemskerck. Engraving, published by Theodore Galle. MMA, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.570.195).





set of three prints of the *Nine Heroes*;<sup>12</sup> the small shield held by the two-headed eagle shows fleurs-de-lis as well as half an eagle. It was normal sixteenth-century practice to use the arms of the Holy Roman Empire as those of a Caesar (see 8), but there is no indication in 19 which Caesar is represented; he could well be Titus.

The gigantic stone foot is based on an actual piece of sculpture extant in the sixteenth century, which was drawn by van Heemskerck, both in this view and in other positions.<sup>13</sup> In a view from the front, an eagle is shown on the tongue of the sandal, which may have suggested to van Heemskerck that the statue had represented an emperor; its position in the print and the tapestry, near the amphitheater, certainly is intended to remind the viewer of the Colossus of Nero, formerly in the Colosseum.<sup>14</sup> The wolf and twins, though shown as a bas-relief on the pedestal of the foot, is a free rendering of the bronze Etruscan she-wolf, which had been taken to its present site, the Palazzo dei Conservatori, in 1471, and the statues of Romulus and Remus added to it in the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup> The ruins in the distance on the right may be intended to recall the Arch of Constantine.<sup>16</sup>

The zoological, or *Elements*, borders do not have any significance on this tapestry.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designer used three prints after Maarten van Heemskerck. From the *Colosseum* (fig. 15; called *Amphitheatrum* in the 1572 set of engravings of the *Wonders*),<sup>17</sup> he took the right side of the building as it appears on the tapestry (actually the left, as seen in the print), the idea of a large figure on horseback, followed by two men on foot, in the foreground, and the colossal foot and bas-relief of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus on the right. From a print called *Amphitheatrum sive Arena* (fig. 16),<sup>18</sup> he took the left side of the building (the right in the print), the bullfight in the arena, and the spectators on the seats. The emperor is derived from the 1556 engraving of the *Elector John Frederick of Saxony Surrendering to Charles V* (fig. 17),<sup>19</sup> though his face is taken not from Charles V, but from the old man beside him. The crown on the helmet, however, is worn by Charles V; the crossed front legs of his horse and its peytrel with the imperial arms flanked by squatting eagles have also been used in the tapestry.

The suggestion that the design is due to Michiel Coxcie



FIG. 17. *The Elector John Frederick of Saxony Surrendering to Charles V*, after Maarten van Heemskerck, by Dirck Volkertsz-Coornhert. Engraving, published by Hieronymus Cock. MMA, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.2387[10]).

and Vredeman de Vries, with the Colosseum itself perhaps taken from the van Heemskerck prints,<sup>20</sup> does not seem justified on stylistic grounds.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The weaver's mark (see detail) has been read as WS and tentatively identified as that of Willem Segers,<sup>21</sup> or, from the Bergen op Zoom version of the design, as NSO, the O standing for Oudenaarde,<sup>22</sup> or as SWF, tentatively identified as that of Francis Sweerts.<sup>23</sup> None of these suggestions carries conviction. If the mark is read NSC (the N reversed), it could be Niclaes de Canter, known from an Antwerp document of 1552, or Nikolaus Le Coustre, an Antwerp weaver mentioned in 1618.<sup>24</sup> Nothing is known of these men and neither is recorded as having worked in Brussels. A possible but unlikely reading is ISAC, but the only weaver recorded as having the Christian name "Isaac" is Isaac van Asperen, an Antwerp weaver mentioned in a document of 1552.<sup>25</sup> The date can be presumed on stylistic grounds to be in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the van Heemskerck prints and the *Elements* borders would all have been available.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

No other piece of this set has been found. A number of other sets with various borders have been identified. One has borders showing figures under canopies and four small landscapes in medallions, with the maker's mark of Jacob Geubels. Four pieces are known: the *Colossus of Rhodes*, in the Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence;<sup>26</sup> the *Statue of Zeus*, in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City;<sup>27</sup> the *Temple of Diana*, in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome;<sup>28</sup> and the *Colosseum*, owned by the city of Rome.<sup>29</sup>

A second set has borders similar to the last, but with different medallions. The subjects of the four known pieces are the same as the first set. The set was in the X sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 18, 1920 (nos. 55–58, illus.). The *Statue of Zeus* is in two pieces.<sup>30</sup>

A third set has borders showing colonnades with herms and platforms approached by flights of steps. Four pieces are known: the *Colossus of Rhodes*, owned by the London dealers S. Franes in 1968 (formerly in the Denys de Rougement collection, Brentwood);<sup>31</sup> the *Statue of Zeus*, formerly in the Hanna collection, Cleveland, and sold when this collection was given to the Cleveland Museum in 1939;<sup>32</sup> The *Temple of Diana* in Djursholm Castle, near Stockholm;<sup>33</sup> and the *Colosseum*, in the Gemeentemuseum het Markiezenhof, Bergen op Zoom, the Netherlands.<sup>34</sup> A *Scipio* tapestry in the Winston Guest sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, December 2, 1967 (no. 141, illus.), sold again at the same auction house, May 10, 1969 (no. 184, illus.), has an almost identical border and the initials of the weaver Cornelis Mattens.

A *Temple of Diana* with no borders owned by Lord Charnwood in 1949 must represent another set.<sup>35</sup> Another *Temple of Diana* and a *Colosseum* were stolen from the Château de Salignac, Dordogne, on March 25, 1971; these pieces have the Brussels mark and the weaver's name, Brughen.<sup>36</sup> A *Pyramids of Egypt* is in a private collection in Italy; it has Virtues and biblical scenes in the border.

The example of the *Colosseum* in Rome and the one sold in Paris in 1920 are wider than 19 and show a woman and a child beyond the two men on the left and the complete foot and relief on the right. A man on horseback replaces the men with the leopard and the lion. Two pieces of a broken column are seen under the dog in the center. The man next to the emperor raises his right hand and

does not hold a hammer. The landscape background is different.

The *Colosseum* in Bergen op Zoom has the same weaver's mark as 19, of which it is an almost exact replica. It is slightly enlarged on the right, showing the whole of the man immediately above the stone foot and of the second horse and rider above him. There are small differences in the foreground plants and some of the costumes.

The *Colosseum* from the later series, of which five pieces are in Arles, is not derived from a de Passe–de Vos print, but from a van Heemskerck engraving, like 19 and the other *Colosseum* tapestries of the earlier series. It is, nevertheless, very different, showing the colossal statue in the center of the arena and a large crowd in the foreground, some of them in sixteenth-century costume. Another example of the *Colosseum* of this series was exhibited in Florence in 1963.<sup>37</sup>

The Seven Wonders of the World, not including the Colosseum, are seen in medallions in the borders of two tapestries with scenes from Roman history, called *Oude-naarde*, seventeenth century, sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, Los Angeles, March 17, 1975 (nos. 95, 96, illus.).

Borders of the general type of those on 19 were first used on a set of the *Story of Noah*, woven for Philip II between 1563 and 1567 by Willem de Pannemaker. They are mentioned in the king's correspondence about the tapestries and reflect his ideas, certainly appropriate for a *Noah* series.<sup>38</sup> In the first version, the central bird at the top is an eagle with its prey and there are water birds as well as fish in the lower border. Many variants exist. Other examples with eagles in the upper border are two pieces with grotesques in the Château de Azay-le-Rideau<sup>39</sup> and another in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,<sup>40</sup> all with Antwerp marks and those of a weaver who is probably Joost van Herzele (see 16); similar borders are found on two pergola tapestries, one sold at Sotheby's, June 15, 1928 (no. 162, illus.), the other in the Yale University Art Gallery,<sup>41</sup> and on a set of *Augustus* in the Spanish National Collection.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes a bird of paradise replaces the eagle, as on an armorial tapestry in the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino, and on two *Scipio* tapestries with the mark of Martin Reymbouts sold at Parke-Bernet, January 5, 1957 (nos. 396, 397, illus.), or Jupiter is in the center of the upper border, Neptune in the lower, as in an *Abraham* tapestry in the Spanish National Collection,<sup>43</sup> a tapestry in the Los Angeles County Museum, and two in

the Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence, in 1959.<sup>44</sup> Another variant has a phoenix on its pyre and a salamander in the flames on one side border, so that all four elements are represented; three pieces of a *Life of Saint Paul* in the Pinacoteca, Fabriano, are examples of this type.<sup>45</sup> The owl tormented by other birds is found on two pergola tapestries, one in the Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester, with Willem de Pannemaker's mark,<sup>46</sup> and one in the Louvre, said to have the mark of Jan van den Hecke,<sup>47</sup> as well as on a set of three grotesques, formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.<sup>48</sup> It is apparent that the idea, though originally carried out by Pannemaker, was adopted by several weavers, who commissioned their own versions throughout the sixteenth century.

## HISTORY

Said to have belonged to the Barberini family, Rome, from whom it was acquired by Sypher & Co., New York.<sup>49</sup> This firm sold it to Mr. William Coles, New York.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. William Coles (Elizabeth U. Coles), in memory of her son, William F. Coles, 1892.

## PUBLICATIONS

*Drawings, Water-Color Paintings, Photographs and Etchings, Tapestries Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York, [1894], p. 59, no. 1. Described as "Fight with wild beasts in the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre, in the time of the later (German) emperors. Formerly the property of the Barberini family in Rome."

*Coles Gallery, 8: Tapestries and Paintings, Malachites, Vases, Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York, [1895], p. 3. Listed.

Hunter, George Leland. "Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum." *International Studio* 45 (February 1912) p. LXXXVI. Mark said to be W.S., perhaps Willem Segers. Called the *Roman Colosseum with the Emperor Titus*.

Hunter, George Leland. *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, pp. 401, 402, illus. Called late Renaissance. Foot identified as that of the Colossus.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 582, n. 216. Mentioned.

Brett, Gerard. "The Seven Wonders of the World in the Renaissance." *Art Quarterly* 12 (1949) pp. 340, 343, 344, fig. 9. Sets and individual pieces identified and described, relationship to Maarten van Heemskerck's *Wonders* engravings established, inclusion of *Colosseum* in set explained.

Jones, Mary Eirwen. *British and American Tapestries*. Hadeligh, Essex, 1952, pp. 92, 93. Described.

Viatte, Germain. *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle européen: Tapisseries*. Exh.

cat., Mobilier National, Paris, 1965, p. 39, no. 31. Mentioned as having similar border to Azay-le-Rideau tapestry.

Van Ysselsteyn, G. T. "Karel de Grote te Rome, een 16<sup>e</sup> Eeuwe Tapisserie." *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*. Gent, 1968, p. 793. Mentioned as related to the Bergen op Zoom example, which is called Oudenaarde, about 1575. The emperor identified as Charlemagne.

Schneebalg-Perelman, Sophie. "Les Neuf Preux et les Sept Vertus." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) pp. 222–27, fig. 8 [19], fig. 9 (mark of 19). Identified as Charlemagne from a set of the *Nine Heroes*, designed by Michiel Coxcie and Vredeman de Vries, woven in Brussels; weaver's mark read as SWF and identified as possibly that of Francis Sweerts.

## NOTES

1. Brett, "Seven Wonders," pp. 339, 345–47, figs. 8, 10. These tapestries were stolen on April 26, 1982 (*Stolen Art Alert* 3 [October 1982] p. 23, no. 1093).
2. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 600–02, n. 12 (under 1577).
3. Gustave Macon, "Les tapisseries des Princes de Condé," *Archives de l'Art Français*, new period, 8 (1914) p. 132.
4. Brett, "Seven Wonders," pp. 349–51.
5. Marjorie Hupert, "Martin van Heemskerck's Seven Wonders of the World and the Colosseum" (M.A. thesis, New York University, 1966) pp. 6, 7.
6. H. Gerson and J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of Paintings: vol. 1, Dutch and Flemish*, Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1960) p. 60, no. 103, pl. 31.
7. Martial [Marcus Valerius Martialis], *Epigrams*, trans. Walter C. A. Ker, vol. 1 (London, 1919) pp. ix, 3 (*De Spectaculis Liber*, I, lines 7–8).
8. Hunter, *Tapestries*, 1912, p. 402.
9. Enrico Possenti, "Un arazzo fiammingo alla Mostra d'Arte Antica a Valle Giulia," *Bollettino d'Arte* 26 (1932) pp. 173, 174. The author considers but rejects the identification of the emperor as Charles V.
10. Van Ysselsteyn, "Karel de Grote," p. 789; Schneebalg-Perelman, "Neuf Preux," pp. 212, 227. The contention of these authors that Charles is here shown as one of the three Christian heroes cannot be reconciled with the fact that other examples of this design appear in sets of the *Wonders*, not of the *Nine Worthies*.
11. Louis Carolus Barré and Paul Adam, "Les armes de Charlemagne dans l'héraldique et l'iconographie médiévales," *Mémorial d'un voyage d'études de la Société Nationale d'Antiquaires de France en Rhénanie, juillet 1951* (Paris, 1953) pp. 289–308.
12. Engraved by Herman Muller, published by Hieronymus Cock (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* [Amsterdam, n.d.] vol. 8, p. 130, nos. 10–61). Julius Caesar, as one of the three classical heroes in this series, has a double-headed eagle on his banner.
13. Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck* (Berlin, 1913) vol. 1, p. 19, fol. 32r; vol. 2, p. 49, fol. 91r. As this is a right foot, it cannot be the fragment still in the Via Pie di Marmo, Rome, which is a left foot (Touring Club Italiano, *Roma* [Milan, 1960] vol. 1, p. 144, fig.

- 210), but it is sufficiently like it to have been perhaps the other foot from the same statue. A colossal foot appears in some of van Heemskerck's paintings, such as the *Panoramic Landscape* in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Edward S. King, "A New Heemskerck," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 7-8 [1944-45] p. 63, fig. 50) and the *Triumph of Silenus* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Goffredo Hoogewerff, "L'ispirazione romana di Martino van Heemskerck," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi* [Rome, 1961] vol. 3, p. 166, fig. 1). For other surviving colossal feet, see Carlos Arturo Picón, "Big Feet," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Deutscher Archäologisches Institut, 1983, pp. 95-106, esp. n. 51.
14. Hupert, "Martin van Heemskerck's Seven Wonders," p. 59.
  15. Information from the *Census of Antique Works of Art known to Renaissance Artists, sponsored by the Warburg Institute, University of London, and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University*.
  16. Hupert, "Martin van Heemskerck's Seven Wonders," p. 57.
  17. Engraved by Philip Galle, no. 8 (Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 346, fig. 4). A drawing, signed and dated 1570, is in the Louvre (Lise Duclaux, "Dessins de Martin van Heemskerck," *Revue du Louvre*, 1981, pp. 376, fig. 3).
  18. Published by Theodore Galle (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, vol. 8, no. 593). A painting dated 1552 closely related to the print is in the Lille Museum (Rainald Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck* [Berlin, 1980] no. 78, pl. 111), and a drawing, less closely connected, at Christ Church College, Oxford (A. E. Popham, "Sebastiano Resta and His Collections," *Old Master Drawings* 11 [1936-37] p. 19, pl. 15). The drawing and the tapestry, though generally unlike, have in common the omission of the colossal statue in the center of the arena, found in both painting and print. This has been identified as a Jupiter in the Louvre (C. Malcolm Brown, "Martin van Heemskerck, the Villa Madama Jupiter and the Gonzaga Correspondence Files," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 94 [1970] pp. 46-60).
  19. Engraved by Dirck Volkertsz-Coornhert, published by H. Cock. A drawing, dated 1554, is in the British Museum (Stephen V. Grancsay, "A Parade Shield of Charles V," *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 8 [1949-50] pp. 122-32).
  20. Schneeberg-Perelman, "Neuf Preux," pp. 212-14, 218, 226, 227.
  21. Hunter, *Tapestries*, 1912, p. 402. Three tapestries of the story of Cyrus in Kronborg Castle, Denmark, have Brussels marks and those of the same weaver (Kronborg [n.p., 1972] pls. 42, 43, called Willem Segers?). A *Sacrifice of Noah* in a private collection in New York in 1975 has the same mark. The most closely related Willem Segers mark (a W crossed by an S) is reproduced in Carmen Rábanos Faci, *Los Tapices en Aragón* (Saragossa, 1978) p. 153, fig. 10.
  22. Van Ysselsteyn, "Karel de Grote," p. 792. The usual Oudenaarde city marks are a striped shield or two O's joined to resemble a pair of eyeglasses (Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 18 of list of marks).
  23. Schneeberg-Perelman, "Neuf Preux," p. 225.
  24. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 600, 603.
  25. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 600, n. 3.
  26. Mercedes Ferrero Viale, "Tapisseries flamandes inédites en Italie," *Artes Textiles* 7 (1971) pp. 52-55, fig. 4.
  27. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 340, fig. 2; *Handbook of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art* (Kansas City, 1933) p. 79, illus.
  28. Federico Hermanin, *Il Palazzo di Venezia* (Rome, 1948) pp. 316, 319, illus. p. 318. Called the *Construction of Trajan's Column*; said to have come from the Château Gaillard d'Amboise. Possenti, "Un arazzo fiammingo," p. 175, illus.
  29. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 340; Possenti, "Un arazzo fiammingo," pp. 173-77, illus.; called *Trajan Going to the Colosseum to see a Bullfight*.
  30. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 340.
  31. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 340.
  32. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 340. "The Coralie Walker Hanna Memorial Collection, Gift of Leonard C. Hanna, Jr.," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 26 (1939) p. 104; called the *Decline of Solomon*.
  33. Formerly in the Cleveland Museum (Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 340, fig. 12, without borders); Carl Nordenfalk, "Queen Christina's Roman Collection of Tapestries," *Analecta Reginensia: I. Queen Christina of Sweden, Documents and Studies* (Stockholm, 1966) p. 286.
  34. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 343; van Ysselsteyn, "Karel de Grote," p. 793, fig. 1. This appears to be the tapestry shown at the Exposición Universal, Barcelona, in 1888, when it belonged to the Seo, Tortosa (Asociación Artístico Arqueológico Barcelonesa, *Album de la sección arqueológica de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona* [Barcelona, 1888] p. 114, pl. 12). It was in the Mrs. F. Gray Griswold sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, February 15, 1941, no. 131, illus., when it was called *Maximilian Emperor*.
  35. Brett, "Seven Wonders," p. 343, fig. 13.
  36. *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 237 (November 1971) p. 35, *Temple* illus. Van Brugge and van der Bruggen are both family names of Brussels weavers.
  37. 3<sup>a</sup> Biennale: *Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell'Antiquariato*, Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1963) p. 211, illus.; called *Colosseo*, from a set of the *Seven Wonders of the World*, after Antonio Tempesta, woven by Jacob Geubels. Owned by French & Co., New York.
  38. Elías Tormo Monzó and Francisco J. Sanchez Cantón, *Los Tapices de la Casa del Rey N. S.* (Madrid, 1919) pp. 121-23, pl. 38; Paulina Junquera de Vega, "Les séries de tapisseries de 'Grotesques' et 'l'Histoire de Noé' de la Couronne d'Espagne," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 [1973] pp. 162-70.
  39. *Antwerpse Wandtapijten*, exh. cat., Het Sterckshof (Deurne, 1973) nos. 20, 21, pls. 14, 15.
  40. Mulder-Erkelen, *Wandtapijten* 2, pl. 15.
  41. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) vol. 1, p. 119.
  42. Paulina Junquera, "Tapices españoles y flamencos del Palacio de la Almudaina," *Reales Sitios* 7 (1970) pp. 25-32.
  43. Albert E. Calvert, *The Spanish Royal Tapestries* (London, 1921) pl. 45.
  44. Ferrero, "Tapisseries flamandes," figs. 6, 7.
  45. Jacqueline Versyp, "Vlaamse Wandtapijten uit de XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuw te Fabriano," *La Tapisserie flamande aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Colloque international, 8-10 octobre 1959*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van



België (Brussels, 1959) p. 216, figs. 1, 2.

46. Gertrude Herdle, "A Flemish Renaissance Tapestry," *Bulletin of the Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester, New York* 3, no. 6 (1931) pp. 1-3, illus.
47. Gaston Migeon, "Collection de M. Ch. Mège," *Les Arts*, no. 86 (February 1909) p. 19, illus.; Herbert Lan, "Département des Objets d'Art," *Revue du Louvre*, 1961, p. 108.
48. Hermann Schmitz, *Bildteppiche* (Berlin, 1919) pp. 238, 239, illus.
49. *Drawings, Water-Color Paintings*, MMA Handbook, [1894], p. 59. This purchase must have been made before 1889, when the entire Barberini collection of 135 pieces was acquired by Charles Mather Ffoulke (*The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries* [New York, 1913] p. 9).

## 20 Religious subject

Flemish (Brussels), late sixteenth century.

Wool and silk.

5 ft. 8 in x 13 ft. 8 in. (1.73 m x 4.17 m).

20–21 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. John Taylor Johnston Mali, in memory of John

Taylor Johnston Mali, 1974 (1974.163).

### DESCRIPTION

The three scenes are apparently meant to be read from right to left. That on the right shows a bearded man in sacerdotal (perhaps Jewish) costume, holding a cloth to his face as if weeping. His headdress is red and yellow and he wears a short-sleeved blue jacket with pale yellow stripes over a dull pale yellow robe with a blue pattern and blue shoes. His full cloak is red and yellow, fastened by red bands across the chest. He holds a long stick in his left hand. Facing him is an angel with red feathers at the top of one of his dull yellow wings; he is dressed in dull yellow-pink, with blue stripes on his sleeves and underskirt. In the middle distance on the left is a young shepherd in dull pale yellow with a blue belt and red leggings; beside him is his pale brown dog with a blue collar and behind them a flock of pale yellow-gray sheep. Farther away on the right are two cowherds in red and blue with gray and brown cattle behind them. Larger cows in the same colors are seen in the background between the two chief figures. In the distance on the left are more sheep and another shepherd. The landscape includes a farm with some blue and red roofs and a castle on a hill at the skyline. The sky is in shades of gray and dull yellow, the landscape is green and yellow. The foreground is dark green with yellow and green plants; some have white flowers.

The central scene shows the figure in sacerdotal costume rushing toward a bed and holding in his arms a baby in a long yellow-pink robe. A woman lies on the bed, which is mostly covered with a yellow-pink coverlet. The frame of the bed is yellow-gray, with a blue canopy and curtains, striped with yellow. A small animal lies under the foot of the bed. In the middle distance are three women in dull yellow, pink, and blue; the foremost carries a platter. Behind them a boy in red pulls aside the dull yellow-pink curtain hanging over an entry. In the distance a woman in dull pale brown holds a pale yellow vessel on her head as she stands in a doorway. Over the door are pale yellow

dishes on a shelf, with rafters above them. The wall of the bedroom is gray and brown, with a white window with blue bars over the bed. On the wall is a half-length picture of Christ, in dull pale pink, carrying the cross, with a heavy dull yellow and brown frame. In the foreground is an elaborate red cradle decorated in yellow and holding a yellow blanket. Beside it is a pale yellow vase holding blue, yellow, red, and green flowers and foliage. Two gray and yellow-pink dogs lie on the tiled floor, which is in shades of blue, dull yellow, and gray; the floor of the distant room is pale blue and white. The scene is flanked by pilasters, seen against pillars of gray stone like the bedroom wall. Each has a richly ornamented central panel, that on the left showing yellow figures on a red ground, that on the right being yellow and gray. Smaller panels at the foot have yellow angels playing musical instruments on red grounds. A yellow and blue parrot perches on the left, a red, yellow, and blue one spreads its wings on the right.

In the scene on the left, the man in sacerdotal costume



stands beside a gray and dull pale yellow donkey; his headdress is tied under his chin with a blue band. Sitting on the donkey is a woman with a yellow halo floating above her. She is dressed in red and yellow and holds a small child in red, yellow, and green. The donkey has a blue rope round its muzzle, held by a boy who also carries a long stick. He wears a pale pink jacket, red-striped blue sleeves, a blue-striped red and dull yellow cloak, blue leggings with red stripes, and red boots. The same four people with the donkey are seen in the middle distance in the center; the man is either giving the child to the woman or taking it from her, and the boy stands at the donkey's head. On the right is a round temple with red roofs and blue windows; three figures in red, yellow, and blue approach it. The sky, landscape, and foreground are similar to those of the right-hand scene, but include more distant buildings and a greater variety of flowers.

The ground of the borders is yellow, the decoration in shades of green, blue, red, gray, and yellow. The horizontal borders show kneeling and seated angels; in the center at the top is a figure in a landscape. The side borders have, at the top, on the left, Faith holding a cross and a book in a

landscape, on the right, Prudence, with a mirror and two snakes.<sup>1</sup> In the center of each upright is a medallion with a winged head surrounded by blue strapwork and surmounted by two birds. The guards are modern.

#### CONDITION

There are many small repairs throughout, most noticeably in the pillow behind the woman's head in the central scene. The upper border has been cut at the top. A small section of the lower right border has been cut and replaced.

#### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1973-1974*, p. 55. Listed as Flemish, about 1600; called biblical scenes.

#### NOTE

1. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600* (Geneva, 1958-59) vol. 2, s.v. "Miroir," "Deux serpents."



## 21 Scenes from the Life of Saint Paul

a *Paul Preaching at Philippi*

b *Paul before Agrippa*

Flemish (Brussels), about 1600.

Brussels and unidentified weaver's marks.

Wool and silk.

21a 11 ft. 8 in. x 8 ft. 8 in. (3.56 m x 2.64 m);

21b 11 ft. 7 in. x 8 ft. 8 in. (3.53 m x 2.64 m).

14–15 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

The Lillian Stokes Gillespie Collection, Bequest of Lillian

Stokes Gillespie, 1915 (15.121.5 [21b]; 15.121.6 [21a]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces have the same borders, except for the figures in the upper right corner. The main border has a cream ground and is edged with narrow bands in cream, pink, yellow, and blue. In the upper corners are standing women. The one on the left is dressed in blue and dull yellow and carries two sections of a broken column, with a lion at her feet (Fortitude). She is reversed on the right of 21a, but replaced on 21b by a woman in red, blue, and dull yellow, holding a trumpet (Fame). The lower corners have figures seated in chariots under small canopies. On the left is a man in blue and dull yellow classical armor (presumably Mars), drawn by two gray horses. On the right is a woman (winged on 21b) in blue and dull yellow (presumably Juno or Venus), holding a scepter and a flower; her chariot is drawn by two large gray and red-brown eagles. In the center of each side border is an oval medallion with a landscape. On 21a these show people sitting on the ground; on 21b, people at table. The centers of the horizontal borders have landscapes under arches held by nude children. They show three people (on 21a also a dog), apparently taking part in a betrothal or marriage ceremony. The spaces between the landscapes and the corner figures are filled with vases of flowers, leaves, fruit, herms, and nude children in shades of red, green, yellow, blue, and gray. The guards are dark blue, with Brussels marks and those of an unknown weaver (see detail) in dull yellow.

### CONDITION

Both pieces have extensive areas of replacements, especially in the silk sections.

### WEAVER AND DATE

The weaver's mark appears on four of the eight pieces of a *Story of Jacob* set in the Austrian National Collection.<sup>1</sup> The poor quality of design and execution as well as the style, with the high horizon, suggest a date close to 1600.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Two tapestries in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, Detroit, may be from the same series, though not the same set, as 21. They show Saint Paul among the philosophers at Athens (Acts 17) and his encounter with Elymas the Sorcerer (Acts 13). They have the coats of arms of Brandenburg and Silesia. Borders very similar to those of 21 are frequently found. A *Rape of Europa* in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a more elaborate and better designed version; the scenes in the medallion are different.<sup>2</sup> Three pieces from a set of the life of the Virgin in the cathedral of Gandino also have almost the same borders, except for a coat of arms at the top. They were given to the church before 1600 and have the mark of Cornelis Mattens.<sup>3</sup> Mars and Juno or Venus and some of the small motifs appear on four tapestries of the *History of Scipio*, also with the monogram of Cornelis Mattens, in the Parson sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, February 3, 1945 (nos. 827–830, illus.), one of which was later in the Gladys, Lady Burney sale, Christie's, London, December 11, 1969 (no. 161, illus.). Fame is found on a classical scene in the Florence Matthews sale, Parke-Bernet, February 15, 1939 (no. 215, illus.), and on a *Zenobia* tapestry in the Ruth Vanderbilt Twombly sale, Parke-Bernet, June 15, 1955 (no. 164, illus.). Many other examples could be cited.



## HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Robert McMaster (Lillian Stokes) Gillespie, 1915.

## PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report* 1915, p. 50. Listed under bequests.

D. F. (Durr Friedley). "An Important Bequest of Tapestries."

*MMA Bulletin* 10 (1915) p. 248, illus. [21a]. Called late sixteenth century, by the weaver of the *Jacob* set in Vienna.

"The Gillespie Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum." *Good Furniture* 6 (1916) p. 112. Mentioned; called about 1570.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop." *MMA Journal* 4 (1971) p. 121, n. 27. Relationship to Raphael *Acts of the Apostles* mentioned.

## 21a *Paul Preaching at Philippi*

### DESCRIPTION

Saint Paul stands on the right, wearing a dull pale yellow robe and a dark blue cloak. The head of a bearded man in red, presumably Silas, is seen behind him. Five women sit on the ground on the left. One in blue and yellow-gray holds a dark blue book; another with a child in blue wears a yellow-gray and blue dress with pink decoration. The two behind are in blue, dull yellow, and pink; only the head of the fifth is visible. Two women in dark blue, green, dull pink, and dull yellow stand behind the group. Beyond them, Saint Paul in the same costume is baptizing a kneeling woman in blue and pale yellow by the side of a river. Three women in red, blue, and yellow walk across a two-arched gray bridge; to the left and right are distant couples in red, blue, and yellow. There is a small area of gray sky and a landscape background of hills, buildings, and trees in shades of green, gray, dull blue, and pale brown. The foreground is dark green with a number of pale yellow and green plants.

### CONDITION

There are small areas of repair, especially in Paul's robe and the guards.

## SUBJECT

The scene is presumably that described in Acts 16:13: "And on the sabbath we [Paul and Silas] went out of the city [Philippi] by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither." Paul speaks to a group of women and Silas stands behind him; in the distance Paul is baptizing Lydia, who was converted on this occasion (Acts 16:14, 15).

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Paul is adapted from the figure of the same saint preaching in Athens in the *Acts of the Apostles* series after Raphael.<sup>4</sup> The baptism of Lydia is seen in the background of *Paul Preaching at Philippi* in the *Story of Saint Paul* after Pieter Coecke; the woman on the left with folded arms in 21 appears behind a woman with children in the foreground of the Coecke design.<sup>5</sup>

## 21b *Paul before Agrippa*

### DESCRIPTION

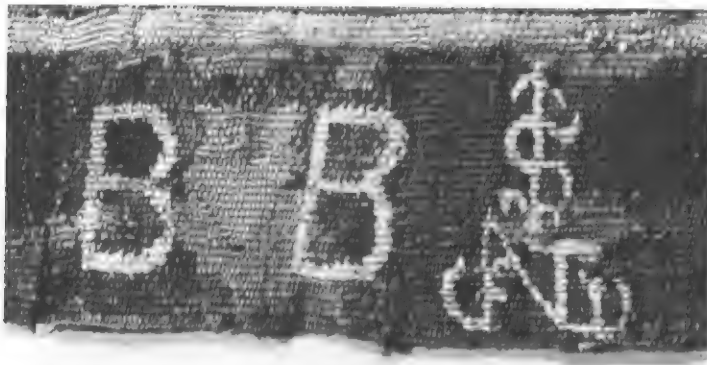
Saint Paul, in a yellow-gray robe with red sleeves and a blue cloak, stands on the left. The head of a man in red with a brown head covering is seen behind him. Agrippa, wearing a crown and holding a scepter, is seated in front of a blue tent with dull green curtains. He wears yellow armor with a blue cloak, and has a lion-mask on his red, blue, and yellow leg covering. Bernice, in green and yellow, sits beside him. Behind her stand two women in red, blue, and gray. A man with a red turban and a red and yellow-gray costume stands on the right. In the right foreground a man in blue, yellow, and red sits on a gray carved stone seat. The distant landscape on the left shows a narrow area of blue and gray sky, with mountains, trees, and buildings in shades of blue, gray, green, and yellow below. The foreground is thickly covered with green and dull yellow plants.

### CONDITION

Large sections of Saint Paul's robe and that of the seated







Detail of 21b

man on the right are replacements. Smaller areas on Bernice's robe and elsewhere have been extensively repaired.

#### SUBJECT

The incident is that described in Acts 26:1: "Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth the hand, and answered for himself." With King Herod Agrippa II are his sister Bernice (Acts 26:30) and the procurator of Judea, Porcius Festus (Acts 26:24), presumably the seated man. The man in the turban may be one of the "principal men of the city"

Caesarea, who were present at the hearing (Acts 25:23), and the man behind Paul an officer of the court.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Saint Paul and Agrippa are derived from figures in the *Blinding of Elymas* in the *Acts of the Apostles* series after Raphael, and the seated figure on the right from the Christ of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* in the same series.<sup>6</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Ernst von Birk, "Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884) p. 187, nos. LXXV 1, 3, 6, and 7.
2. George Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London, 1980) no. 58. Called Flemish, late sixteenth-seventeenth century; the border is said to be possibly not original to the tapestry.
3. Angelo Pinetti, "Gli arazzi di Gandino," *Emporium* 56 (1922) illus. pp. 115, 116, and color pl.; Angelo Pinetti, *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia: I. Provincia di Bergamo* (Rome, 1931) pp. 283, 284; J. P. Asselberghs, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie flamande*, exh. cat., Château de Culan (Saint Amand, 1971) p. 22.
4. John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1972) pl. 40.
5. Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande: Pierre Coeck d'Alost* (Brussels, 1966) fig. 252.
6. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons*, pls. 26, 30.



## 22 Garden and hunting scene

### Fragment

Flemish, late sixteenth century.

Unidentified mark.

Wool and silk.

5 ft. 9 in. x 6 ft. 6 in. (1.75 m x 1.98 m).

16–19 warps per inch, 7 per centimeter.

Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D.

Fletcher, 1917 (17.120.121).

### DESCRIPTION

A large formal Renaissance garden extends across the center of the tapestry. It is divided by a wide central path on which are four figures in red, blue, and yellow, including a man and a woman embracing. On the left are three rectangles surrounded by pale red and yellow open fences, with entrances formed by high arches. In the nearest rectangle is a fountain in a square pale yellow-blue pool, with a couple and a woman with a dog walking on the green and yellow grass around it. A man in blue leans on the fence and a couple in blue and yellow approaches the nearest gateway. The rectangle behind is filled with blue and yellow flower beds and the one farthest away has another couple and a carriage. To the right of the central path, a large oblong is surrounded by a red-framed leafy arbor in green and yellow with pyramids topped by balls at each corner. There are blue and yellow flower beds in the center. Behind this, a red-fenced area has a statue in the middle. The whole garden is flanked on the left by a green and yellow hedge with a yellow-gray gate tower in the center, leading to a bridge over a blue-green canal, on the right by an open red fence with an arched opening. In the foreground on the left is a group of four men, one in blue swathed in yellow, the others in blue, yellow, red, brown, and gray costumes; one has a conspicuous sword at his right side. To the right of the group is a man in blue and yellow on a yellow-gray rearing horse; he holds a brown spear. In the center, four men in red, blue, and yellow attack a crouching yellow-gray bull. Two others approach from the rear and two move away on the right. Farther to the right a man in red and blue on a rearing gray horse, with two gray dogs running alongside, pursues a fleeing gray bull. A man in blue and red faces the bull with a spear and another in red, blue, and yellow runs up from

behind. In the distance beyond the garden is an imposing yellow-gray building. The background shows trees, fields, and hills in tones of green and pale yellow with a narrow strip of gray sky. Two large trees with gray and brown trunks frame the scene on the right. The green grassy foreground has a number of large green and pale yellow plants.

The horizontal borders have identical central panels above and below, each with a seated woman in blue, red, and yellow playing a large stringed instrument, two nude children behind her, and an extensive landscape in green and yellow. The corners have large birds in brown, gray, red, blue, and yellow, all different. The left upright border has a panel with a standing woman in red and yellow in a landscape holding a snake and a mirror (Prudence). A church and a man carrying a bundle are seen in the background. The corresponding panel on the right shows a standing woman in red, yellow, and pale blue pouring water from one vessel into another (Temperance). There is a jug at her feet, a fountain beside her, and a landscape background. The upper border has two shields with yellow and dark green trees on yellow grounds and three grotesque half-length figures. Two of these appear on the lower border and others, of a different type, on the uprights. The interstices of all the borders are filled with vases of flowers, leaves, and fruit in red, blue, green, and yellow on pale yellow grounds. The guards are blue with part of an unidentified maker's mark (possibly VA/X) in yellow on the lower right side.

### CONDITION

Both the central scene and the borders are cut on all sides; the borders may thus not have originally belonged to the piece from which the central scene was taken. There are small areas of repair in many sections, especially at the edges of the central scene.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style and technique suggest a Brussels manufactory in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

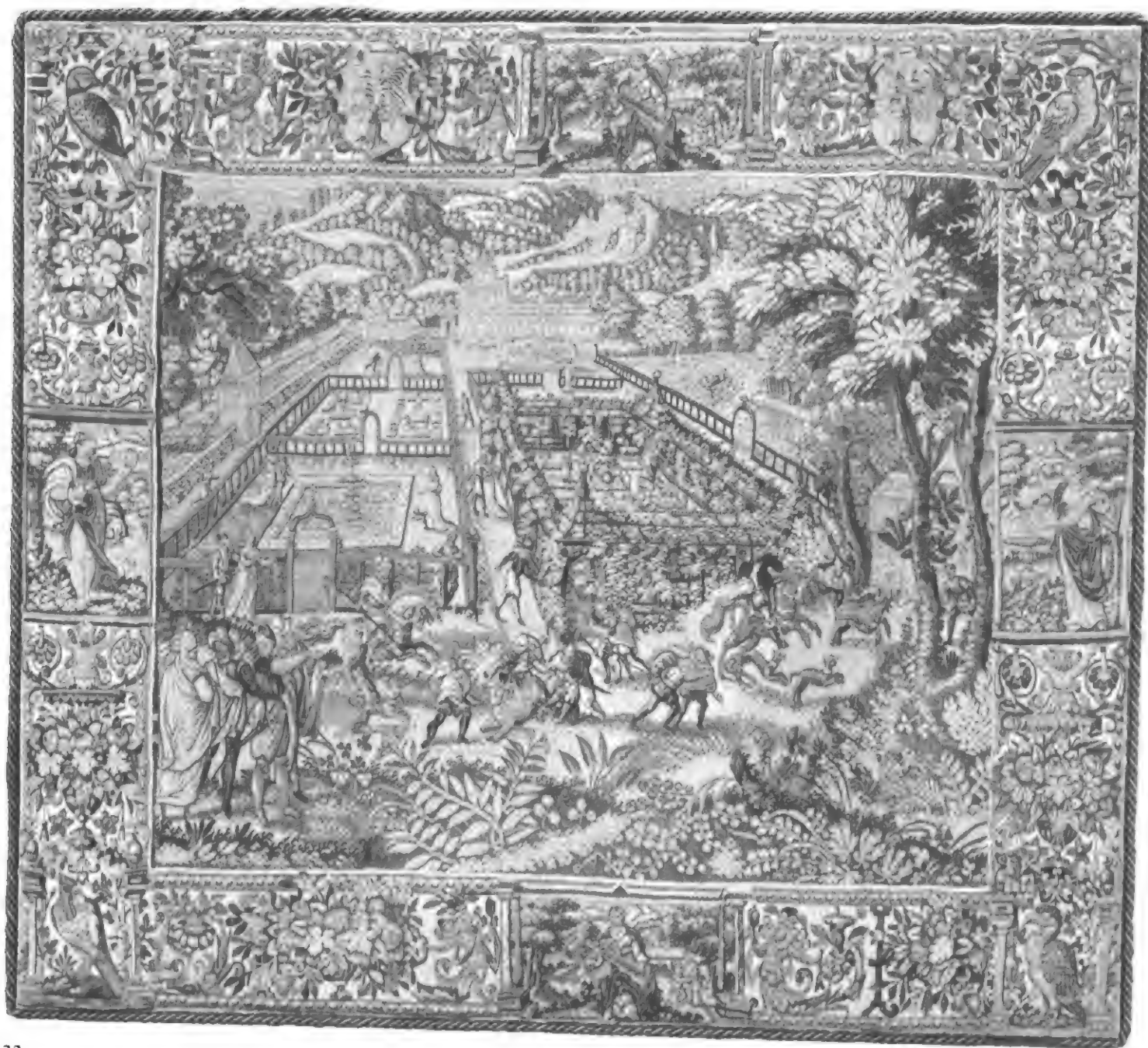
Two fragments in the Mrs. Elmer E. Smathers sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, March 6, 1948 (nos. 151, 152, illus. no. 151), show very similar hunting scenes in closely related borders. The panels in the horizontal borders are identical, as are some of the grotesque figures and vases of flowers.

Another tapestry, showing a hunting party beside a wood, with a village and dancing peasants in the background, belonged to P. W. French & Co. in 1923. The style closely resembles 22, and the borders include many

of the same elements, such as Temperance (with another figure representing Fortitude) and some of the birds, grotesques, and vases. Replicas of the side borders were also owned by this firm at this date, and a piece of the same height, but 14 feet, 5 inches long, with a replica of 22 as the central portion, was owned by them in 1930.

#### PUBLICATION

"The Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection." *MMA Bulletin* 13 (1918) p. 61. Mentioned as a Flemish tapestry of the late sixteenth century.



## 23 The Ball Game

The second in a set of probably eight pieces of the *Story of Gombaut and Macée*

Flemish (Bruges); probably designed and woven about 1590–1600.

Wool and silk.

11 ft. 5 in. x 12 ft. 11 in. (3.48 m x 3.94 m).

12–14 warps per inch, 5–6 per centimeter.

Gift of Charles Zadok, 1958 (58.62).

### DESCRIPTION

In the center is a small area of cleared ground, shown gray, for playing a ball game; it is walled at the back and front by low wattle fences in pale orange-brown. On the left stand two shepherdesses. The one on the right wears a red cap and petticoat and a blue dress, with pink slippers; the other has a white cap and petticoat and a red dress, pulled up in front through her blue belt. She holds a mallet with a blue head, perhaps her *houlette*.<sup>1</sup> Behind her sits a pale orange-brown dog with a blue-spiked red collar. On the ground in front of the women is a blue hoop. At the other end of the ball court is a young man in blue with a red cape and leg coverings, brown pouch, and orange shoes; a red band over his blue cap holds his pale yellow straw hat behind his shoulders. He adjusts a long, pointed brown cone, beside which are two brown balls, and holds a blue-headed mallet. A gray water bottle outlined in red stands against the farther fence. Behind it is a group of white and pale orange-brown sheep and above them a fair-haired shepherdess in red grasping the orange-brown trunk of an oak tree with blue-green leaves. A shepherd places his right hand on her shoulder and in his left holds his *houlette*; the hook at its lower end and the scoop at the upper are blue. He wears a pale yellow hat, a red and yellow jacket with a white collar, a white and brown pouch, dark blue knee coverings, white stockings, and orange-brown shoes. On the right is a cherry tree with red fruit, blue-green leaves, and brown trunk, behind which are two white rams fighting. On the far left a couple is embracing beside an oak. He is in red, with his straw hat slung behind him, and has a brown and white pouch with a cup hanging from it, dark blue knee coverings, white stockings, and pale orange-brown shoes. She is in pale blue, with a white headdress. On the right of the tapestry

is a group of three figures, a standing boy in pink, with a pale yellow undergarment and blue stockings, a reclining girl in yellow with a red cap and stockings, and, about to strike her, a man wearing a dark blue undergarment and a red jacket with a white collar. To the left of this group are two white sheep and a white and pink dog with a blue collar. In front of them are two sheep, one brown and one white, and behind them a group of trees with orange-brown trunks and blue-green leaves.

The sky, which shows in two openings between the three clusters of trees, is light blue. In the opening to the left is a white and pale brown watermill, with an orange roof and wheel, standing by a pale blue river, with a blue wood in the distance. In the right opening, a flock of white sheep is being driven over a white stone bridge by a shepherd in pink with an immense blue-headed *houlette*; the space under the bridge is dark blue and pale blue water is seen beyond it. In the distance are pink ruins with arches and above these a group of white buildings, including houses with light red roofs and towers with dark blue ones. To the right of the bridge, between the trees, is a white stone house with a red roof and, alongside it, a brown ruin with a blue stone arch. The foreground shows a stretch of blue-green and yellow grass and other plants, including some with red, pink, purple, yellow, and white flowers. On the left is a blue pond with water weeds and a large gray crested bird with pale orange beak and legs. Four large gray or white birds with pale brown-orange wings and legs are seen in the center; the two on the right have dark blue outlines to their heads. On the right is a brown eagle and a brown and gray owl; three owlets are seen in a pale brown hollow behind them.

There are seven white scrolls inscribed in red (with three dark blue) letters, the first letter in each inscription being pink. The verse that describes the subject as a whole is the topmost on the right. It reads:

AV · TEMPS · DESTE · QVE · LE · VERT · DVRE  
A · QVINSE · ANS · DESSVS · LA · VERDVRE  
BERGERES · FONT · TOVRS · DE · SOVPLESSE  
ET · SEN · SAVTANT · ON · VOIT · LA · FESSE  
CE · NEST · QVE · PLAISIR · DE · NATVRE

(In summer time, as long as the greenness lasts, at fifteen years, on the grass, shepherdesses perform feats of agility; and if, when they leap, one sees the buttocks, it is but a natural pleasure.)

The verse above the couple embracing on the left is spoken by the man and reads:

TANDIS · QVE [JE]<sup>2</sup> · TE · TROVVE · A · MON · AISE  
IL · EST · FORCE · QVE · JE · TE · BAISE  
MARGOT · A · LOMBRE · DV · BVISSON

(Since I find thee at my disposition, I must kiss thee, Margot, in the shade of a bush.)

The woman's reply is given on the scroll below, to the right of the couple:

IL · NEST · CHOSE · QVE · TANT · ME · PLAISE  
CAR · VN · BAISER · GRAND · DVEIL · APAISE  
QVANT · CEST · DVN · BEAV · JEVNE · GARSON

(There is nothing that pleases me so much, for a kiss assuages great sorrow when it is given by a handsome young boy.)

Two verses refer to the game. That spoken by the girls is on the upper left:

IL [for JE] · TE · PRIT · MON · AMY · JACQVET  
FAIT · TRES · BIEN · DRESSER · LE · TICQVET<sup>3</sup>  
AVANT · QVE · FRAPER · DE · BILLETES

(I beg thee, my friend Jacquet, set up the *tiquet* very well, before we hit the balls.)

The boy's answer is given below him:

PASSER · DEVX · PAS · NEST · PAS · AQUEST [for AGUETS]<sup>4</sup>  
MAIS · POVR · VOVS · SERVIR · DE · NAQVET  
JE · LE · VOVS · DRESSERAY · FILLETES

(If I take two steps, it is not to spy on you, but to be your ball boy; I will set it up for you, little girls.)

Above the group to the right is a verse spoken by the boy:

PVIS · QVE · JE · TIENS · GROSSE · BERGERE  
A · DESCOVERT · VOSTRE · DERRIERE  
VOVX · AVRES · CE · COVP · SVR · LA · FESSE

(Since I hold thee, plump shepherdess, with your behind uncovered, you will get this smack on the buttocks.)

The girl answers on the scroll below her:

GOMBAULT · TA · MAIN · EST · TROP · LEGERE  
ET · PVIS · CE · NEST · PAS · LA · MANIERE  
DE · FESSER · FILLE · SANS · PROMESSE

(Gombault, thy hand is too free, and then it is not good manners to smack the behind of a girl without promising to marry her.)

The narrow inner border is edged with pale blue on the outside and yellow on the inside. It has a red ground with two twisted ribbons, blue on one side and white on the other, running along it; a yellow band passes between them and there are yellow flowers at each corner. The main border has a pink ground. In the center at the top is a trophy of a *houlette* and a stick crossed, with a dark orange double gourd bound with a blue ribbon. Pale blue ribbons flutter on either side and there is a large indeterminate object at the back (in the other versions of the border it is clear that this is a pouch). Two falls of blue drapery frame the trophy and support swags of blue, green, red, and yellow leaves and fruit, among which grapes, pears, apples, gourds, and pea pods can be distinguished. The other end of each swag is sustained by a fantastic yellow half-length figure, female on the left, male on the right, with blue foliage instead of arms. Other swags of leaves and fruit fill the spaces to the corners. The lower border has a trophy of a blue bagpipe and other wind instruments, with yellow and pale blue ribbons, framed by dark and light blue curved bands. These support swags of leaves and flowers on the left, leaves and fruit on the right, whose other ends are held by blue bird heads. Other bird heads hold the swags that fill the spaces to the corners. The upright borders are similar in design, but not entirely in coloring. In the center of each on a dark blue ground is a trophy formed of a distaff with white wool, the upper part covered with yellow, marked in dark blue on the left, dark red on the right. There are also a pair of blue shears and a knife, the whole tied with a pale green cloth. Below each trophy is a bunch of leaves and flowers, including white, red, and yellow lilies and blue foxgloves, rising from a pile of red, purple, yellow, and blue fruit, including a pomegranate. These are supported by elaborate, partly gadrooned vases with animal masks, blue and red on the left, blue and yellow on the right, which rest on gray rams' heads in the lower corners. Above the central trophy is another gadrooned blue and yellow vase, holding leaves and fruit, including blue grapes and green gourds, below,





and leaves and flowers, including white and yellow daffodils and blue irises, above. At the upper corners are large yellow and blue flowers. The narrow outer border has a red ground, ornamented with green, yellow, and blue leaves, flowers, and berries; it is edged with a yellow band. The guards (modern) are dull orange or brown.

The dark outlines of the figures are sometimes a deeper shade of the area they surround, sometimes a contrasting color; thus, the legs of the boy setting up the game have red outlines on the left, dark blue on the right. This may be an attempt to indicate that the light is coming from the left; the figures on the playing ground, the hoop, and the pointed marker all have cast shadows extending to the right.

#### CONDITION

There are many rewoven areas throughout. Extensive ones include the spaces between the two central birds and around the eagle's feet. Much yellow silk, used on foliage and costumes, is a replacement.

#### SUBJECT

The series of eight tapestries tells the story of a shepherd, Gombaut or Gombault, and a shepherdess, Macée, from early childhood to death. No complete set is known, but there is one of seven subjects with part of the eighth in the Musée de Saint-Lô.<sup>5</sup> The first four pieces show the occupations of young shepherds and shepherdesses at the ages of ten, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five; Gombaut is named in the inscriptions on the last two, but not Macée. The next three pieces are concerned especially with Gombaut and Macée, without mentioning their age; their names are included, with a number of others, on the last of the series. The individual pieces show:

1. Occupations of shepherd children at the age of ten, eating soup, catching butterflies, bird's-nesting, etc., known as *La Soupe* and *La Chasse aux papillons*. Tapestries of this subject are usually found as two separate panels.

2. Occupations of shepherd children at the age of fifteen, known as the *Jeu de boules*.

3. Twenty-year-old shepherds and shepherdesses dancing, known as *La Danse*.

4. Twenty-five-year-old shepherds and shepherdesses eating and drinking, known as *Le Repas*.

5. The betrothal of Gombaut and Macée, known as *Les Fiançailles*.

6. The marriage of Gombaut and Macée, known as *La Noce*.

7. The flocks are attacked by a wolf, and the aged Gombaut suffers from the effects of marriage, known as *Le Loup*.

8. Death, with a scythe, pursues Gombaut, Macée, and other shepherds and shepherdesses, known as *La Mort*.

The absence of any representation of the work of tending sheep is noticeable, except for a small part of *Le Loup*, where, however, more stress is laid on Gombaut's debility after many years of marriage. The occupations of the fifteen-year-olds are still childishly playful, though less concerned with sport than with sex. The borders show objects connected with sheep tending and wool working, as well as with country life in general. The emphasis on sex throughout is less marked in the French versions of the series.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A set of eight French prints by Jean Leclerc, known from examples in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, shows very similar inscriptions and designs, without the lower sections with large birds. They are said to date from 1587.<sup>6</sup> The borders differ but contain some of the same elements, such as rural trophies. But it is uncertain whether the prints were used by the designer of the tapestry series, or whether both derive from a common source.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The existence of the Bruges mark on several pieces of the series with the borders of 23 establishes this city as the place of manufacture. On stylistic grounds, the date can be presumed to be close to 1600.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A companion piece of the same height, but 13 feet 2 inches wide, was in the Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 22, 1937 (no. 8), but its subject is not known. Minor differences in the borders of other tapestries of the series make it unlikely that any of them are from the same set as 23.

Another version of the subject of 23, with the same borders, is in the Musée de Saint-Lô;<sup>8</sup> the main differences are in the scrolls, whose ends curl in different directions, and in the large birds and plants of the lower section. The fence around the playground is much more clearly drawn; the water bottle hangs on it. Other examples were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, before 1882,<sup>9</sup> and with the Emile Jellinek-Mercedes collection, American Art Association, New York, February 20, 1926 (no. 13, illus.); in the latter, both figures and inscriptions show considerable variations, probably in part the result of restoration. The borders include winged putti above, masks in the upper corners, and reclining nude figures below. A tapestry very similar to 23 from the estate of Mrs. Fulton Cutting was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, November 10, 11, 1972 (no. 242, illus.); the lower border shows bowls and jugs next to the rams' heads at either end, and there are masks in the upper corners. An example owned by Maria Luisa Devoto de Bustillo, Buenos Aires, in 1965, has no inscribed scrolls, but the composition is extremely similar. The details are much clearer; there are ducks on the millpond and clouds in the sky. The horizontal borders include winged putti, nudes, satyrs, and groups of jugs, vases, and bowls with spoons in them; the upper corners show masks. The Bruges mark appears in the lower right guard.<sup>10</sup> Another example, very close to 23, was owned by the Paris dealer Yves Mikaeloff in 1980;<sup>11</sup> there are slight differences in the sky and foliage, and the dog behind the ball-playing girls turns his head away from them. A piece in the M. X . . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 18, 1920 (no. 54, illus.), has differently placed inscriptions, with variations in both figures and background. The dog behind the girls is replaced by two sheep. The borders are similar, but the upper one has no figures and the lower corners have no animal heads. A tapestry owned in 1969 by Luciana Valcarengi, Milan, shows a very crude use of some of the same motifs.<sup>12</sup> Jacquet and the smacking episode are the only figures that resemble the original version at all closely. There are no inscriptions or borders.

Examples of the *Ball Game* from sets believed to have been woven in other centers<sup>13</sup> and with different borders include one in the Château de Montal, Lot;<sup>14</sup> the borders have swags of leaves and fruit tied with ribbons, the boy smacking a girl is replaced by two standing figures, the plants in the foreground are of a millefleur type with sheep instead of most of the birds, some of the inscriptions are

different, and there is a coat of arms in a wreath in the upper center. It has been attributed to Tours.<sup>15</sup> An example without inscribed scrolls or marks, but with the border found on Brussels weavings of the series, was formerly in the collection of Schoutheete de Tervarent.<sup>16</sup> Three examples of the *Ball Game* in the Mobilier National,<sup>17</sup> the collection of the duke of Buccleugh, Broughton,<sup>18</sup> and the castle of Křimke in Czechoslovakia<sup>19</sup> are from the series redesigned in reverse by Laurent Guyot and woven in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel workshop, Paris, by Hippolyte de Comans and Filippé Maecht in the first half of the seventeenth century. The design is simplified, the smacking scene and the foreground are omitted; the ball boy is older and there are no inscriptions. The borders have large dogs in the corners, those at the bottom being close to the ones on the Leclerc prints.

Examples of Bruges weavings of the other tapestries of the series are frequently found. Those in public collections include *La Soupe* and *La Chasse aux papillons* in Saint-Lô (in two pieces)<sup>20</sup> and *La Soupe* in the collection of the city of Paris<sup>21</sup> and the Stedelijk Museum, Bruges.<sup>22</sup> *La Danse* is in Saint-Lô and the Château de Montal.<sup>23</sup> Two examples of *Le Repas*, one with the Bruges mark, are in Saint-Lô,<sup>24</sup> and one is in the museum at Saint-Omer.<sup>25</sup> *Les Fiançailles* is in Saint-Lô and the Houston Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>26</sup> *La Noce* is in Saint-Lô, the collection of the city of Bruges,<sup>27</sup> and the Burrell Collection, Glasgow. *Le Loup* is in Saint-Lô, the collection of the city of Paris,<sup>28</sup> the Musée Guéret, Creuse,<sup>29</sup> and the Stedelijk Museum, Bruges.<sup>30</sup> A fragment of *La Mort* is in Saint-Lô, and a complete example is in the Musée Marmottan, Paris. Another complete version is said to be in the Canon Pinel collection, Coutances,<sup>31</sup> and one with the Bruges mark was on the New York art market in 1969; a smaller example was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 14, 1956 (no. 40). Many examples of all except *La Mort* have appeared in sale catalogues.

#### HISTORY

Sold in Paris, January 13, 1879.

Jean Dollfus sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 1, 2, 1912, no. 191, illus. Bought by Clément.

A. Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 22, 1937, no. 7, illus. A companion piece, no. 8, was not described or illustrated.

Given to the MMA by Charles Zadok, New York, 1958.

## EXHIBITION

New York, Bronx Museum of the Arts, 1972. *Games!!! ¡Juegos!* cat. no. 101.

## PUBLICATIONS

MMA Annual Report 1957–1958. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 17 (1958–59) p. 63. Listed under gifts.

Standen, Edith A. "The Shepherd's Sweet Lot." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 17 (1958–59) pp. 226–34. Identified as Bruges, late sixteenth century, and compared with an embroidered tablecloth in the Metropolitan Museum with the same scenes as the first six tapestries of the series.

## NOTES

1. The *houlette* or *Schäferschippe* is a long stick with a hollowed-out iron piece at one end, used to throw small stones or earth at sheep straying onto cultivated land. As is shown by the example held by the man in the center of the tapestry, the other end could be a crook, used for abstracting a single sheep from the flock. The implement is found in eastern France, the Netherlands, and Germany, that is, in countries in which sheep might be kept in open fields with adjacent crops (Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Schafhaltung und Schäfer im Zentraleuropa bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1961] pp. 478–84).
2. The word *Je* is added from the example at Saint-Lô (Jules Guiffrey, *Les Amours de Gombaut et de Macée, étude sur une tapisserie française du Musée de Saint-Lô* [Paris, 1882] p. 35, n. 1).
3. *Tiquet* may be the name of the game that is about to be played (Guiffrey, *Amours*, p. 35), but no other use of the word in this sense has been found. Its connotation here may well be indecent.
4. Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la Langue française du seizième siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1925) s.v. "Aguet, Agueter."
5. Guiffrey, *Amours*, pp. 27, 28; J. Barbaroux, "Les tapisseries des Amours de Gombaut et de Macée au Musée de Saint-Lô," *Revue du Département de la Manche* 2 (1960) pp. 187–200, all pieces illustrated.
6. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "Remarques nouvelles sur les tentures de Gombaut et de Macée, la solution d'une énigme," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 3rd ser., 13 (May–June 1941) fig. 15.
7. Guiffrey, *Amours*, pp. 8–11, 26–47, all prints illus.
8. J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge* (Brussels, 1954) pl. XXIII.
9. Guiffrey, *Amours*, p. 28, mentioned.
10. *Exposición de tapices*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo (Buenos Aires, 1939) no. 18; *Arte flamenco en las colecciones argentinas*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo (Buenos Aires, 1965) no. 78b, illus.
11. Monelle Hayot, "Antiquaires, conservateurs, frères rivaux, mais frères quand même," *L'Oeil*, no. 302 (September 1980) p. 61, fig. 3.
12. Advertisement in *Apollo* 90 (September 1969) p. cxiii, illus.
13. Audenarde was named as the place of origin in the 1633 inventory of the Condé tapestries at Chantilly: "Une tenture de tapisserie d'Audenarde, histoire de Gombaud et Macée, en huit pièces" (Gustave Macon, "Les tapisseries des Princes de Condé," *Archives de l'Art Français*, n.s. 8 [1914] p. 131). Another set, "fabrique de Tours," is mentioned in the 1664 inventory of the duc de la Meilleraie (Guiffrey, *Amours*, p. 14). The earliest inventory entry, that of Florimond Robertet, 1532, does not give the place of manufacture; it may refer to a series of another design, as none of the existing pieces can be assigned to so early a date (Guiffrey, *Amours*, p. 7). Two sets were ordered from a Felletin weaver in 1639 (Jules Guiffrey, "Une Idylle champêtre: la tapisserie de Gombaut et Macée," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 4th ser., 15 [1919] p. 355, n. 1). The latest inventory entry that has been located is one of 1728 for a member of the La Rochefoucauld family: "Six pièces de tapisserie déassorties, scavoir deux pièces de Gombeaux . . ." (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente*, 5th ser., 7 [1884–85] pp. 71–209).
14. *Merveilles des châteaux de Languedoc et de Guyenne* (Paris, 1967) pp. 160, 161, illus.; "Montal, un sauvetage monumental," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 181 (March 1967) p. 96; André Michel, "Le Château de Montal, son histoire, sa mort, et sa résurrection," *Les Arts*, December 1913, pp. 1–32, illus. p. 32; *Exposition des Primitifs français*, exh. cat., Louvre (Paris, 1904) no. 286, illus.
15. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "A propos d'une tapisserie bruxelloise de l'Histoire de Gombaut et Macée," *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, 1939, p. 31, fig. 7. The Brussels example of *La Noce*, discussed in this article (then owned by Baron Edouard Joly) and attributed to Pierre de Godde, was sold at Sotheby's, London, November 12, 1965 (no. 23a), and at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, May 30, 1967 (no. 898, illus. in color).
16. Crick-Kuntziger, "A propos," p. 35, n. 22. Sold in Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, December 9, 10, 1935 (no. 298).
17. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 219–24, illus. pl. facing p. 222.
18. Guiffrey, "Idylle," p. 360. This set of seven pieces lacks *Le Repas*, but includes *La Mort*.
19. Jarmila Blažková, *Berokní tapiserie ze Sbírek Č S R*, exh. cat., Alšova Jihočeská galerie (Hluboká nad Vltavou, 1974) no. 3.
20. Versyp, *Geschiedenis*, pl. XXII.
21. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) p. 70, no. 136.
22. J. D. [Jozef Duverger], "Aanwinsten van het Stedelijk Museum te Brugge," *Artes Textiles* 6 (1965) p. 125, pl. 1; Phyllis Ackerman, *Tapestry, the Mirror of Civilization* (New York, 1933) pl. xxv (owned by Germain Seligmann Co.); V. and C. Sternberg, *Exhibition of Important Tapestries* (London, 1965) no. 20, illus. (as formerly in the collection of John Ryan).
23. "Montal, un sauvetage monumental," p. 100, illus. (on wall of bedroom).
24. Crick-Kuntziger, "Remarques," fig. 17.
25. J. Duverger and J. Versyp, "Tapijwerk in het Museum te Sint-Omaars (Saint-Omer)," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 22 (1953) p. 169, pl. 6.
26. J. Versyp, "Een Brugs tapijt in het Museum te Houston," *Artes Textiles* 6 (1965) p. 127, pl. 1.
27. J. P. Asselberghs, *Les Tapisseries flamandes aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Brussels, 1974) p. 38.
28. Guiffrey, *Amours*, pl. facing p. 49.
29. Fernand Autorde, "Guéret: Le Musée," *Congrès Archeologique de France, LXXXIV<sup>e</sup> session, tenue à Limoges en 1921* (Paris, 1923) p. 130, mentioned.
30. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 91 (1978) p. 5, illus.
31. Barbaroux, "Tapisseries des Amours," mentioned.



## 24 Verdures with giant leaves

Two fragments

Flemish (Grammont), 1550–1600.

Grammont mark.

Wool and silk.

24a 11 ft. x 7 ft. 5 in. (3.35 m x 2.26 m);

24b 10 ft. 4 in. x 4 ft. 9 in. (3.15 m x 1.45 m).

11–12 warps per inch, 5 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1030a [24a]; 06.1030b [24b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces are filled with huge twisting pale and dark green and blue leaves with serrated edges; one in each fragment is shown torn in the middle. What ground is visible between them is very dark blue. The center, now missing, probably showed a plant with long, narrow, smooth-edged leaves rising from the lower border;<sup>1</sup> the ends of some of these leaves are visible on both fragments. Thin stalks with small dull yellow and dark blue leaves and white or pale yellow flowers spread out from the missing center to fill spaces between the giant leaves. One large blue and yellow bird is seen in the middle of the larger fragment (24a) and another has its head cut off by the present right edge. A small blue and yellow bird and two butterflies with blue bodies and pale yellow wings also appear on this fragment. The smaller fragment (24b) has a large blue and yellow bird, with three small ones in the same colors above it, another small bird partly seen on the right, and a yellow snail above.

The side border (seen on 24a only) has a many-sided pale yellow, pale green, and gray pedestal at the base, ornamented with a yellow lion-mask with blue eyes and two blue dolphin heads. From this rise a plant with long blue-green leaves and a dull yellow and pale brown column, decorated with yellow animal heads and yellow-eared blue creatures, visible only in the center of the border, where it expands into a knob, and at the top; a fantastic capital is supported by two blue apelike grotesque figures. Elsewhere the border is filled with leaves and flowers, which extend freely into the center and over the outer guard. The horizontal borders show profuse swags of green, blue, and yellow leaves, flowers, and fruit;

they are held by pale yellow and blue ribbons, with blue tassels, against a yellow and pale brown background. Long yellow and green gourds are conspicuous. The guards, seen only on two sides of 24a, are dark blue.

The town mark of Grammont (Geerardsbergen)<sup>2</sup> appears in yellow on the lower left on 24a.

### CONDITION

The smaller piece, 24b, is turned under at the bottom and cut at the right side as well as in the center.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

Though tapestries are known to have been made in Grammont (Geerardsbergen) from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, verdures of the type of 24 are usually dated in the second half of the sixteenth.<sup>3</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Though all the motifs of 24 can be found in other verdures with the Grammont mark, such as two in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (Clemens Collection), two in the Austrian National Collection, and one in the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe,<sup>4</sup> as well as in others without marks, such as the pieces in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco,<sup>5</sup> and the Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels,<sup>6</sup> no other tapestries are sufficiently similar to be considered as belonging to the same set.

### HISTORY

Purchased for the MMA from the Paris dealer Heilbronner in 1906 through the Rogers Fund.

### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1907*, p. 60. Listed in purchases from Jacob S. Rogers Fund as Italian, seventeenth century.





24b

Hunter, George Leland, *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, p. 264. Mentioned as Renaissance verdure.

Candee, Helen Churchill. *The Tapestry Book*. New York, 1912, pl. facing p. 54 [24b]. Called French Gothic. Repeated without change in 1935 reprint.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 137. Mentioned as three fragments, called Enghien, mid-sixteenth century.

#### NOTES

1. This is the central feature of the very similar but unmarked tapestry in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [Boston, 1967] no. 28, illus.), and of the two Grammont examples, both from the same set, in the Austrian National Collection (Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung* [Vienna, 1920] nos. 105, 106).
2. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 20 of list of marks.
3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 501.
4. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 501; vol. 2, pl. 471.
5. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) no. 30. Called possibly Grammont.
6. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries*, Musées Royaux d'Art et de Histoire (Brussels, 1956) no. 41, pl. 50b. Called probably Grammont.



## 25 The Lewknor Armorial Table Carpet

Flemish (probably Enghien); dated 1564; made for a member of the Lewknor family of Sussex, England.

Wool and silk.

7 ft. 6 in. x 16 ft. 4 in. (2.29 m x 4.98 m).

22–24 warps per inch, 7–9 per centimeter.

Fletcher Fund, 1959 (59.33).

### DESCRIPTION

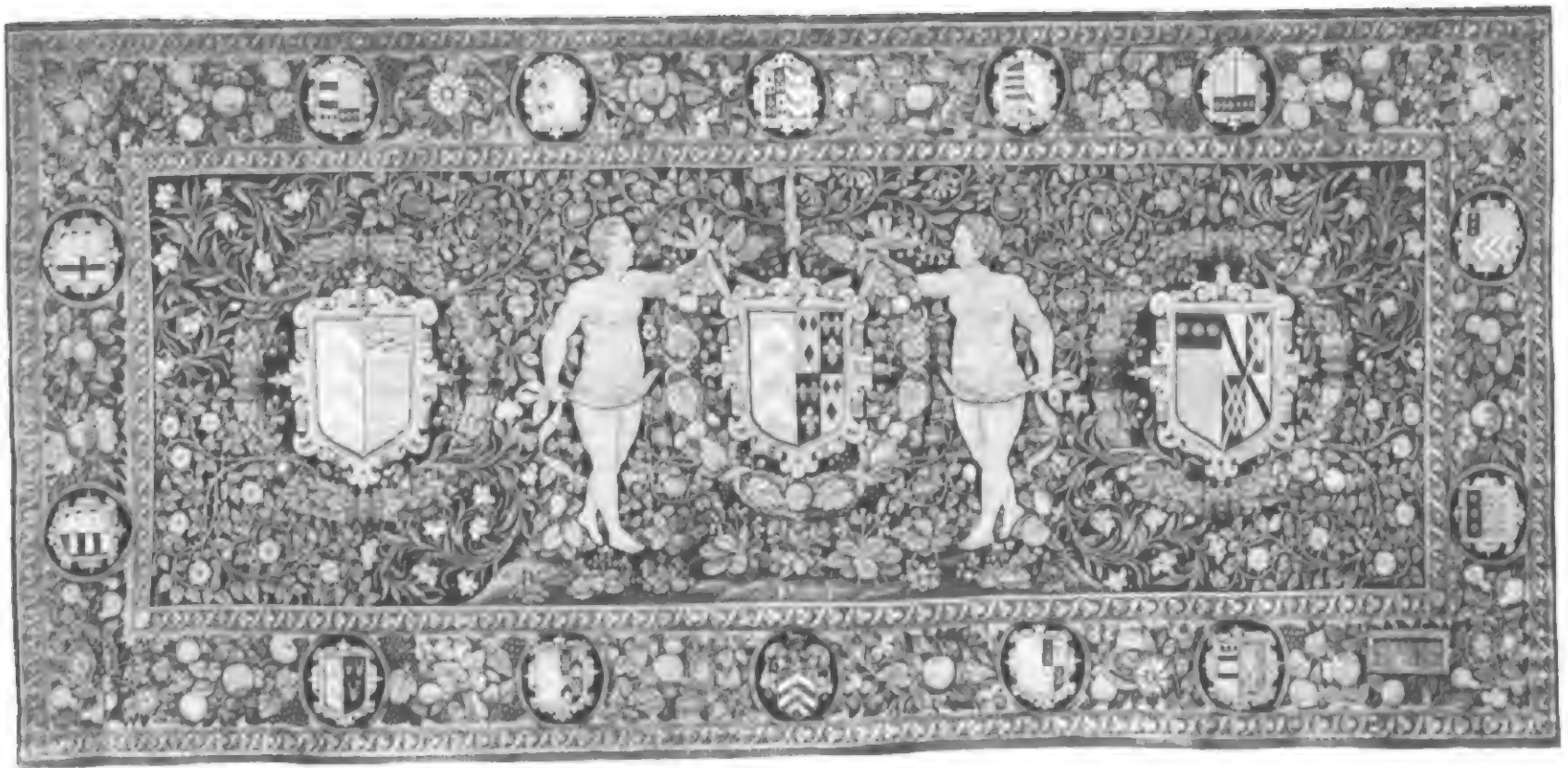
The ground of the central section is dark blue. The middle coat of arms is Lewknor (Azure three chevrons argent),<sup>1</sup> shown as white on pale blue, impaling Messant (Or three lozenges gules quartering gules three fleurs-de-lis or), shown as red and yellow. It is surrounded by a scrolling framework in yellow-white and orange-red, and is supported by dull white ribbons that hang from a bow at the top and are held on either side by fair-haired nude youths, with flesh tones slightly lighter than the ribbons. The ribbons end in large tassels. The boys are mirror images, except for some differences in their hair; they stand on a blue hillock, which is dotted with flowering plants with blue and white leaves. The central plant has blue flowers and is flanked by two cowslips with white flowers, two daisies with white flowers touched with blue, yellow, and red, and two strawberry plants with white flowers and pale pink fruit. The central shield is encircled by a wreath of blue and white leaves, blue flowers, and fruit, including orange-red apples (or possibly pomegranates), blue grapes, and pale pink cherries.

On the left, the large shield is Lewknor impaling Tregoz (Azure two bars gemelles and in chief a leopard or), shown as pale blue and white, the leopard in pale yellow and orange-red. It has a frame similar to that of the central shield, but is encircled by a wreath of blue-green leaves, held in four places by blue gadrooned rings, with dull yellow cherries and apples and blue plums, at regular intervals. The shield on the right is Camoys (Or on a chief gules three roundels or), shown as red and pale yellow, quartering De Spencer (Argent a bend sable quartering gules a fret or), shown as white, dark brown, red, and pale yellow. It has a similar frame and wreath, but the apples and plums are all dull yellow and orange-red and are slightly differently arranged.

The interstices of the main motifs are filled with curving stems and leaves in pale blues, with flowers. Above the central shield to the left is a spray with blue flowers; to the right, one with white honeysuckle. The remaining flowering stalks on the left and right are mirror images with minor differences. Below the central wreath are pale pink double roses, which are also found behind the boys' heads. In the upper corners and on either side of the central hillock are white lilies, some with orange-red details. In the lower corners are white single roses and between these and the hillock are white lilies. Tall plants with differently shaped blue flowers stand immediately behind the boys.

The narrow bands on either side of the main border are edged with white, pale blue, and pale yellow stripes; they have dull yellow grounds and are ornamented with twisted blue and white ribbons, with blue and white trefoils in the interstices. The main border has a pale yellow ground with fourteen coats of arms in medallions with blue borders and very dark blue grounds. They are arranged so as to be upright if the tapestry were spread over a table. The lower central shield (Lewknor) is surmounted by a blue and white helmet with a greyhound, the Lewknor crest,<sup>2</sup> on it, and blue and pale brown leafage; the others have frames similar to those of the central shields. Reading counterclockwise from the lower central shield as the first, the second has Lewknor impaling La Warr (Gules crusily fitchy a lion rampant argent), shown as red, pale yellow, and brown, quartering Cantelupe (Azure three leopards' heads inverted jessant de lys or), shown as pale blue and white with touches of orange-red and dark brown. The third shield is Moyne (Argent two bars and in chief three molets sable), shown as white and dark brown, impaling Holland<sup>3</sup> (Azure floretty a leopard rampant argent), shown as pale blue and pale yellow. The fourth is Camoys, as on the large shield, and the fifth Lewknor impaling Camoys. The sixth is Camoys impaling Meulx (Azure three pales or on a chief gules three crosses patty argent), shown as white, pale yellow, and red. The seventh is Lewknor impaling Tregoz, as in the large shield on the left; the eighth, Lewknor impaling Messant, as on the central shield immediately below. The ninth has Lewknor impaling Pelham (Azure three pelicans argent), shown as pale blue and





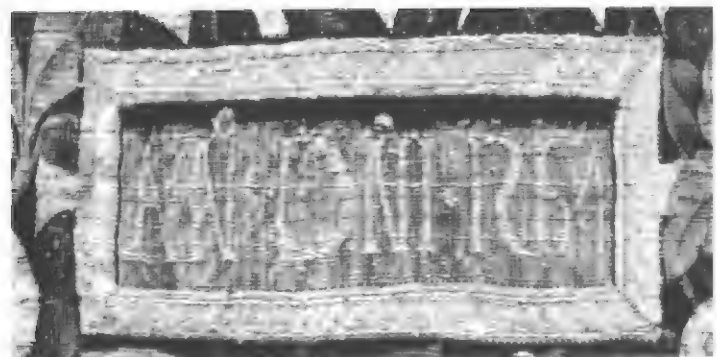
white, with dark brown details. The tenth is Camoys impaling Moyne, and the eleventh Lewknor impaling Dalingridge (Argent a cross engrailed gules), shown as white and red. The twelfth is Lewknor impaling Hussey (Barry ermine and gules), shown as white and red, with one bar yellow. The thirteenth is Lewknor impaling Doyley (Gules three stags' heads or), shown as red and pale brown. The fourteenth is Lewknor with a difference, a silver label of three points, shown as white outlined in black, impaling Audley quartering Tuchet (Ermine a chevron gules), shown as white, dark brown, and red.

The spaces between the medallions are filled with blue and white leaves, flowers in dull yellow, blue, and white, and fruit in yellow, white, and orange-red. The upright borders are alike, with minor differences in coloring. There are five elements filling the twelve spaces in the horizontal borders, differently arranged and colored above and below. Among the fruits are pomegranates, gourds, and grapes. A tablet in the lower right corner has a dull yellow and dark brown frame with an inscription in yellow silk

on a pale blue silk ground reading: AN·DNI·1564 (Anno Domini 1564) (see detail). The guards are a rather light blue. Silk is very sparingly used, chiefly in the yellows.

#### CONDITION

The dark browns throughout are largely replacements and there are numerous small repairs. The colors are much faded.



## SUBJECT

The coats of arms commemorate Sir Roger Lewknor (1465–1543), of Camoys Court and Bodiam Castle, Sussex, his three wives, and some of his ancestors or relations. The central one is that of Sir Roger and his third wife, Elizabeth Messant, whose family was of Flemish origin.<sup>4</sup> The shield on the left is presumed to record the marriage of Sir Thomas Lewknor, great-great-great-grandfather of Sir Roger, to Joane D'Oyley, or Doyley, whose mother was Margaret Tregoz; that on the right, a Camoys-De Spencer marriage, of which there is no confirmation, though Sir Roger's grandfather, also Sir Roger, married Eleanor Camoys. Continuing in a counterclockwise direction, the second shield refers to the marriage of Sir Roger's uncle, also Sir Roger, to Mary La Warr; the relevance of the third, Moyne-Holland, the sixth, Camoys-Meulx, and the tenth, Camoys-Moyne, is not known. The fourth and fifth record the Lewknor-Camoys marriage already mentioned. The ninth commemorates Sir Roger's father, Sir Thomas, and mother, Katharine Pelham; the eleventh records the marriage of Sir Roger's great-grandfather, Sir Thomas, with Philippa Dalingridge; the twelfth, Sir Roger's second wife, Constance Hussey, and the fourteenth, his first, Eleanor Audley (the label presumably indicates that this marriage took place before his father's death).

## PLACE OF MANUFACTURE

The Flemish origin of this tapestry is now generally accepted. It was probably woven in Enghien; the same color scheme and narrow bands of the borders are found on a large-leaf verdure with the mark of this town in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>5</sup> The guards are a lighter blue than the standard Brussels example, a sign of Enghien workmanship,<sup>6</sup> and the nude boys can be compared to the playing children in the set with the town mark in the Musée Communal of Enghien.<sup>7</sup>

## HISTORY

Made in 1564, presumably for Sir Roger's widow or one of his daughters.

Bequeathed by his youngest daughter, Constance Glenham,<sup>8</sup> in 1634, to a Lewknor cousin of West Dean, Sussex.

Mentioned in the inventory made after the death of Richard

Lewknor of West Dean, Sussex, in 1635, as in the "Dyninge Room": "Item one Arras Carpet with the Lukenors Armes on it. X<sup>li</sup> [£10]."<sup>9</sup> Mentioned in a memorandum of 1662, unsigned, but in the handwriting of Sir John Lewknor (1623–1669): "Remember to keep safe y<sup>e</sup> Carpet of Armes now aged about 100 yeares, w<sup>ch</sup>, in y<sup>e</sup> failure of the elder house totalie consuming itselfe by daughters and heires and passing into other names was sent hither by Constance Glenham of Trotton, who was one of those heires, for record to the younger house and whole name."<sup>10</sup>

The tapestry remained in the Lewknor family until 1706, when it was inherited by Elizabeth Martin, whose grandfather was a Lewknor. It went in 1737 to her cousin, Thomas Knight, who took it to Chawton House, Hampshire, where it remained in the possession of the Knight family<sup>11</sup> until shortly before it was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1958 (no. 92, illus.).

Acquired for the MMA at the Sotheby's sale through the Fletcher Fund.

## PUBLICATIONS

"Chawton House, Hants, the Seat of Mr. M. G. Knight." *Country Life* 13 (June 27, 1903) pp. 878, 881. Described as the Lewknor armorial tapestry, dated 1564, brought from West Dene [sic] to Chawton in 1737; 1662 memorandum transcribed.

Leigh, William Austen, and Knight, Montagu George. *Chawton Manor and Its Owners*. London, 1911, pp. 146–47, illus. facing p. 146. Called probably French.

Thomson, W. G. *Tapestry Weaving in England*. London, 1914, pp. 52, 54, fig. 8. Called English and compared with the *Seasons* at Hatfield.

Humphreys, John. "Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries." *Archaeologica* 74 (1923–24) p. 199. Attributed to the Sheldon manufactory at Barcheston.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 219. Mentioned as at Chawton Manor, attributed to Barcheston.

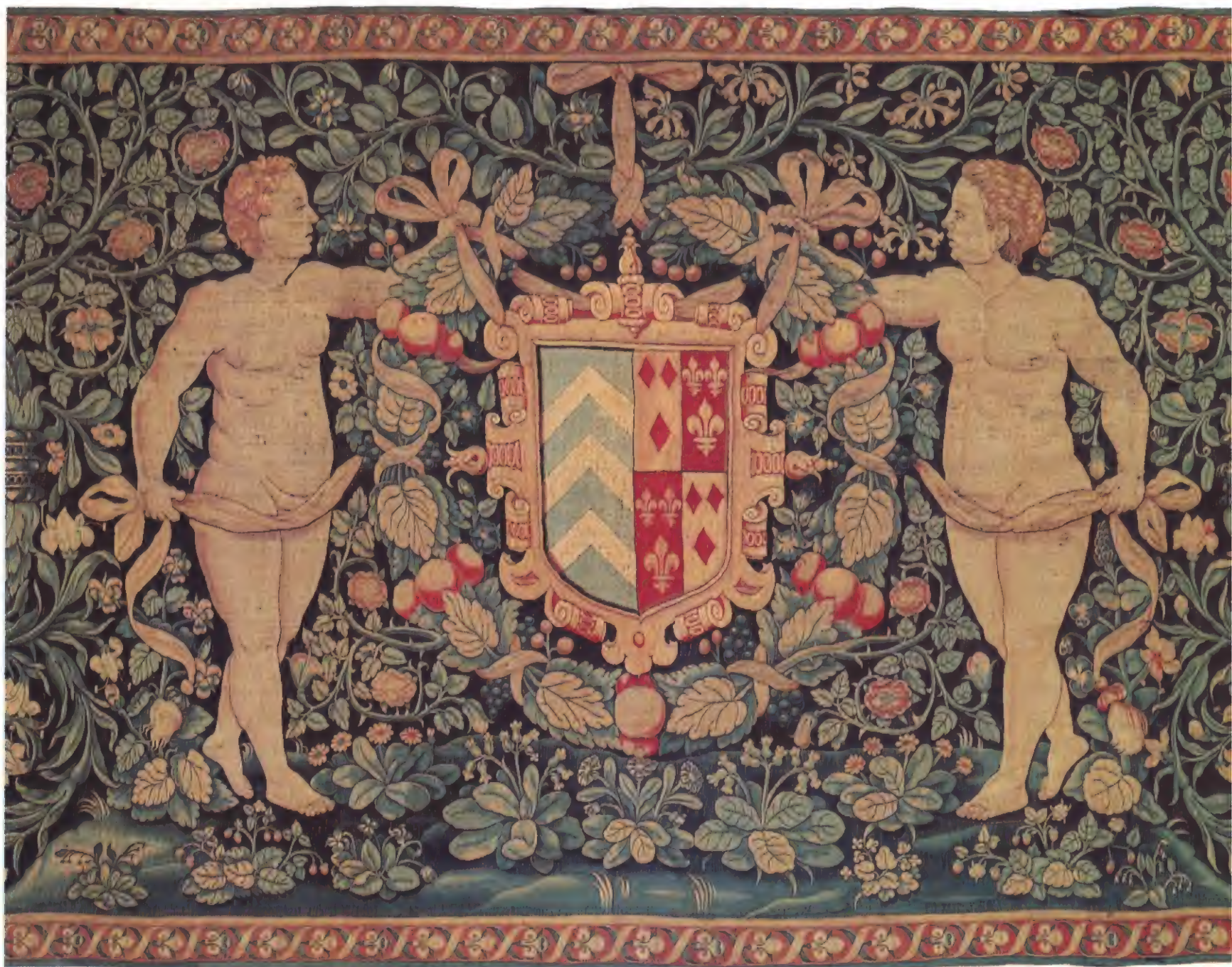
Thomson, W. G. "English Tapestries I." *Apollo* 1 (1925) p. 30, illus. Attributed to the Sheldon manufactory.

Kendrick, A. F. "Some Barcheston Tapestries." *Walpole Society* 14 (1926) p. 34. Called Sheldon, but with unusually fine weaving.

Macquoid, Percy, and Edwards, Ralph. *The Dictionary of English Furniture*. Vol. 3. London, 1927, pp. 294, 296, fig. 2. Called Sheldon.

Barnard, E. A. B., and Wace, A. J. B. "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and Their Work." *Archaeologia* 28 (1928) p. 305. Design and drawing said to be too elaborate for Sheldon manufactory and character of foliage and figures unparalleled





Detail of 25

- in undoubted Sheldon works.
- Lambarde, Fane. "The Lewknor Carpet." *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 70 (1929) pp. 1–7, illus. facing p. 1. All arms described and relationships elucidated.
- Thomson, W. G. *A History of Tapestry*. 2nd rev. ed. London, 1930, pp. 267, 268, illus. Said to have been probably made at Barcheston. 3rd rev. ed. Wakefield, England, 1973, p. 268, illus.
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 160. Said to be certainly Netherlandish work, not in the least similar to Sheldon.
- Hussey, Christopher. "Chawton House, Hampshire—I." *Country Life* 97 (February 2, 1945) pp. 202, 203, figs. 10 (hanging above fireplace in library), 11. Called Sheldon. Details of inheritance after 1737 given.
- King, Donald. "Textiles." In *Connoisseur Period Guides: The Tudor Period 1500–1603*. London, 1956, p. 104. Listed among tapestries woven in the Netherlands for English patrons.
- Davis, Frank. "Talking about Sale-Rooms: Mahogany, Tapestry and Alabaster." *Country Life* 125 (January 15, 1959) p. 98, fig. 3. Called Sheldon.
- MMA *Annual Report 1958–1959*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 18 (1959–60) p. 60. Acquisition mentioned.
- Sotheby's 215th Season*. London, 1959, pp. 54, 55, illus. Said to be generally attributed to the Sheldon weavers.
- C. R. H-S. [Humphery-Smith]. "The Lewknor Carpet." *The Coat of Arms* 5 (1959) pp. 170, 171, illus. G. Wingfield Digby quoted as believing the tapestry to be Flemish.
- Standen, Edith A. "The Carpet of Arms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 20 (1961–62) pp. 221–31, figs. 1–3. Called Flemish, possibly after an English design; the floral stems compared to English embroideries.
- Raoul, Rosine. "New York Letter." *Apollo* 77 (1962) pp. 550–52, illus.
- Mayorcas, M. J. *English Needlework Carpets*. Leigh-on-Sea, 1963, p. 28, pl. 3. Called possibly Netherlandish or more likely Flemish work.
- Standen, Edith A. *Western European Arts: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to the Collections*. New York, 1964, p. 12, fig. 14.
- Thomson, Francis Paul. *Tapestry, Mirror of History*. Newton Abbot and London, 1980, p. 99, fig. 42. Said to have been probably made at Barcheston.
- Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 52. Mentioned, as among notable examples of tapestries bought in Flanders by the English aristocracy with their coats of arms.

#### NOTES

1. The name is also spelled Lewkenor. The heraldic descriptions and identifications are from Lambarde, "Lewknor Carpet," pp. 5, 6. They are not always identical with those given in the 1958 Sotheby catalogue. Leigh and Knight, *Chawton Manor*, pp. 146–47, give the names of the families represented as Tregoz, Camoys, Culpeper, Audley, Touchet, Dalingrig, Grimsted, D'Oyley, Delawarr, Cantilupe, Moyne, Bruse, Gournay, and Pelham.
2. The Lewknor crest was a white greyhound with a red collar (Lambarde, "Lewknor Carpet," p. 5).
3. This coat is called Brewes in the Sotheby catalogue, with no record of a Moyne-Brewes marriage. It has also been called Braose, a name that occurs in the Lewknor pedigree (William Durrant Cooper, "Pedigree of the Lewknor Family," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 3 [1850] p. 92). This family has Azure consilly a lion rampant (crowned) or (Lambarde, "Lewknor Carpet," p. 5).
4. C. R. H-S., "Lewknor Carpet," p. 171. The Messant arms are not recorded elsewhere (Lambarde, "Lewknor Carpet," p. 4).
5. Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, vol. 1 (Brunswick, 1963) color pl. XIII.
6. Information from J. P. Asselberghs.
7. *Tresors d'art d'Enghien*, exh. cat. Hôtel de Ville, Eglise décanale, Couvent des P. P. Capucins (Enghien, 1964) nos. 3–7.
8. Also spelled Glemham (*Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 4 [London, 1953] p. 35; vol. 9 [1937] p. 263).
9. Information from Mrs. E. Cottrill, County Archivist, Hampshire.
10. It is not known whether this document (first published in *Country Life* in 1903) is still in existence. Minor differences are found in the published versions, probably caused by copyists' errors.
11. The names of the various owners and their relation to each other are given in Hussey, "Chawton House," p. 203, and in Emma Austen-Leigh, *Jane Austen and Steventon* (London, 1937) p. 52.



## 26 Verdures with animals and landscapes

Flemish or Dutch, about 1600.

Wool.

26a 7 ft. 4 in. x 7 ft. 4 in. (2.24 m x 2.24 m);

26b 7 ft. 2 in. x 7 ft. 1 in. (2.18 m x 2.16 m).

9–11 warps per inch, 4–5 per centimeter.

Gift of Lady Maud E. Marriott, Mrs. Margaret D. Ryan, Roger W. Kahn and Gilbert W. Kahn, children of the late Otto H. Kahn and Addie W. Kahn, 1956 (56.54.3 [26a]; 56.54.4 [26b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces show a dull gray sky, woven in narrow horizontal strips separated by slits, and a distant landscape with blue hills, gray and blue fields, and gray buildings with dull yellow or dark blue roofs, blue windows,

and brown doors. The trees have blue-green and white foliage and pale brown trunks. The foregrounds are filled with huge leaves and flowers in shades of blue, blue-green, and white, with dark brown spaces between them. 26a shows three pale yellow-gray stags in the center; the spots on their antlers are blue and brown. A gray and blue duck flies above them. On the left is a gray fox with a bushy tail and a gray bird perched above. Another yellow-gray bird stands on a leaf to the right, above a lily. A yellow-gray feline is seen to the right of the lily and parts of another bird and a squirrel are visible on the extreme right, sitting in a tree. 26b has a leopard and a lion below in dull yellow and brown, with blue eyes. Above the leopard is a yellow-gray dragon with blue marks on its wings. To the right is a



26a

gray fox and two birds, the upper one with blue stripes on its wings, holding a worm in its mouth. There is a gray rabbit in the lower right corner. Both pieces are bordered with a modern cloth band. The heavy outlines throughout are dark brown or black.

#### CONDITION

Both pieces are cut on all sides and have repaired areas throughout.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

Very similar birds and animals appear on two tapestries of the same type in a Dutch collection, called Gouda(?), about 1600 or later.<sup>1</sup> Others, in German collections, have been called Oudenaarde(?), beginning of the seventeenth

century, and Flemish rural work, 1600–50.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBITION

New York, The Queens Museum, 1974. *The Artist's Menagerie: Five Millennia of Animals in Art*, cat. nos. 100, 101, illus. [26a].

#### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1955–1956*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 15 (1956–57) pp. 44, 46. Listed among gifts received in 1956.

#### NOTES

1. G. T. van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der Tapijtweverijen in de Noordlijke Nederlanden* (Leiden, 1936) vol. 1, pp. 268, 269, pls. 98, 99.
2. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 476, 513; vol. 2, pls. 456, 474.



## 27 The Moon and Her Children

From a set of the *Planets*

Flemish or French, mid-sixteenth century.

Wool.

11 ft. 6 in. x 17 ft. 5 in. (3.51 m x 5.31 m).

13–14 warps per inch, 5–6 per centimeter.

The Lillian Stokes Gillespie Collection, Bequest of Lillian Stokes Gillespie, 1915 (15.121.7).

### DESCRIPTION

The fair-haired Moon wears a double scarf, one red band tied around her head and a yellow one falling over her right shoulder, both ends streaming out behind her. She has a blue dress and rides across a dark blue sky in a gray and brown chariot drawn by two fair-haired girls in blue, red, and yellow. She holds a yellow crescent with a profile face in her left hand and a yellow horn in her right. There is a red cushion at her feet. On the chariot wheel is the brown zodiac sign, the Crab, of the Moon's "house." In the background is a yellow crescent. The group is surrounded by gray and brown clouds.

The wide landscape below consists largely of water in shades of blue and gray. On a bank at the left stands a fair-haired youth in red, dipping a long brown pole with a blue net scoop at its end into the water. Near him, a dark-haired bearded man in a gray shirt holds one end of a long brown net; the other end is in the hands of a man standing in the water. He is nude except for a short pale yellow skirt tied around his loins. Farther to the right, a similarly dressed man standing in the water holds a brown club above his head. Below him, almost hidden by the bank, is a man with a dull yellow cap and a stick; another dark-haired man, seen only to the waist, is also in the water. On the far right are the head and arm of a boy emerging from the water and, above him, a nude boy climbing onto the bank. A man in dull yellow and pale red holds a fishing rod with a blue fish on the end of the line; a red bag lies on the ground at his feet. A man in the water, wearing gray drawers, holds a red-brown net; there is a brown boat to the left, poled by a man in red and gray. On the bank by the prow of the boat is a nude kneeling man, putting a blue

fish into a brown basket. On the left a man is sitting at a brown table under a tree with a red-brown trunk, blue-green leaves, and dull yellow fruit; he wears a red hat and stockings and a blue coat, with a yellow pouch at his side. On the other side of the table are two standing men, holding oars; one is nearly nude except for a tall dull yellow hat, the other is in pale red. Below the table is a brown container with blue fish and to the left a yellow-gray and pink inn, with a yellow dish above the door and two others hung from a protruding pole. Some green bushes and a tree with a red-brown trunk are seen on the left. On the far right, behind the fishing man, is a gray, brown, and pink water mill; a man in red and blue is approaching it with a laden gray mule, and a small brown boat is moored alongside. In the distance on the right is a clump of blue-green trees with brown trunks; a man in red and blue is seen among them. On the left are two men in red, blue, and yellow with long blue-tipped weapons; on the hill above them are other figures. The sky is in shades of blue and gray, with a triangle of flying brown birds. The distant landscape shows fields, trees, fantastic rocks, castles, churches, and other buildings with blue or red roofs, in shades of blue, gray, brown, and dull yellow. Pale blue mountains are visible on the skyline. In the center foreground is a hollow tree stump in shades of brown, gray, and dull yellow, with dark green foliage on top; on this stands a blue, yellow, and gray parrot with a red beak. On either side is a rocky bank with flowering plants in shades of brown, gray, green, blue, and pale yellow. A dull yellow mullein with a blue bird perched on it, bulrushes with brown heads, and a strawberry plant with red berries can be distinguished.

The border has a red-brown ground and a central core of a pale yellow-green palm stem. Around this are swags of leaves, flowers, and fruit in tones of blue, green, red, yellow, brown, and gray. In the center of the lower border is a yellow medallion inscribed IA (probably the remains of the final letters of LVNA); it is held by two nude kneeling children. In the lower corners nude children with red and blue wings hold gray ribbons attached to the floral swags



FIG. 18. *Luna*, by Barthel Beham. Woodcut. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1929 (29.75.2[21]).

and two others, without wings, do the same in the upper border. The inner and outer guards are orange-brown.

Many figures have coarse outlines in red-brown, occasionally in dark blue.

#### CONDITION

A piece of the lower border running from the left side of the medallion to the section under the mullein plant is a

replacement. A vertical cut at this point, extending to the top of the tapestry, has been crudely repaired. A shorter vertical cut to the right of the man with a club shows similar repair. Large and small repaired areas are visible over the entire surface.

#### SUBJECT

The set shows the planets and people born under their influence, their “children,” engaged in the occupations to which their nativity has doomed them. The Moon, as one of the planets, rules the element of water, so her children become swimmers, sailors, and fishermen, or operate water mills. She is continually changing shape and consequently also governs travelers and charlatans.<sup>1</sup>

In 27, the Moon is shown as Diana in a chariot drawn by two of the goddess’s nymphs.<sup>2</sup> She and the Sun have only one “house,” or zodiacal sign, instead of the two allotted to the other planets, so her chariot has only one pair of wheels and one sign of the zodiac.<sup>3</sup> The occupations of her children include the usual fishing and boating; the water mill is also common in representations of this subject.<sup>4</sup> The group around the table outside an inn under a tree is more clearly interpreted elsewhere; it consists of a wandering conjurer or charlatan deceiving some yokels.<sup>5</sup>

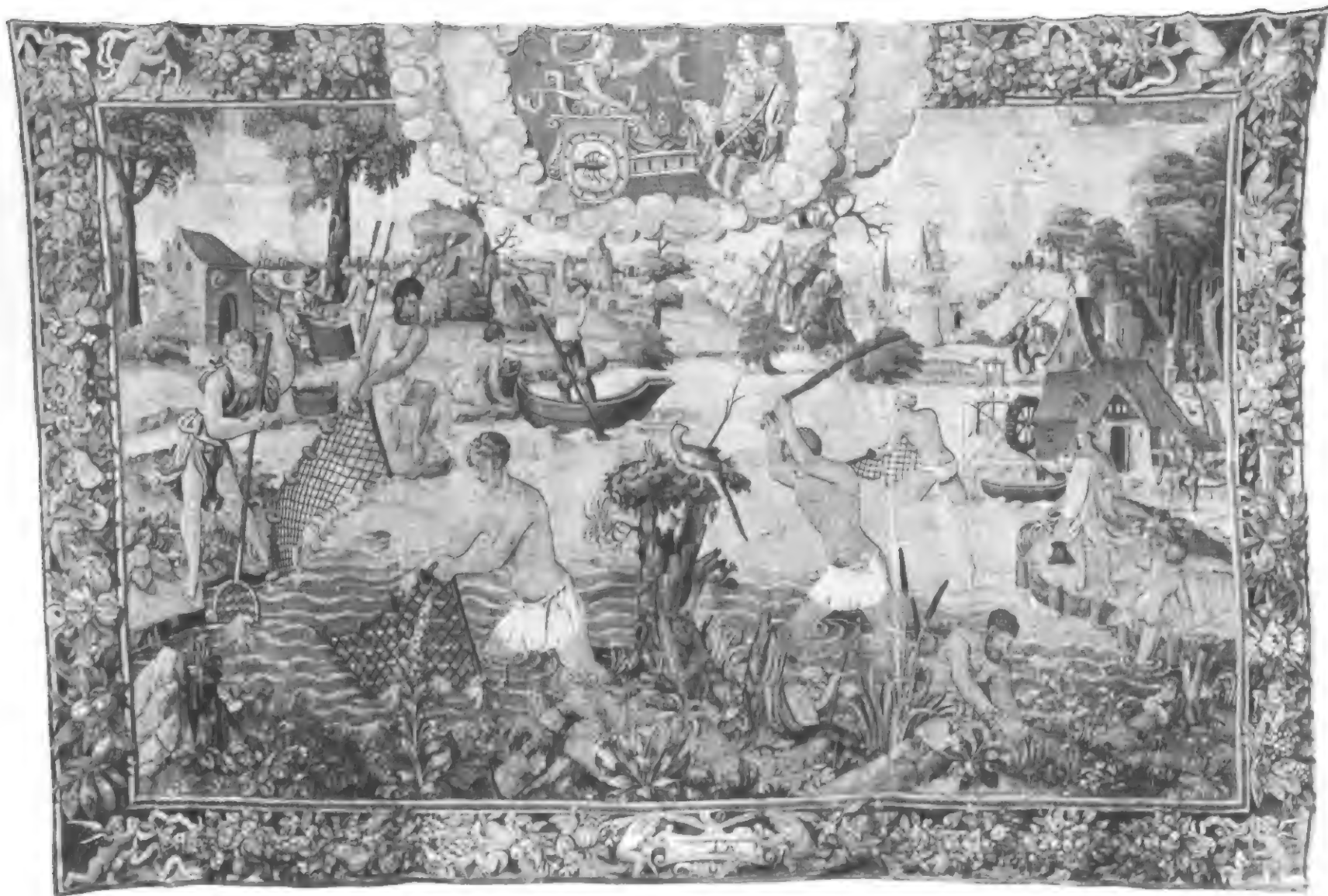
The man with the long-handled dipper or ladle is presumably catching any fish that may escape through the meshes of the net that is being dragged across the pond; the man raising a club may be driving the fish toward the net.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is adapted from a German woodcut of 1531 (fig. 18) by Barthel Beham (1502–1540).<sup>6</sup> The Moon in her chariot surrounded by clouds has been fairly closely copied, in reverse; the landscape and figures below have not been reversed. A few elements of the print, such as the distant ship, the bird trap on the hillside, and some far-off figures, were omitted. The foreground rocks and vegetation, the two men seen just emerging from the water, the nude boy kneeling by the boat, and the tree in the upper left corner are additions.

The Beham woodcut itself contains features derived from the fifteenth-century Florentine print, which has an extremely similar version of the Moon and her chariot;<sup>7</sup>





27

the group is also found on the ceiling by Perugino and assistants of the Udienza del Cambio, Perugia,<sup>8</sup> and on a sixteenth-century Limoges enamel plate in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris.

The figures on the tapestry, however, differ markedly from those of the German woodcut. They are slender and mannered, rather than stocky and realistic. The man with the dipper and the boy fishing wear fluttering drapery instead of simple peasant costumes. The poses and gestures of all the figures are languid and graceful rather than vigorous and muscular. The same characteristics are found in the *Mars* of the same set and the *Mercury* and *Sun* from a related set.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The border and landscape are typically Flemish of the mid-sixteenth century, but the elongated figures and their drapery suggest a French designer.<sup>9</sup> The crude drawing and coarse weaving indicate a provincial manufactory.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Mars* of the same set was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 15, 1913 (no. 108, illus.). The border is like that of 27, except that the child at the left of the medallion in the lower border is a repetition of the one in

the upper left corner instead of the one in the upper right corner; the name of the planet is inscribed in the medalion. The figures in the main scene are adapted from the *Mars* of the Beham woodcut. A *Jupiter* with the same border as the *Mars* was owned by the Paris dealer Boccara in 1982; it is also an adaptation of the Beham woodcut.<sup>10</sup>

A *Mercury* and a *Sun* sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, December 10, 1926 (nos. 139, 140, both illus.), are also taken from the Beham woodcuts. They have the arms of the Condé family and one is dated 1547. The borders are similar to, but not identical with, those of 27; the medalions with the names of the planets are in the upper borders.

The *Moon* in a Brussels mid-sixteenth century set in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, shows a very similar group of the Moon in her chariot.<sup>11</sup> The man in the water grasping the net and the water mill are like the corresponding elements in the Beham woodcut, but stylistically the design is not close to that of 27. The *Moon* in a set in the Victoria and Albert Museum, attributed to Oudenaarde and dated 1591 and 1601, also shows Diana in a chariot drawn by two girls, but they are not close to the group in 27 and the fishing scene below is entirely different.<sup>12</sup>

A set of seven small German tapestries of the *Planets* was in the Baronne B . . . sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 2, 1958 (nos. 133A–G, all illus.). The designs are all taken from the Barthel Beham prints and are in the same direction; there are short German verses at the top of each piece. The *Moon* is dated 1549 and the poem speaks of the affinity of her children with water. The style is not like that of 27.

## HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Robert McMaster (Lillian Stokes) Gillespie, 1915.

## PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report* 1915, p. 50. Listed under bequests.

D. F. [Durr Friedley]. "An Important Bequest of Tapestries."

*MMA Bulletin* 10 (1915) p. 250, illus. Called *Fishing Scene*, symbolizing the month of June, Flemish, 1600–50, with a portion of the lower border restored.

Standen, Edith A. "The Moon and Her Children: A Tapestry

from a Set of the Planets." *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 60 (1977) pp. 3–9. Subject identified, relationship to prints and other tapestries of the set and of the same subject established; called provincial French or Flemish, mid-sixteenth century.

## NOTES

1. Heinz Artur Strauss, "Zur Sinndeutung der Planetenkinderbilder," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, n.s. 2 (1925) p. 54; Guy de Tervarent, "Les enfants des planètes," in *L'Héritage antique* (Paris, 1946) p. 70; Anna Boczkowska, "The Lunar Symbolism of the Ship of Fools by Hieronymus Bosch," *Oud-Holland* 86 (1971) pp. 48, 57, 62–64.
2. The chariot of Diana as the moon drawn by two nymphs is a Renaissance invention (Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* [Geneva, 1958–59] vol. 1, s.v. "Char traîné par deux femmes"; D. J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination* [Berkeley, 1975] p. 154). The general scheme, with one nymph looking backwards, is taken from a Roman sardonix cameo in the National Museum, Naples, showing Bacchus on the chariot (Ursula Webster, "Die Relieffmedaillons im Hofe des Palazzo Medici zu Florenz," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 7 [1965] pp. 30, 31, fig. 11).
3. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, trans. F. E. Robbins (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1940) bk. 1, chap. 17, p. 79.
4. In a Florentine woodcut of about 1460, the mill, the bridge that leads to it, with men bringing grain, and the miller tying up a sack are the most conspicuous elements of the composition (Charles D. Cutler, "The Lisbon *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Jerome Bosch," *Art Bulletin* 39 [1957] fig. 8). The proverbial wandering of journeymen-millers may serve, like the water, to link this scene with the Moon's children.
5. It is the foreground scene in the German fifteenth-century drawing in the Wolfegg *Housebook* (L. Brand Philip, "The *Peddler* by Hieronymus Bosch, a Study in Detection" *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 9 [1958] fig. 18, p. 23). The conjurer here has a painted cloth showing acrobats hung behind him and the implements for a shell game lie on the table. In the Florentine woodcut, the group appears in the background under some trees.
6. Anna C. Hoyt, "The Woodcuts of the Planets Formerly Attributed to Hans Sebald Beham," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 52 (1954) pp. 1–10, fig. 4. An old attribution to George Pencz is rejected in this article.
7. F. Saxl, "The Literary Sources of the 'Finiguerra Planets,'" *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938–39) p. 73.
8. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, vol. 1, fig. 28.
9. This suggestion was made by Adolph S. Cavallo in a private communication.
10. Lynne Thornton, "Paris's Great Antiques Fair," *Connoisseur* 211 (September 1982) p. 123, illus.
11. Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, vol. 1 (Brunswick, 1963) fig. 161.
12. George Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London, 1980) no. 61, pl. 85.

## 28 Chasuble back

With the *Last Supper*, *Saint John the Baptist*, and *Saint Andrew*

Flemish (possibly Brussels); probably designed and woven

1525–50.

Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.

4 ft. 1/2 in. x 3 ft. 2 in. (1.23 m x .97 m).

19–20 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1936 (36.46.1).

### DESCRIPTION

The design simulates an embroidered orphrey on a brocaded silk velvet. The orphrey is framed by narrow pale blue bands (originally green) and has a white ground. At the top is an elaborate architectural structure in grays, browns, yellow, rust red, and metal thread, with two putti holding garlands at the outer edges. In the center, the Last Supper is shown in a niche. A blue and yellow cloth hangs behind Christ, who extends the sop to Judas with his right hand and blesses with his left. He wears a pale pink robe (originally purple) with much gold thread. Saint John, in red, has his left arm on Christ's knees and the table and rests his head on it. Judas wears dark blue and yellow and grasps a yellow money bag in his right hand. Four disciples in pink, green, and yellow are seen behind him. Six are seated on the right, the foremost in green with a dark blue cloak; the others wear dull red and pale browns, pinks, and yellows. The tablecloth is pale pink and gray. The chalice stands on the right close to Christ, the Paschal Lamb is in the center of the table; a covered cup, knife, and rolls of bread are also shown. The floor is white and blue, the stools and table support pale brown.

The saints below stand each in an elaborate pale pink and brown niche. Saint John has yellow hair and wears a dull pink shirt and a rust-red cloak with much gold thread. He points at his gray lamb. The floor is blue and white. The arch below has a winged head on the keystone. Saint Andrew wears a blue and yellow robe covered by a pink cloak. He holds a pale brown and yellow cross made of irregular, knotty, wooden branches. Metal thread is used lavishly throughout the orphrey. The silver-gilt thread in the halos of Christ, Saint John, and Saint Andrew is in basket weave.

The imitation velvet is in rust red, dark brown, and several shades of yellow. No metal thread is used. A modern woven yellow silk edging binds three sides.

### CONDITION

Two small triangular pieces have been added at the top. The colors are considerably faded, especially the yellow and pink; the original tones, seen on the reverse, were very brilliant.

### SUBJECT

The incident of the Last Supper depicted is that mentioned in John 13:26: "when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot." It is often found in representations of the Last Supper,<sup>1</sup> but normally Judas sits on the right, to the left of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The basic scheme of the *Last Supper* is the traditional Flemish one, derived eventually from Dieric Bouts (see 15a). The influence of two prints by Dürer is less marked than in 15a, but the table support is like that in his *Great Passion* woodcut of 1510, and the Paschal Lamb on an oval dish is seen both in this and in the *Small Passion* woodcut of 1511.<sup>3</sup> Judas is very close to the same figure in the *Last Supper* in the Metropolitan Museum by an Antwerp Mannerist.<sup>4</sup> In this, Judas sits on Christ's left and receives the sop from his left hand. The unusual relative positions of Christ and Judas in the tapestry suggest that the designer did not take into consideration the fact that his cartoon would be reversed on a basse-lisse loom. The imitation velvet of the background has a typical Italian "pomegranate" design of the second half of the fifteenth century, with yellow used as a substitute for gold thread.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The fine quality of the weaving suggests a Brussels manufactory, and the combination of late medieval and early Renaissance elements in the pictorial representations, especially the architectural forms, a date in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A chasuble in Uppsala Cathedral, Sweden, from the church at Ärentuna, has a very similar "pomegranate" velvet background. It has an inscription in Flemish and coats of arms that can be associated with the town of Bois-le-Duc in northern Brabant. It has been dated 1525–50.

#### HISTORY

In the Baron A. J. L. van den Bogaerde van Terbruggen of Heeswijk Castle sale, Bois-le-Duc, September 25, 1901, no. 147, illus.

Owned by the dealer Charles of London, New York, 1912.

In the Thomas Fortune Ryan sale, American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, November 24, 1933, no.

321, illus. (in the deluxe edition of the sale catalogue). Set in a bronze firescreen from which it was removed by 1936.

Purchased for the MMA from the dealer Dalva by means of the Pulitzer Bequest, 1936.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1936*, p. 25. Acquisition mentioned.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "Two Sixteenth-Century Garments."

*MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) pp. 161–63, illus. Relationship to Dürer woodcuts and Ärentuna chasuble noted; quality of weaving called suggestive of Brussels; dated 1525–50.

#### NOTES

1. Johannes Kühn, *Die Darstellung des Abendmahls im Wandel der Zeiten: Leonardo da Vinci* (Schaffhausen, 1948) figs. 6, 7.
2. In the early sixteenth-century *Last Supper* by Jan Joesten in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, Christ gives the sop to Judas with his left hand and raises his right in blessing (G. J. Hoogewerff, *Die Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, vol. 2 [The Hague, 1937] p. 435).
3. Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, trans. Silvia M. Welsh (New York, 1946) figs. 215, 230.
4. Katharine Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980) vol. 1, p. 58; vol. 3, illus. p. 353.
5. Agnes Branting and Andreas Lindblom, *Medieval Embroideries and Textiles in Sweden* (Uppsala, 1932) vol. 1, pp. 150, 151; vol. 2, pl. 220.





## 29 Vestments

a Dalmatic, with the *Sudarium*

b Chasuble, with the *Gathering of the Manna*

Netherlandish (probably Gouda); made probably for a member of the van der Geer family of Utrecht; dated 1570.

Wool and silk.

29a 3 ft. 8 in. x 3 ft. 9 in. with sleeves (1.12 m x 1.14 m);

29b 3 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. 3 1/2 in. (1.12 m x .70 m).

16–18 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.176.1, 2).

### DESCRIPTION

Both vestments are imitations of brocaded velvet garments with embroidered orphreys. The “velvet” portions are in red, pink, and yellow, with small details in green and blue. The “orphreys” are edged with green bands. Both pieces are lined with dark blue linen.

Details are embroidered in silk in split, satin, and stem stitches, and in couched silk cord.

### SUBJECT

The bulrushes on both vestments illustrate the Latin motto found on each vestment; they may also refer to the meekness of Christ, who is sometimes shown holding a bulrush in Passion episodes (see 8). A bulrush emblem with a similar motto (*Flector non Frangor*) is among the painted devices in the wall decoration of a room in the Château of Bussy-Rabutin.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The “velvet” of the backgrounds is an imitation of an Italian mid-sixteenth-century “pomegranate” design.

### HISTORY

Owned by the Munich dealer L. Bernheimer, in 1937.

Purchased for the MMA from Adolph Loewi, 1954, through the Rogers Fund.

### EXHIBITIONS

New York Cultural Center, 1974. *Grand Reserves*, cat. no. 158 [29a].

Chicago, Art Institute, 1975–76. *Raiment for the Lord's Service: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments*. Catalogue by Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, pp. 50, 156–61, nos. 61, 62, illus. Said to be probably intended for a private chapel.

### PUBLICATIONS

Göbel, Heinrich. “Gewirkte Messegewänder aus Holland.” *Pantheon* 19 (1937) pp. 123–25, figs. 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b. Both described; combination of weaving and embroidery said to be unique; arms said to be those of de Wys and a bastard descendant of Jasper van Culenbergh; attributed to a provincial Dutch manufactory, probably Gouda.

MMA Annual Report 1954–1955. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 14 (1955–56) p. 22. Acquisition listed.

Standen, Edith A. “The Bulrushes in the Waves.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 14 (1955–56) pp. 181–85, illus. Dexter coat identified as probably van der Geer of Utrecht.

“Vestments in the Grand Old Style.” *Time*, December 25, 1972, p. 44, illus. [29b].

Sherrill, Sarah B. “Current and Coming: Ecclesiastic Vestments.” *Antiques* 108 (1975) p. 866, illus. (detail of 29b).

Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 49. Mentioned, as among “few rare vestments in tapestry.”

## 29a Dalmatic, with the *Sudarium*

### DESCRIPTION

The vertical orphreys on both sides are dark blue at the top, succeeded by paler shades and white. Green bulrushes with black heads stand on blue and white waves. The ground below them is in greens, lavender, grays, and browns; on one side there are pebbles in yellow, browns, and pink on the ground. On this side, at the top, between the two vertical panels, is Veronica's veil (the sudarium) in white and gray, outlined with yellow cord. The crown of thorns is in two widths of pale green cord and the blood is embroidered in pink. Christ's features are embroidered and a network of stitches is spread over his hair and beard.

Two gray scrolls on the vertical panels are each inscribed in black: FLECTIMVR NON FRĀGIMVR VNDIS (We are bent, not broken, by the waves).

On the other side, two cherub heads, with shields hanging from their necks, occupy the upper sections of the orphreys. They have yellow halos, outlined in cord, and pink, gray, blue and yellow wings, also outlined in cord, with embroidered details. The faces are entirely embroidered and a network of yellow stitches covers the brown-red hair. The coat of arms on the left is blue and yellow, the divisions outlined with cord (Gyrony of eight, or and azure; probably van der Geer of Utrecht). The coat on the right is white, black, and yellow, with pink, yellow, and blue cord (Within a border engrailed, azure, Quarterly, 1 & 4. Or, 3 millrinds, 2 & 1, gules. 2 & 3. Argent, a lion double queued, noir; probably a bastard branch of van Culenborch, including the double-tailed lion of van der Lecke).<sup>2</sup> The scrolls have, below the letters, "15" on the left, "70" on the right.

The neckline is edged with white galloon, the other outlines with yellow tape. The outer parts of the sleeves were separately woven and the space between the cherub heads is patched.

#### CONDITION

The inscriptions on the scrolls have largely perished, as have the black wefts on some of the bulrush heads on the side with the cherubs; those on the side with Veronica's veil are rewoven.

#### RELATED VESTMENT

An almost exactly similar dalmatic was on loan to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1983. This is trimmed with galloon around the edges and on the arms where the fabric has been sewn together. There are slight differences in the bulrushes panels on both sides. The inscriptions are said to be illegible.



Both sides of 29a



## 29b Chasuble, with the *Gathering of the Manna*

### DESCRIPTION

The front has a single vertical orphrey showing green bulrushes with black heads rising from blue and white water and seen against a blue and white sky. The foreground is in shades of green and pink, with one white and yellow pebble.



Front of 29b



FIG. 19. *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, by Jerome Wierix. Engraving, published by Gerard de Jode. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.601.335).

The vertical orphrey on the back has a group of white grains of manna on a dark blue ground at the top, an oval with a scene of the Israelites gathering and eating manna, and a panel with a scroll outlined in yellow cord and with the same embroidered inscription as on the dalmatic, including the date 1570, except that FRANGIMVR includes the N. The oval medallion is flanked by the same coats of





Back of 29b

arms as are on the dalmatic, separately woven, and inserted; blue, white, yellow, and pink cords are used as outlines, but the millrinds are here red. The oval medallion shows a sky striped in blue, pink, white, and yellow, with the Jewish tents in pink, gray, and blue, with yellow cord outlines. In the foreground, a reclining man in red, perhaps holding a green staff, gives a grain of manna to a child in yellow, who is held by a seated woman in orange and blue. The man behind this group with his hair rising into peaks is probably intended to represent Moses with his horns. A woman on the left has a dark blue dress and holds a basket of manna. Five figures are seen in the middle distance, stooping to gather manna or holding baskets of it. Yellow cord is used throughout for outlines, and a green and yellow plant is entirely embroidered, as are the faces and hair of the larger figures, the trees on the left, and the tufts of grass.

The chasuble is edged with white galloon. The sections over the shoulders are pieced. The chasuble shape is of the German type.

#### CONDITION

The black wefts of the bulrush heads on the front have partly perished.

#### SUBJECT

The Gathering of the Manna is frequently portrayed in Netherlandish art, as it is an Old Testament parallel to the Last Supper. One wing of the Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament by Dieric Bouts in Saint Peter's, Louvain (1464–68), includes it,<sup>3</sup> and it fills one wing of a triptych by an Antwerp Mannerist in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>4</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The man, woman, and child in the foreground are derived from similar figures in a print by Jerome Wierix, published by Gerard de Jode, showing the miracle of the loaves and fishes (fig. 19).<sup>5</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Maurice Dulmolin, *Le Château de Bussy-Rabutin* (Paris, 1933) p. 44.
2. Information from H. L. Kruimel, Central Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague. The town from which the family took its name is Culenborg or Kuilenburg.
3. Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*: vol. 3, *Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York, 1968) pl. 29.
4. Katharine Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980) vol. 1, p. 58; vol. 3, illus. p. 353.
5. The relationship was first noticed by Nancy Graves Cabot. L. Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères, Jean, Jerome & Antoine Wierix* (Brussels, 1866) p. 66, no. 399.

## 30 Scenes from the Lives of Abraham and Isaac

Cushion covers

- a *Abraham Entertaining the Angels*
- b *The Expulsion of Hagar*
- c *The Sacrifice of Isaac*
- d *Rebekah and Eliezer at the Well*
- e *Rebekah, Laban, and Eliezer*
- f *The Meeting of Isaac and Rebekah*

Flemish, about 1600.

Wool, silk, and silver-gilt thread.

Each 1 ft. 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. x 1 ft. 8 in. (50 cm x 51 cm).

21 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter.

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.57a [30f];

41.100.57b [30d]; 41.100.57c [30c]; 41.100.57d [30b];

41.100.57e [30a]; 41.100.57f [30e]).

### DESCRIPTION

Each cover has a rectangular central panel, with a black ground, enclosing a lobed medallion with a simulated three-dimensional crimson frame. At the top, bottom, and sides of the frame are lion-masks in red, cream, yellow, and brown, with metal thread. From these spring stems with small cups holding sprays of leaves, flowers, and fruit, including cherries, grapes, gourds, and pea pods in red, yellow, green, orange, pink, blue, and cream. The borders have white silk grounds with crimson three-dimensional strapwork and blue and yellow ribbons separating bunches of leaves, flowers, and fruit, including strawberries, in the same colors as the central corners, with the addition of black. In the centers of the upright borders are female herms, the one on the left in blue, the other in pale brown, each holding a yellow lion-mask. Metal thread is used sparingly in the costumes and masks. The guards are dark blue.

The colors are strong and intense. Silk is lavishly used throughout. The central medallions contain much metal thread, especially in the costumes.

### CONDITION

Except for the frayed edges, the covers are in good condition. The gilt has largely worn off the silver thread, which has tarnished.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style of the borders is Flemish and indicates a date probably soon after 1600. Earlier attributions of these and similar cushion covers to Sheldon are based on the existence of examples of the same central designs produced by the English manufactory. Both weaving centers were perhaps copying the same engravings, which, however, have not been identified, or the English tapestries may have been derived from the Flemish versions.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Six cushion covers with the story of Jacob, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, have the same general arrangement, warp count, coloring, and use of gold thread, with almost identical borders. The lobed medallions with lion heads and their backgrounds are very close, and the figures in the central scenes are in the same style. These tapestries are considered Flemish, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

### HISTORY

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York.

Given to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

### PUBLICATION

Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 64. Mentioned, as having the same borders as the set with the story of Jacob.





### 30a *Abraham Entertaining the Angels*

#### DESCRIPTION

The two seated figures at the table wear pale blue robes and red mantles; the third, standing, has a red robe and blue mantle. Abraham, under a tree, is in red with a blue sleeve. On the table, which is covered with a cream and gray cloth, are a loaf of bread and a blue cup. Sarah, in pink and red, carries a blue dish with a piece of meat on it. She approaches a passageway between two marble columns in pink, cream, red, yellow, and metal thread, which are supported by blue bases. A large pale brown ewer stands in front of the table. Distant buildings are seen in the landscape background, with blue and green trees; the hill behind the figures is yellow. A brown and cream house is seen behind the columns. The foreground is dark green with scattered yellow plants. The sky is pale blue and white.

30a

#### SUBJECT

The story is told in Genesis 18:1-15. Abraham, having prepared food for three strange men, "stood by them under the tree, and they did eat." Sarah, here shown carrying a dish, was actually "in the tent door," when she heard one of the angels prophesy that she should have a son.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A cushion cover in the Emma Budge of Hamburg sale, Paul Graupe, Berlin, September 27-29, 1937 (no. 439, illus. pl. 88, erroneously numbered 437),<sup>2</sup> shows a very similar central scene, which, however, almost fills the central square and takes place under an arch of typical Sheldon form (see 121). The ewer below the table is replaced by naturalistic flowers. The upper and lower borders are filled with Sheldon-type hunting scenes.

A cushion in the Mrs. Elmer E. Smathers sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, March 6, 1948 (no. 64, illus.),<sup>3</sup> is close to the Budge example, with an arch and hunting scenes in the horizontal borders. A tent is seen on the right behind Sarah and there is a jug or water bottle in front of the table.



30b



## 30b *The Expulsion of Hagar*

### DESCRIPTION

Abraham, wearing a red robe, blue mantle, and orange boots, extends a round loaf of bread to the young Ishmael, who has a blue jacket and red boots. Hagar stands behind, holding a yellow vessel on her shoulder; she has a pink jacket and red skirt. She appears again in the distance, raising her arms to rays of light (in metal thread), issuing from clouds, representing the angel; on the right is a reclining figure, presumably Ishmael, with the vessel beside him. Below him is the spring, with water pouring into a pond. The sky is white and blue and the rest of the background is filled with trees, bushes, and grass in blue, green, and yellow. The foreground is in the same colors, with many small plants; one of these has white flowers and red fruit.

### SUBJECT

The representation follows closely the story in Genesis 21:14–19. Abraham “took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder.” She and Ishmael “wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs.” When the angel had reassured her, “God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water.”

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A cushion cover in the Smathers sale (no. 64)<sup>4</sup> shows a very similar central scene, which, however, almost fills the central square and takes place under an arch of typical Sheldon form (see 121). A tent is seen behind Abraham and the foreground shows large plants, including honeysuckle flowers and pea pods. The upper and lower borders are filled with Sheldon-type hunting scenes.

## 30c *The Sacrifice of Isaac*

### DESCRIPTION

Abraham, in red with a blue mantle, grasps the horns of the ram caught in the thicket. What appears to be the

scabbard of a sword is seen at his back. Isaac stands on the left, holding a bundle of sticks over his shoulder and carrying a blue pot with white smoke pouring from it; he has orange hair and wears a pink garment and red boots. Behind him is the gray altar. A serving man is seen reclining in the distance, with a saddled donkey grazing. The landscape background shows a building on the right and a hill on the left with blue, green, and yellow trees. The foreground is dark green with small yellow plants.

### SUBJECT

Two different moments of the story told in Genesis 22:1–14 are seen here. Isaac is shown on his way to the place of sacrifice, carrying wood and burning coals. Abraham, on the other hand, has heard the angel of the Lord and is taking the ram as the burnt offering. There should be two young men with the ass.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The figure of Isaac is eventually derived from the print by Lucas van Leyden,<sup>5</sup> which, however, shows him with Abraham and the ass on the way to the place of sacrifice. It is also found (reversed) in a painting of the same subject in the Stedelijk Museum, Leiden.<sup>6</sup>



### 30d *Rebekah and Eliezer at the Well*

#### DESCRIPTION

Eliezer, wearing a pale blue shirt with a red turned-down collar, a red mantle, blue leggings, and brown boots, gives a chain held in his left hand to Rebekah. She has a blue headdress, yellow blouse, red skirt, and yellow shoes. A gray camel with an exaggerated hump is seen between them and, visible behind Eliezer, is another with a covered hump, bending to drink from an oblong trough. A third is lying down under the trees in the upper left corner, near a man with bright red leggings. In the foreground between Eliezer and Rebekah is a large yellow one-handed jug; behind her is a fluted, brown two-handed jug standing on a gray stone block, with a brown and yellow lion-mask on the upright side. From this, a stream of water falls into a blue and white pool. Two women in blue and gray, carrying jugs, are seen in the middle distance on the right, with blue and white buildings behind them. The trunk of a tree with large leaves grows from the stone block.



#### SUBJECT

The “eldest servant” of Abraham’s house (always identified with his steward, Eliezer of Damascus, named in Genesis 15:2) went with ten camels to the city in Mesopotamia where Abraham’s brother, Nahor, was living. At the well outside the city, Rebekah, Nahor’s granddaughter, gave him water and filled a trough for his camels; he then presented her with the gold earring and bracelets that Abraham had entrusted to him, recognizing that she was Isaac’s cousin and destined bride (Genesis 24:10–27).

### 30e *Rebekah, Laban, and Eliezer*

#### DESCRIPTION

Eliezer, wearing the same costume as in the preceding scene and carrying a green and yellow bag, stands beside Rebekah, also dressed as in 30d. The man with his hand on her shoulder, presumably Laban, has a red and pink turban, pink and blue robe with a wide red collar, blue mantle, and red boots. Below Rebekah is an open chest with a blue bundle in it. She wears a bracelet. In the doorway of a large gray building on the right is a woman with a yellow headdress. A camel is seen grazing in the upper left corner and there are some buildings and a row of columns in the distant landscape. The foreground is green and yellow with some small plants.

#### SUBJECT

Laban, Rebekah’s brother, is described as running out to the well, when Rebekah had told “them of her mother’s house” of the meeting with Eliezer (Genesis 24:28, 29). The woman in the background could be Rebekah’s mother and Eliezer’s empty bag the container for the gold earring and bracelets that he had given Rebekah. The chest is presumably the container for the “jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment” that Eliezer gave to Rebekah, as well as the “precious things” that he gave to her brother and mother, when Laban and her father Bethuel had agreed that Rebekah should go to Isaac (Genesis 24:53).

## 30f *The Meeting of Isaac and Rebekah*

### DESCRIPTION

Isaac, in a pink fringed jacket, red mantle, blue stockings, and pink boots, seizes Rebekah, who is wearing a small coronet, a pink blouse with green sleeves, and a red skirt. Eliezer, dressed as in the earlier scenes, stands beside them. In the distance on the left are a man in blue and another leading a camel with a scarlet cord. A woman in pink is seated on the camel and the head of another camel is seen behind her. The landscape, in blue, green, and yellow, includes buildings on the horizon. There are small yellow and dark blue plants in the foreground.

### SUBJECT

The distant procession is presumably Rebekah and her damsels following Eliezer (Genesis 24:61). Isaac came out to meet her before taking her to his mother's tent (Genesis 24:63–67).

### NOTES

1. Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, no. 63.
2. Called probably English (Sheldon), about 1610. This may be the short cushion with Abraham entertaining the angels, mentioned by E. A. B. Barnard and A. J. B. Wace, "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and Their Work," *Archaeologia* 28 (1928) p. 295, as in a private collection in Germany, and listed among the tapestries that can reasonably be assigned to the Sheldon manufactory.
3. With a companion piece of the *Expulsion of Hagar*. Called Barcheston (Sheldon), 1605, representing the banquet given to the Prodigal Son on his return.
4. Called Barcheston (Sheldon), about 1605, representing the Prodigal Son receiving his inheritance from his father.
5. F. W. H. Hollstein, *The Graphic Art of Lucas van Leyden* (Amsterdam, [1954?]) p. 142, illus.
6. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst* (The Hague, 1939) pl. 82.



30e



30f

## 31 Faith

Cushion cover, probably from a set of the *Virtues*

Flemish, early seventeenth century.  
Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.  
1 ft. 8 in. square (51 cm).  
21 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter.  
Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.58).

### DESCRIPTION

Faith has an orange headcloth, with a blue jewel in the center of her forehead, and a gold necklace with blue stones. She wears a pink and pale yellow dress, with much metal thread, and a red and yellow cloak. The straps on her legs are bright blue. She holds a cross in metal thread in her right hand and a yellow chalice, ornamented with metal thread, in her left. On either side of her two pale pink columns stand on platforms in pale shades of pink, yellow, blue-gray, and brown. Each pair supports a blue architectural member with, on the top of the front column, a smoking lamp, blue on the left, pale yellow on the right.

The background landscape has a pale pink and yellow sky, blue mountains in the distance, pale blue and green fields, and pink and gray buildings. Silver thread is used on the mountains and the buildings, one of which is topped by a cross. The foreground is dark green with pale green plants. An arch of green leaves with pale pink and yellow flowers frames the scene. The ground behind it is dull yellow.

The border has a pale yellow ground. At the corners and in the middle of each side are vases in blue, yellow, red, pink, and brown, holding masses of fruit and flowers in the same colors with various shades of green. Next to each vase is a motif with a diamond-shaped center in blue or green with four curved leaf and flower forms springing from it. The guards are dark blue. The outlines are chiefly black. Silk is lavishly used throughout the cushion cover.

### CONDITION

The upper edge is damaged and there are a few bare warps in the sky. The silver thread is tarnished, but some of the silver gilt retains its luster.

### SUBJECT

The cross and chalice are the usual attributes of Faith, but she should be shown with the chalice in her right hand and the cross in her left.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A circular print (*Punzenstich*) in the Albertina, Vienna, shows Faith, with cross and chalice, standing in a landscape with distant buildings, but she is nude except for a cloak.<sup>2</sup> It is probably not the source for 31, but both works may be derived from a common original.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The borders, especially the motifs with four leaf-and-flower forms springing from a diamond-shaped center, are close to those of a set of cushion covers with the story of Jacob in the Victoria and Albert Museum, formerly called English, but now recognized as Flemish.<sup>3</sup> The distant landscape is entirely Flemish in character, and the quality of the execution speaks for this attribution. A German origin has also been suggested,<sup>4</sup> but no close parallels have been identified. A date soon after 1600 is stylistically indicated.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A set of six small panels of the *Virtues*, owned by the Rotterdam dealer Charles van der Heyden in 1979, is probably from the same workshop as 31. They have lost their borders. Faith holds a much longer cross over her left shoulder and a book in her right hand; she stands in a landscape between columns topped by vases, but there are no leaves and flowers on the arch over her head.

### HISTORY

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York.

Given to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.





#### NOTES

1. See 10, note 24.
2. Ingrid Weber, "Bildvorlagen für Silberreliefs an Arbeiten von Paul Hübner und Kornelius Erb, heute im Palazzo Pitti und im Britischen Museum," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1969) p. 352, fig. 30. Called Augsburg(?).
3. E. A. B. Barnard and A. J. B. Wace, "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and Their Work," *Archaeologia* 28 (1928) pls. 52 (2), 53, 54 (1).
4. George Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London, 1980) no. 91.

## 32 The Story of Antony and Cleopatra

Five tapestries from a set of probably eight or more

- a *Cleopatra Asked to Pay Tribute to Rome*
- b *The Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra*
- c *Cleopatra Dissolving the Pearl*
- d *The Battle of Actium*
- e *The Death of Cleopatra*

Flemish (Brussels); designed by Justus van Egmont (1601–1674) about 1650, and woven by Jan van Leefdael (fl. 1644–1660) and Geraert van der Strecken (fl. 1647–1677), 1650–77.

Brussels marks and names or initials of both weavers.  
Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.

- 32a 13 ft. 9 in. x 10 ft. 9 in. (4.19 m x 3.28 m);
- 32b 13 ft. 7 in. x 17 ft. (4.14 m x 5.18 m);
- 32c 13 ft. 10 in. x 10 ft. 9 in. (4.22 m x 3.28 m);
- 32d 13 ft. 9 in. x 18 ft. (4.19 m x 5.49 m);
- 32e 13 ft. 8 in. x 10 ft. 7½ in. (4.17 m x 3.24 m).

20–22 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Bequest of Elizabeth U. Coles, in memory of her son,  
William F. Coles, 1892 (92.1.7 [32c]; 92.1.8 [32a]; 92.1.9 [32b]; 92.1.10 [32d]; 92.1.11 [32e]).

### DESCRIPTION

The central panel in each piece is surrounded by a simulated frame in dark brown and pale yellow, deeply shaded above and on the left side. The borders have a brown ground. In the centers of the upper and lower borders are cartouches in dull pale red, pale yellow, brown, and gray heavy, scrolling frames; the upper one encloses an inscription in gold letters on a blue ground, the lower a dull green, blue, brown, and yellow landscape in a border of metal thread in basketwork technique, with a winged head on either side of the scrollwork. The cartouches of the upper borders are flanked by swags of fruit, leaves, and flowers in shades of dull blue, green, and yellow, which hang by blue ribbons from rings in a brown and dull yellow egg-and-dart band extending across the width of the tapestry. The fruits include grapes, pears, pomegranates, and gourds. On the wider tapestries (32b,d), a winged, nude, brown-haired child sprawls across the

swag on either side. The lower borders show similar swags, which, on the wider tapestries, are held by two reddish brown eagles with much metal thread, seen from the front, standing on pale yellow slabs. Blue ribbons dangle from their beaks.

The side borders are mirror images. At the base on each side is a blue, dull yellow, and brown bowl, filled with fruit. A child with pale yellow wings flies down to it; his drapery is pink or pale yellow. Above him is a red-brown eagle, seen from the front, with a swag of leaves and flowers hanging from its raised wings, and on its head a brown and yellow vessel filled with fruit and flowers. A winged boy sits on each of these; above him another stretches up to reach the flower garland that falls from the upper corner. Flowers, leaves, and fruit in blue, green, brown, and yellow fill the interstices. The guards are dark blue or brown with the Brussels mark (yellow letters and pink shield) in the lower left or center and the weaver's name or initials in pale yellow at the lower right.

### CONDITION

All the metal thread is completely blackened and the colors are greatly faded, except for the blues.

### SUBJECT

Three other frequently found tapestries of the series are the *Triumph of Antony* (inscribed “Marcus Antonius et Cleopatra triumphans”), *Antony Fleeing from the Romans* (inscribed “Romani Antonium eis inobedientem astu prosequuntur sed frustra”), and *Antony and Cleopatra Fleeing from the Romans* (inscribed “Romani terrestri Marte Antonium petunt et vincitur”). A *Suicide of Antony* (inscribed “Antonius desparabundus se ipsum interemit”) is also found as part of a set.<sup>1</sup> The two scenes of flight show Antony, or Antony and Cleopatra, on horseback, incidents that are not easy to place historically; the refusal of tribute (32a) seems to be a misunderstanding of a recorded event. Apart from these, the subjects are all well-known episodes.

The inscriptions on the versions of 32a, d, and e in the set in the Art Institute of Chicago and on 32d in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, show that the subjects could be changed without altering the compositions. The use of the designs of *Antony Fleeing*, *Antony and Cleopatra Fleeing*, and the *Battle of Actium* (32d) to represent scenes from the story of Caesar, as well as the existence of narrow panels inscribed "Pars accommoda" (suitable part), suggest that little attention was paid to the correspondence between the inscription and the scene represented.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

A commission for a set of tapestries with the history of Mark Antony and Cleopatra after Justus van Egmont was given to the Brussels weaver Geraert Peemans by Marshal Daumont, then in command of the citadel of Antwerp, on April 12, 1661; gold and silver thread and silk were to be used.<sup>2</sup> As the extant tapestries of this subject and period are many of them signed by Peemans and his son-in-law, Geraert van der Strecken, and show the style to be expected from a Rubens-workshop painter, the designs for the series are, undoubtedly correctly, attributed to Justus van Egmont. The close resemblance between this series and the one telling the story of Zenobia, known from documentary evidence to have been designed by Justus van Egmont, reinforces the attribution.<sup>3</sup>

#### WEAVERS AND DATE

Jan van Leefdael, whose name or initials appear on 32a, c, and d, and Geraert van der Strecken, weaver of the other two pieces, were apparently partners in Brussels. The former became a master in 1644, and latter in 1647. Both names are usually found on sets made in their workshops, though there is no contemporary record of their partnership.<sup>4</sup> Van der Strecken died in 1677. An order for a set of ten pieces of *Antony and Cleopatra* was placed with these weavers by the Antwerp dealer Louis Malo in 1651,<sup>5</sup> the earliest date that has been associated with the series.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The series was woven so frequently with the same borders as 32 that it is not possible to identify the missing pieces of this particular set. However, an example of

*Antony Fleeing from the Romans* with this border was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 11, 1944 (no. 868, illus.), with the initials of Jan van Leefdael, and another, with the same weaver's full name, was sold with Sir Bernard Eckstein's collection at Sotheby's, London, February 25, 1949 (no. 156, illus.). An example of *Antony and Cleopatra Fleeing*, with the same border and the initials of Geraert van der Strecken, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 17, 18, 1930 (no. 291, illus.).

A number of substantial sets have been published. One of eight pieces, made up of the five subjects of 32 and the three most commonly found others, was in the Austrian National Collection; five are signed by Jan van Leefdael and three by Geraert van der Strecken.<sup>6</sup> The *Triumph* is still in Vienna; the others are in the Castle of Prague. The borders and inscriptions are the same as those of 32.<sup>7</sup>

A set was bought by the duke of Savoy in 1665; five pieces are in the Quirinale Palace, Rome, and a side border is in Turin. The same weavers' names appear, but the borders differ and include the arms of Savoy.<sup>8</sup>

Five pieces are owned by the Uffizi Gallery, Florence: *Cleopatra Dissolving the Pearl*, the *Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra*, the *Battle of Actium*, *Antony Fleeing*, and *Antony and Cleopatra Fleeing*. They have the same borders and inscriptions as 32.

A set of fourteen pieces in the Art Institute of Chicago signed by Geraert Peemans and Willem van Leefdael (Jan's son) includes all five subjects of 32, as well as incidents from the life of Julius Caesar, some of them involving Cleopatra.<sup>9</sup> The borders and inscriptions are different. The set is presumably an amalgamation of designs from the *Cleopatra* and the *Julius Caesar* series, combined to fill an unusually large order.

A set of six pieces was sold at Sotheby's, April 30, 1971 (nos. 15–19, *Meeting* illus.), from the collection of S. A. H. Walker-Heneage. It includes all the subjects of 32 except the *Battle of Actium*, as well as *Antony Fleeing* and the *Suicide of Antony*. All but the *Death of Cleopatra* are signed by Geraert van der Strecken. The borders are very similar to those of 32, except for the absence of the flying children at the bottom of the side borders and of the landscapes in the lower borders. Three pieces of this set (*Cleopatra Asked to Pay Tribute*, the *Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra*, and the *Death of Cleopatra*) were sold again at Christie's, July 5, 1979 (nos. 121–23, all illus.), and at the same auction house, March 27, 1980 (nos. 130–32, *Meet-*

ing illus.). A *Suicide of Antony* with van der Strecken's initials was in the Mrs. Henry Walters sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 30–December 4, 1943 (no. 1131). A set of four pieces (*Antony and Cleopatra Fleeing*, the *Battle of Actium*, *Cleopatra Asked to Pay Tribute*, and the *Death of Cleopatra*) were sold by the F. S. J. Silvertop Will Trust at Christie's, June 18, 1953 (no. 154); they have signatures or initials of Jan van Leefdael and van der Strecken.

Several figures in the *Cleopatra* series are also found in a set of fifteen pieces of the story of Zenobia, signed by Geraert Peemans, and documented as designed by Justus van Egmont, which was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 15, 1928 (nos. 44–58, five pieces illus.); four pieces are in the Brussels Royal Museums.<sup>10</sup> Other sets of this story are in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum and the Spanish National Collection.<sup>11</sup>

A *Cleopatra* tapestry signed by Peemans in the Spanish National Collection shows two subjects (Cleopatra receiving the news of Antony's death and sacrificing to his spirit) that are not included in the other sets of the *Antony and Cleopatra* series.<sup>12</sup> It has the same borders as the *Zenobia* sets. The borders of 32 and of the sets in Vienna, Prague, and the Uffizi are also found on some sets of the *Story of Constantine* after Rubens, woven by Geraert van der Strecken, of *Scipio* after Giulio Romano by van der Strecken and van Leefdael,<sup>13</sup> and of *Julius Caesar* after Justus van Egmont.<sup>14</sup> A very similar but not identical border is found on an example of *Antony Fleeing* that was in the Château de la Houssaye sale at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 26, 1962 (no. 155, illus.), signed by G. (for Guilam, Willem) van Leefdael; the inscription on this piece, however, is "Caesar Pompeium fugientem prosequitur." The border also appears on an example of *Antony and Cleopatra Fleeing* that was sold at Neumeister, Munich, October 27–29, 1971, which is inscribed "Julius Caesar et Pompeius confluent," and on two pieces in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, from the Vincent Astor sale, American Art Association, New York, April 20, 21, 1926 (nos. 293, 294, illus.), one the *Battle of Actium* (inscribed "Pompeius a Cesare victus fugit"), the other from a *Julius Caesar* set.

#### HISTORY

Said to have been owned by the Barberini family of Rome and

later by King Ludwig of Bavaria (died 1886).<sup>15</sup> Acquired by Mr. William Coles from Sypher & Co., New York. Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. William Coles (Elizabeth U. Coles), in memory of her son, William F. Coles, 1892.

#### EXHIBITIONS

Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1908. *Tapestries, Textiles and Embroideries, A Loan Exhibition Given by The National Society of Fine Arts*, cat. nos. 2, 3 [32b,c], both illus. Bellingham, Washington, Whatcom Museum, 1976. *5000 Years of Art: An Exhibition from the Collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, cat. no. 50 [32c], illus.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Drawings, Water-Color Paintings, Photographs and Etchings, Tapestries Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York, [1894], p. 59, nos. II–VI. Listed as:

II. The Ambassador of the Roman Senate comes to demand a tribute of Cleopatra because she fled from the battle of Philippi.

III. The meeting of Antony and Cleopatra at the river Cydnus.

IV. Cleopatra dissolving the pearl in honor of Antony.

V. The Flight from the battle of Actium.

VI. The Death of Cleopatra.

Coles Gallery, 8: *Tapestries and Paintings, Malachites, Vases, Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York, [1895], p. 3. Listed.

C. H. "A Set of Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin* 1 (1905–06) pp. 140–42, illus. [32e]. Called mid-seventeenth century, designed by Rubens (with "little, if any doubt").

Hunter, George Leland. "Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum." *International Studio* 45 (February 1912) illus. p. LXXXVI [32d].

Hunter, George Leland. *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, p. 406, pl. 277 [32e].

Candee, Helen Churchill. *The Tapestry Book*. New York, 1912, pp. 80, 110, 187, 210, 223, pl. facing p. 79 [32b]. Design attributed to Rubens, "probably." Repeated without change in reprint, 1935.

Hunter, George Leland. "Wars Pictured in Tapestry." *The Lotus Magazine* 6 (1915) p. 196, illus. p. 197 [32d].

Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 389, 426, 598. Borders noted as identical to those of Geraert van der Strecken's *Constantine* series; Justus van Egmont named as the designer of the seventeenth-century *Cleopatra* series known from documents.



Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 154, 267, pl. x, ca [32d].

Crick-Kuntziger, Marthe. "La tenture de l'histoire de Zénobie, reine de Palmyre." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 22 (1950) p. 16, n. 1. Designer identified as Justus van Egmont.

Weinhardt, Carl J., Jr. "A Splendid Gift of Tapestries." *Bulletin of the Art Association of Indianapolis*, Herron Museum of Art, 53 (March 1966) pp. 7, 8, fig. 1 [32e].

Blažková, Jarmila, and Duverger, Erik. *Les Tapisseries d'Octavio Piccolomini et le Marchand anverso Louis Malo*. Saint Amandsberg, 1970, p. 85. Mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: IV. Baroque and Régence." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 29, 30, figs. 1 [32a], 2 [32b]. Subjects of set and some other examples listed.

### 32a *Cleopatra Asked to Pay Tribute to Rome*

#### DESCRIPTION

Cleopatra, wearing a light brown and dull pale red costume, with a blue strap to her sandal, is seated on a brown throne, with a griffin as a side support, under a dull dark green and yellow canopy. A dark-haired Roman envoy in a dull red robe, with a yellow cloak and brown leg coverings, holds out a letter to her. Behind him is the head of a man wearing dull blue armor and a pink-plumed blue helmet. Two women, one in blue, are visible behind Cleopatra, and a man with an intense blue cloth over his head stands in the background; part of the head of another figure with a pale blue and gray head covering is seen behind him. A landscape in pale tones of blue and cream fills the upper left corner; the heads of two soldiers with gray helmets and spears are visible. The steps of the throne are covered with an elaborately patterned carpet in dull yellow, pink, and pale and dark blue, with a dull green, yellow, and brown fringe. Two small brown and gray dogs are on the right.

The inscription in the upper border reads: NVNTII SENATVS / ROMANI / PETVNT / A CLEOPATRA TRIBVTVM / QUOD IPSA REFVGIT (The envoys from the Roman Senate demand tribute from Cleopatra, which she refuses). The lower guard is inscribed with the Brussels mark in the center and I · V · LEEFDAEL (Jan van Leefdael) on the right.

#### CONDITION

The black wefts have largely perished. Portions of the sky and the dogs are much repaired. Some sections show bare warps, partially darned.

#### SUBJECT

No incident of the kind described by the inscription is known to have occurred. Possibly the composition represents Cleopatra's reception of the messenger sent her by Antony, "to give an account of the charges made against her of supplying Cassius with much money and contributions for the war."<sup>16</sup> The corresponding tapestry in the Chicago set represents, according to the inscription, a messenger from Caesar presenting a letter to Cleopatra.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example in Prague has similar borders, dimensions, inscription, and weaver's signature. The inscription on the piece in the Chicago Art Institute reads: "Caesar mititit legatum ad Cleopatram." It is signed "G. V. Leefdael." The borders differ and the scene has been slightly cut on the right. The example in the Walker-Heneage sale is signed "G. V. D. Strecken"; it has the same inscription as 32a, but is slightly cut at the top, showing less of the canopy. Another sold at Sotheby's, November 26, 27, 1959 (no. 261), is marked "G.P." (Geraert Peemans) and is inscribed: "Caesar fecit petere tributum." An example in the Quirinale Palace, Rome, has the same borders as 32.<sup>17</sup>

### 32b *The Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra*

#### DESCRIPTION

Antony, riding a spirited dark brown horse with a black tail, wears blue armor and a dull yellow and red cloak, with much metal thread. He turns his head to look at Cleopatra, who sits on a blue cushion in the stern of her barge under a brown canopy supported by four poles and with a dull pink drapery thrown over it. She is dressed in pale dull yellow, with a dull red cloak, and has a small crown at the back of her head. There are two children



32a

behind her, one with a circlet of leaves, holding a fan. A girl with leaves in her dark hair sits in the center of the boat, holding a scroll. Three women with wreaths on their heads and upper arms manipulate brown and gray oars on the port side, and three more are seated in the bow. One in blue plays a brown lute, another, in yellow, a flute. The

bow is covered in yellow brown drapery, supporting a garland and some flowers; a pale yellow banner waves above it. A large dull yellow and brown sail rises above the barge, with a nude cupid reclining on it; he aims an arrow at Antony. The head and shoulders of a man in blue are visible on the extreme left behind the horse. The brown



32b

and gray barge is richly decorated with carving and green garlands; the rudder has a bird's head at the top. The sky is pale blue and dull yellow, with a blue-green and pale yellow tree on the left and a distant blue-green landscape visible on the right and between the horse's legs. The water is dark blue in the foreground, pale yellow in the dis-

tance. The foreground on the left is pale brown and yellow, with dark blue-green and pale yellow plants silhouetted against the barge and the water.

The inscription in the upper border reads: ANTONIVS IPSAM / COMPELLENDI / GRATIA MISSVS ILLIVS / AMORE CAPTIVR (Antony, sent to compel her, is captured by love

of her). The lower guard has the Brussels mark at the left and G · V · D · STRECKEN (Geraert van der Strecken) at the right. Metal thread (probably originally gilt) and silk are lavishly used throughout. Jewels and ornaments on garments are metal thread in basket weave.

#### CONDITION

The tapestry shows extensive repair throughout. There are many bare warps, especially in black areas and areas where silk was much used, such as the sky and the horse's tail.

#### SUBJECT

The meeting of Antony and Cleopatra is described by Plutarch:

She sailed up the Cydnus in a vessel with a gilded stern, with purple sails spread, and the rowers working with silver oars to the sound of the flute in harmony with pipes and lutes. Cleopatra reclined under an awning spangled with gold, dressed as Venus is painted, and youths representing the Cupids in pictures stood on each side fanning her. In like manner the handsomest of her female slaves in the dress of Nereids and Graces were stationed, some at the rudders and others at the ropes.<sup>18</sup>

The inscription, as it does not name Cleopatra, suggests that this tapestry follows 32a.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example in Prague has the same borders, dimensions, and inscriptions; the weaver's signature is Jan van Leefdael. That in the Uffizi has the same borders. One in the Quirinale Palace, Rome, by Jacob van Zeunen (not from the set with the Savoy arms) shows only Cleopatra and the barge. This is true of the example in Chicago, which has the weaver's initials G.V.L. The borders are different from those of 32 and the inscription reads: "Cleopatra in mari se recreat." The piece in the Walker-Heneage sale has the same inscription as 32b; it is slightly larger on the left, so that the soldier behind Antony is more clearly visible.

Antony on horseback and Cleopatra on the barge are found on panels of a *Zenobia* series, woven by Geraert Peemans, owned by Marquis Raffaello Mansi in 1950.<sup>19</sup>

Antony is also depicted as a single figure on a narrow piece, inscribed "Indomita Virtus," from a set of the *Proverbs* after Jordaens in Tarragona Cathedral; the set was bequeathed to the cathedral in 1683.<sup>20</sup> A similar tapestry, signed "G. Peemans," formerly owned by the archduke Leopold Salvator of Austria, was sold at Anderson Galleries, New York, February 4, 5, 1927 (no. 276, illus.). This and the corresponding Mansi panel are inscribed "Pars accommoda."

### 32c *Cleopatra Dissolving the Pearl*

#### DESCRIPTION

Cleopatra, wearing a pink and dull yellow costume with a brown cloak, dangles a large gray pearl over a fluted brown goblet and holds a shell-like brown saucer in her left hand. Antony, in black and blue, with a pale brown and yellow cloak and dark brown and yellow sandals, extends his left hand toward her and with his right grasps the table, which is covered with a deep blue cloth with yellow stripes. Behind him, a red-haired boy holds a gray and brown helmet with a dragon crest. Between the seated couple, a girl in dull yellow raises a tiered cake topped with a sprig of yellow leaves; she holds a shallow dish in her other hand. Another female servant in pink and blue behind Cleopatra carries a dish of pink, green, and pale yellow grapes and other fruit; a third woman in pink stands beside her. A kneeling woman in dark blue-green and yellow at the lower right corner has both arms around a large blue and yellow vase, from which she is about to pour a liquid into the queen's saucer. A cupid with brown and dull yellow wings holds a torch in each hand, as he flies in the upper left corner. The canopy over and behind Cleopatra is dull green and yellow, and blue-green trees are seen against a pale blue and yellow sky in the distance; a crescent moon and a star are on the right. The table supports loaded dishes, mostly in metal thread; in one dish is a fowl. The table leg and Antony's chair are brown and black. The foreground is dark brown and black.

The inscription in the upper border reads: CLEOPATRA GEMMAM / INEFFABILIS / VALORIS ANTONIO IN / POTVM FVNDIT (Cleopatra dissolves a gem of ineffable value in Antony's drink). The lower guard has the Brussels mark in the center and the initials I · V · L (Jan van Leefdael) on the right.





32c

#### CONDITION

The sky is almost entirely repaired in the darker sections. All the blacks are much perished and repaired, especially in Antony's costume and the tablecloth. Silk areas, chiefly in pale tones, are also much repaired, especially Cleopatra's dress.

#### SUBJECT

The story of Cleopatra dissolving the pearl is told by Pliny. She boasted to Antony that she would spend ten million sesterces on a single banquet, which he thought impossible. Bets were made; the queen served an ordinary meal, but, for the second course, a vessel full of vinegar

was placed in front of her. She dropped into it one of her earrings, which dissolved, and then drank the vinegar, winning her bet.<sup>21</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example in Prague has the same inscription and borders, but is wider. The maker's name is Jan van Leeftael. The piece in the Uffizi has the same inscription, borders, and weaver's initials as 32c. In the example in the Quirinale the inscription is replaced by the arms of Savoy, the borders are different, and the maker's name appears as "I. V. Leeftael." The composition is enlarged at the top, so that there is a wide expanse of sky above the flying cupid.<sup>22</sup> The piece in the Chicago Art Institute is inscribed: "Cleopatra cum Anthonio mense assidet." The borders are different and the weaver's name is given as "Gi Peemans." The composition is cut down at the sides, so that only Antony, Cleopatra, the cupid, and the girl with the cake are visible.<sup>23</sup> An example in the Hermitage, Leningrad, has the same inscription as 32c, but different borders; the initials of G. van der Strecken are inscribed.<sup>24</sup> The inscription is the same on the example in the Walker-Heneage sale, which is very close to 32c.<sup>25</sup>

### 32d *The Battle of Actium*

#### DESCRIPTION

Antony, wearing a gray helmet with a brown dragon crest, blue and gray armor, and a dull yellow cape, stands in a boat on the left, with Cleopatra behind him. Below him a seated man in a blue helmet holds a blue sword in his right hand and a gray shield in his left. In the prow of a boat approaching from the right stands a warrior with a green and blue plumed helmet, green and blue costume, and gray armor. Two nude men row the boat, another sounds a large, curved, dull yellow, brown, and green horn, and a man in blue armor with a dull yellow cloak and plumed helmet holds a long standard with a wreath at the top and a dull yellow banner inscribed: SPQB (for SPQR). Two men with spears are visible between the foreground attackers, as is a man's head under Antony's left arm, and the head of a woman behind Cleopatra. A pale yellow and gray flag flies at the stern of the attacking boat.

In the distance on the right is another boat with four armed men and a man blowing a curved horn that ends in an animal's head. A brown and dull yellow canopy extends above Cleopatra. Her boat, in shades of brown, reddish brown, and dull yellow, with much metal thread, is elaborately decorated with sea beings and leaf forms; the attacking boat has the same colors. The sky is pale blue and yellow, the turbulent sea dark blue, gray, and pale yellow.

The inscription in the upper border reads: ANTONIVS APERTO / NAVALI PRAELIO / A ROMANIS DEBELLATVR / ET FVGIT (Antony, at the beginning of the naval battle, is attacked [or overcome] and flees). The lower guard has the Brussels mark at the left near the center and is inscribed at the right in pale yellow: IAN · VAN · LEEFDAEL.

#### CONDITION

The metal thread, extensively used throughout, is completely blackened. Large areas have been repaired with coarse darning, especially in the distant sea and sky. Any reds and pinks that were originally present are no longer visible.

#### SUBJECT

The battle of Actium is described by Plutarch. Antony, when he saw Cleopatra's ships sailing away, followed and joined her. Some light vessels from Augustus's fleet pursued them, but only one came close, that of Eurykles. He, however, did not attack Cleopatra's ship. An actual encounter between Antony and any of Augustus's supporters at this stage of the battle is not recorded.<sup>26</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example in Prague has similar dimensions and the inscription, borders, and maker's name are the same.

That in the Quirinale has different borders. The composition has been cut on the right, showing only the head and arm of the man with a standard and the head and hands of the man blowing a horn; it is enlarged at the top, so that the sky is visible above the canopy and the wreath at the top of the standard.

The piece in the Chicago Art Institute is inscribed:



32d

"Cleopatra ab inimicis in mari invaditur." The border is different from that of 32d. It is signed "G. v. Leefdael." The composition is cut at the right, so that the men with the standard are omitted. The example in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, is inscribed: "Pompeius a Cesare vic-

tus fugit." It is signed by G. v. Leefdael.<sup>27</sup> The composition is slightly enlarged on the right and the border shows variations in the positions of the children. A piece owned by Count Guy van den Steen, Château de Jehay, Belgium, is signed "Ian van Leefdael."

## 32e *The Death of Cleopatra*

### DESCRIPTION

Cleopatra holds a brown basket of blue and pale yellow fruit in her lap and the dark blue and brown asp in her right hand as it bites her on the arm. She wears a pale yellow undergarment with a black, brown, and red-brown mantle. Her two servants, in black, dark blue, and pale yellow, sit at her feet, with two Roman soldiers in blue and gray armor behind them. A man in blue with a gray feathered cap is partly visible beside the dark green curtain that forms the background behind Cleopatra; he is presumably the man who brought the asp in a basket of figs. A piece of green and dull yellow drapery is twisted around a brown column on the right. The brown throne on which Cleopatra sits is ornamented with classical motifs. The stone floor is in shades of brown and yellow. Dark and pale blue and green trees and bushes are seen against a yellow and pale blue sky in the distance on the left.

The inscription in the upper border reads: CLEOPATRA NE IN / TRIVNPHVM [sic] DVCATVR / ASPIDIS MORSV SIBI / MORTEM INFERT (Lest she should be led in triumph, Cleopatra kills herself with the bite of an asp). The lower guard has the Brussels mark on the left and is inscribed at the right: G · V · D · STRECKEN.

### CONDITION

The black areas are almost bare. The lower part is much repaired.

### SUBJECT

The story of Cleopatra's death from snake bite is told by Plutarch. She determined to commit suicide rather than become part of Augustus's triumphal procession in Rome. The guards who were watching her admitted a man from the country with a basket of figs. Under the figs was an asp, which Cleopatra put to her bare arm. Her two women, Eiras and Charmion, were found dying by Augustus's messengers, with Cleopatra in royal attire lying dead on a golden couch.<sup>27</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example in Prague has similar dimensions and the same inscription and borders. It has the weaver's initials,

G.V.D.S. There are two examples in the Quirinale; one has different borders and is narrower, so that only Cleopatra, the countryman, and the nearest attendant are visible. Only Cleopatra and the girl at her feet are included in the Chicago Art Institute piece. In this the asp is omitted and the inscription reads: "Mors Cesaris fuit tristis Cleopatra." The borders are different and the signature is "G. Peemans." The example in the Walker-Heneage sale has the correct spelling of *triumphum* in the inscription. A piece sold at the Hall du Savoy, Nice, March 28, 1951 (no. 303, illus.), has a narrow border without an inscription.

The figure of Cleopatra is found on a panel of a *Zenobia* set owned by Marquis Raffaello Mansi in 1950.

### NOTES

1. An example is in the Quirinale Palace, Rome (*Il Palazzo del Quirinale* [Rome, 1974] pl. II, seen on the wall beside the door between the Sala Regia and the Capella Paolina).
2. Fernand Donnet, "Documents pour servir à l'histoire des ateliers de tapisseries de Bruxelles, Audenarde, Anvers, etc.," *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 10 (1896) pp. 290, 291.
3. Crick-Kuntziger, "L'histoire de Zénobie," pp. 11–26.
4. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 386.
5. Blažková and Duverger, *Les Tapisseries*, p. 83.
6. Ernst von Birk, "Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884) pp. 213, 214, no. CV 6.
7. Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinssammlung* (Vienna, 1920) vol. 3, p. 1, no. 204, illus. (*Triumph*). Theodor van Thulden is suggested as the designer. Information on the pieces in Prague was provided by Dr. Jarmila Blažková.
8. Mercedes Ferrero Viale, "Essai de reconstitution idéale des collections de tapisserie ayant appartenu à la maison de Savoie aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *La Tapisserie flamande aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Colloque international, 8–10 octobre 1959*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1959) pp. 278, 281.
9. Christa Charlotte Mayer, *Masterpieces of Western Textiles from the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1969) p. 29, pl. 14 (*Caesar in Battle with Women and Children*).
10. Crick-Kuntziger, "L'histoire de Zénobie," pp. 11–26.
11. Albert F. Calvert, *The Spanish Royal Tapestries* (London, 1921) pls. 198–200.
12. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 2, p. 384; Calvert, *Spanish Royal Tapestries*, pl. 190.
13. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 388; *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 19.
14. A tapestry showing the triumph of Caesar after the African campaign, signed by Willem van Leefdael, was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 29, 1947, no. 145, illus. It has the same borders as 32 and the same inscription as the corresponding tapestry in the *Cleopatra* set in the Chicago Art Institute.
15. *Drawings, Water-Color Paintings*, MMA Handbook [1894] p. 59.
16. *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Aubrey Stewart and George Long, vol. 4 (London, 1882) p. 286 (*Life of Antonius*, chap. 25).
17. *Palazzo del Quirinale*, pl. II (seen on wall).





32e

18. *Plutarch*, p. 287 (*Life of Antonius*, chap. 26).
19. Crick-Kuntziger, "L'histoire de Zénobie," p. 23.
20. Pedro Batelle Huguet, *Los Tapices de la Catedral de Tarragona* (Tarragona, 1956) p. 71, no. 10, pl. 46.
21. Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (London, 1940) bk. 9, chap. 58, lines 119–21.
22. Ferrero Viale, "Essai," fig. 6.
23. Edward J. Olszewski, "The Tapestry Collection of Cardinal Ottoboni," *Apollo* 116 (1982) fig. 9.
24. *Les Arts appliqués de l'Europe occidentale XII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Hermitage (Leningrad, 1974) no. 73, illus.
25. "Coker Court, Somerset: The Seat of Major G. W. Heneage," *Country Life* 25 (January 2, 1909) p. 22, illus. (on wall in hall).
26. *Plutarch*, pp. 327, 328 (*Life of Antonius*, chaps. 66, 67).
27. Cynthia Duval, *500 Years of Decorative Arts from the Ringling Collection* (Sarasota, Fla., 1981) p. 161, no. 156 (called *Julius Caesar and Pompey in the Harbor of Alexandria*).
28. *Plutarch*, pp. 343–45 (*Life of Antonius*, chaps. 84–86).

### 33 Landscape with birds

Flemish (Brussels); woven by Daniel Abbeloos (c. 1635–after 1677), about 1670–80.

Brussels mark and weaver's name.

Wool and silk.

11 ft. 6 in. x 14 ft. 11 in. (3.51 m x 4.55 m).

21–24 warps per inch, 8–10 per centimeter.

Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.95.133).

#### DESCRIPTION

A pale blue and yellow stream flows from the far distance to the lower right corner. Two blue, red, pale yellow, and brown birds are in the right foreground, another near a small waterfall flanked by two pollarded bushes in the middle distance, and a fourth farther away. Several kinds of trees rise on either bank; they have leaves in shades of green and pale yellow and gray and brown trunks. A dead stump is visible on the left. The sky is blue at the top, pale yellow near the horizon. In the distance are hills, a walled town by the water, and more trees, all in pale tones of gray, yellow, and green. In the foreground on the left are a rosebush with red blossoms and a large plant with dark green leaves and blue flowers. Dark green rushes grow by the stream. On the little brown and gray beach where the large birds stand are some pebbles and pale yellow-green plants. Above the birds is a large plant with blue-green leaves and dull yellow flowers.

The narrow inner band of the border is yellow and brown, imitating a wooden frame lit from the upper left.



The ground of the main border is brown, with scrolls and twisting foliage, flowers, and feathers in shades of red, blue, green, yellow, brown, cream, and tan; red and white roses and yellow and red poppies can be distinguished. The feathers are red, blue, and brown. The vertical borders have each a seated gray bird at the top and, about halfway down, a brown hawk perched on a blue quiver, with a dull yellow hunting horn slung on a red ribbon below. The guards are black. The Brussels mark with yellow letters and a red shield is slightly to the left of the center of the lower guard; on the lower right is the name: DANIEL • AB (Daniel Abbeloos) in yellow (see detail).

#### CONDITION

Some colors have faded, especially the lighter blues and reds. There are a few very small areas of repair.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

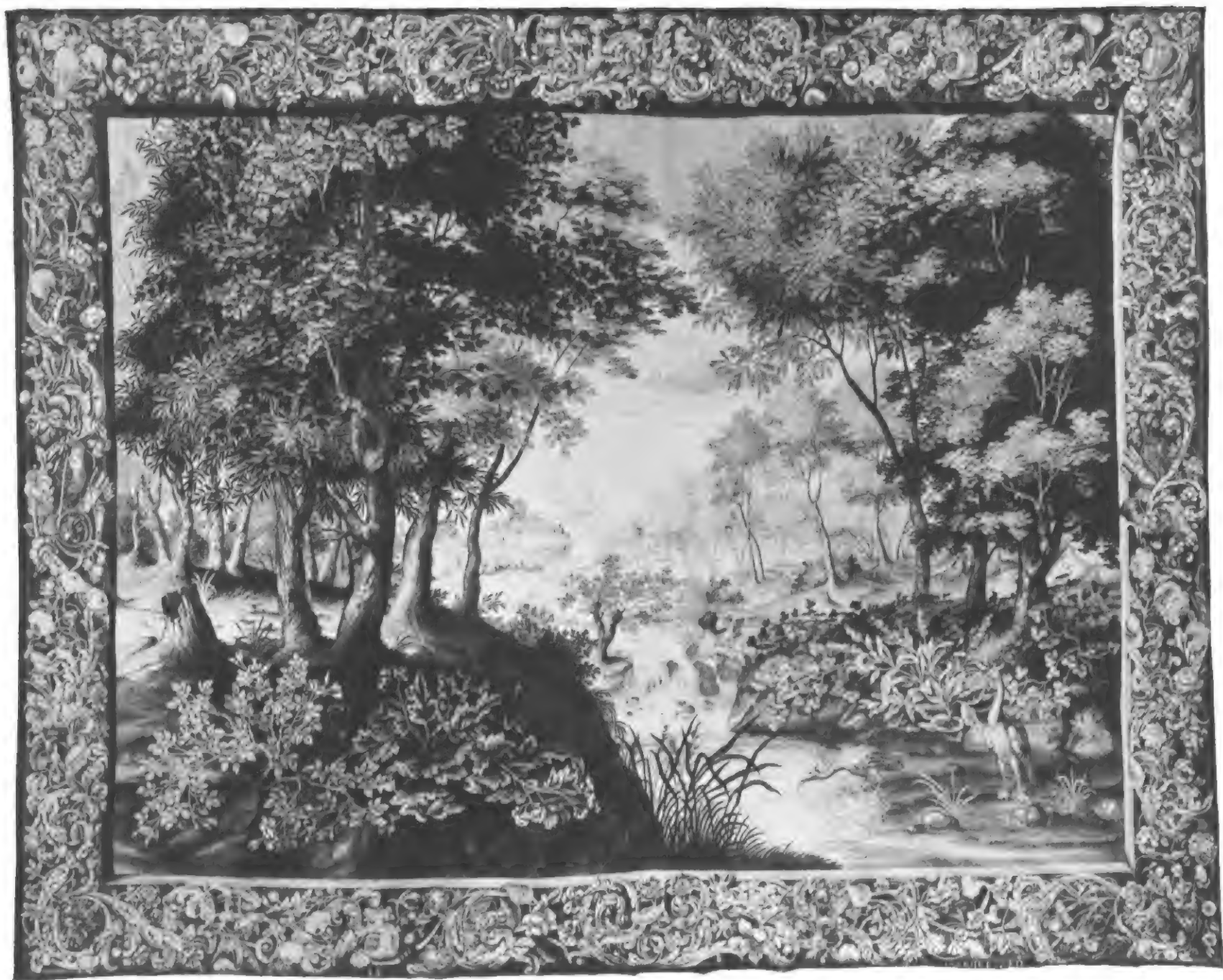
Daniel Abbeloos and Jan der Borcht signed a contract on January 24, 1677, to make a set of six wool and silk tapestries for Giles Postel, to contain landscapes with birds and small animals. They were to be the same design as others made for a seigneur de Tildonck, but with more silk, finer wools, brighter colors, more naturally shaded leaves, and other improvements. The height of each piece was to be 4½ ells.<sup>1</sup> This is slightly less than the height of 33, which is 5 ells, but the description of the 1677 set is so similar that it is highly probable that 33 was designed and woven about the same time.

#### PUBLICATION

Rorimer, James J. "The European Decorative Arts." *The Theodore M. Davis Bequest*. Section 2 of *MMA Bulletin* 26 (March 1931) p. 25, fig. 7.

#### NOTE

1. J. Duverger, "Tapijtwerk uit het atelier van Daniël Abbeloos," *Artes Textiles* 6 (1965) pp. 98, 107.



## 34 Autumn

From a set of the *Four Seasons*

Flemish (Brussels); designed by Lodewijk van Schoor (1666–1726), and woven by Jan Frans van den Hecke (fl. 1662–1691) or Pieter van den Hecke (fl. 1703–1752), 1690–1720. Wool and silk.

10 ft. 7 in. x 14 ft. 1 in. (3.23 m x 4.29 m).

19–21 warps per inch, 7–9 per centimeter.

The Lillian Stokes Gillespie Collection, Bequest of Lillian Stokes Gillespie, 1915 (15.121.8).

### DESCRIPTION

A female figure representing Autumn is seated on a low platform. She has a headdress of pale yellow, green, and red grape leaves and pale blue and red bunches of grapes, and holds a rod with yellow and green grapevines twisted around it. She wears a pale blue dress and dark red cloak, with a richly decorated red and yellow drapery over her knees. She rests her right arm on a brown table with a massive vase-shaped support, on which is a red-brown chalice-shaped bowl of dull red, green, and yellow grapes. On the left stands a woman with gray wings, who raises a pair of scales in her right hand and represents September. She has a crown of long green leaves and wears a dark blue-green dress with dark red, gray, and yellow drapery over it. Her left hand supports bunches of red, blue, and green grapes and red apples. To the right stands another winged woman holding a dull yellow and black scorpion in her right hand; she represents October. Her crown is of green and pale yellow oak leaves, and she supports a basket of red, green, and pale brown fruit and chestnuts with her left hand. Her dress is pale gray and tan, with decoration in dull yellow and pink. Behind the three figures are a fluted brown, yellow, and gray column, with a blue and dull yellow drapery around it, and a large gray covered vase decorated with classical foliage. A blue curtain with a large blue and dull yellow tassel forms a backdrop to Autumn, and brown, green, and pale yellow trees rise behind it.

In the background on the left is a vintage scene, with men pouring grapes and wine into large brown and gray barrels and casks. High open arches surround this activity,

with three figures visible on a balcony at the top. The background on the right shows a landscape with a blue sky and three large blue-green and pale yellow trees. The platform on which Autumn is seated is covered with a red carpet with a dull yellow decorated border. The foreground is gray and brown with piles of green and red leaves and fruit, including pale blue and yellow grapes, dark blue-green and dull yellow-green pumpkins, and gourds.

The borders (not original) are in red, red-brown, and dull yellow.

### CONDITION

The tapestry has been cut all around; all the borders are replacements. It has been extensively repaired throughout. The top left corner is a jumble of meaningless fragments, some probably from a sixteenth-century tapestry. Large rewoven areas are found on the wings of September, the costumes of all three main figures, the distant landscape, the fruit in the left foreground, and the architecture on the left side. Minor patches of repair are apparent in all sections, some being insertions from other tapestries.

### SUBJECT

The series consists of four tapestries, each with a female figure personifying a season and three winged women carrying, or associated with, the zodiacal signs of the months making up the season. Standard occupations of the months are seen in the backgrounds. The month of November is missing in 34. The Months are winged, presumably to indicate the swift passage of time. The idea of so representing them was used in a tapestry series designed by Jan van den Hoecke (1611–1651) and assistants soon after 1647.<sup>1</sup>

When the zodiacal sign is a person or persons, not an animal or thing, it is represented by wingless figures placed close to the winged month; there are two children for Gemini, a young girl for Virgo, and a centaur for Sagittarius.





#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The attribution to Lodewijk van Schoor is firmly based on stylistic resemblances to tapestries known to be after this painter.<sup>2</sup> An example is the signed *Victoria* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>3</sup> The series may, in fact, be the one represented by a set of *De Vier Tyden van het Jaer* after van Schoor, bought from the weaver van den Hecke by William III of England between 1690 and 1700 for his friend Everard van Weede van Dijkveld,<sup>4</sup> but weavers of this family and this artist collaborated on several *Seasons* series. The number of pieces of the series to which 34 belongs that have been found in English collections does, however, support the suggestion that William III's set was one of this series.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Other tapestries of the series have the mark of Jan Frans van den Hecke, who received guild privileges in 1662. His son, Pieter van den Hecke, was head of the guild in 1703. The series is very probably after a set of cartoons owned by Pieter, described as a

chambre, représentant les *Quatre saisons de l'année*, en quatre pièces, avec les trois planètes [the signs of the zodiac] en chaque pièce et les quatre éléments en deux pièces; ensemble six pièces, à 5 aunes [11 ft. 5 in.] de hauteur: 1. L'Automne. La Balance, le Scorpion, le Sagittaire. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  aunes [20 ft. 9 in. wide]. 2. Le Printemps. Le Bélier, le Taureau, les Gémeaux. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  aunes [18 ft. 7 in. wide]. 3. L'Été. L'Écrevisse, le Lion, la Vierge. 7 aunes [16 ft. wide]. 4. L'Hiver. Le Capricorne, l'*Aquarius* (le Verseau), les Poissons. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  aunes [14 ft. wide]. . . .

The owner stated that the tapestries woven from these designs could be made wider if necessary.<sup>5</sup> It is not possible to determine which van den Hecke wrote this description at what date.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

As this example is incomplete and has lost its borders, it is not possible to identify the other pieces of the set. Other pieces of the series include the following:

##### *Spring*

California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. April and May only. With a simple narrow border.

Lord Moyne sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1935 (no. 270, illus.), sold again at the same auction house, November 30, 1967 (no. 140, illus.). With an elaborate border and the initials of Jan Frans van den Hecke.

Lord Cunliffe of Headley sale, Sotheby's, London, March 18, 1966 (no. 10). It had an elaborate border on three sides, later removed.<sup>6</sup>

Warren Wright sale, Rains Galleries, New York, October 5, 6, 1934.<sup>7</sup> With a simple border.

Private collection, France.<sup>8</sup> Without borders.

Austrian National Collection. March only, inscribed: "Pars Veris." With the initials of Jan Frans van den Hecke.<sup>9</sup>

Leon van der Hoeven sale, Hôtel Drouot, February 19–21, 1906 (no. 293, illus.). March only. Without borders.

##### *Summer*

Sold, Parke-Bernet, September 21, 1940 (no. 393, illus.), and November 1–3, 1973 (no. 335, illus.). With an elaborate border, the inscription "Aestas," and the name "I. F. V. Hecke."

On the Vienna art market in 1956.<sup>10</sup> With a simple border. Sold, Sotheby's, London, June 20, 1975 (no. 6, illus.). With an elaborate border.

##### *Autumn*

Museum of Decorative Arts, Zagreb.<sup>11</sup> With an acanthus-leaf border. November (missing in 34) is represented by a centaur shooting an arrow (Sagittarius), with a winged woman holding a basket of fruit sitting on his back.

Lord Cunliffe of Headley sale (no. 11). Cut on left, but including the centaur. With an elaborate border.

Emile Jellinck-Mercedes sale, American Art Association, New York, February 20, 1926 (no. 22, illus.), sold again at the same auction house, January 24–28, 1928 (no. 1151, illus.). With an elaborate border. Signed "I. F. V. Hecke."<sup>12</sup>

##### *Winter*

Museum of Decorative Arts, Zagreb. With an acanthus-leaf border.<sup>13</sup>

Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels. With an elaborate border and the weaver's initials J.F.V. December is missing.<sup>14</sup>

Lord Cunliffe of Headley sale (no. 12). January only.

An adaptation showing February on the left and a page with a plate of fruit on the right, lacking the other two

months, but with the festive scene in the background, was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 15, 1928 (no. 159, illus.).

The Zagreb museum has a tapestry representing *Air and Water*<sup>15</sup> with the same border as its *Autumn* and *Winter*, showing that this set probably consisted of six pieces, as described in the list of Pieter van den Hecke's cartoons: four *Seasons* and two pairs of *Elements*. A similar combination is found in a set of four pieces, *Summer*, *Winter*, *Air and Water*, and *Earth and Fire*, with the subjects named in Latin in medallions in the upper borders, sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 25, 1937 (nos. 111–14, *Summer* illus.).

A tapestry believed to represent Autumn in the Mobilier National, Paris,<sup>16</sup> shows a seated figure very close to the personification of Autumn in 34. The same figure was used in another composition representing Autumn, known from examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. T.164–1931) and the Fogg Art Museum (acc. no. 1953.103).

The van den Heckes and, probably, Lodewijk van Schoor were also responsible for another set of *Seasons*, showing only occupations,<sup>17</sup> as well as a series, presumably of six pieces, representing the activities of two months on each hanging.<sup>18</sup> Yet another *Seasons* series is represented by four pieces in the Victoria and Albert Museum, including the *Autumn* mentioned above.<sup>19</sup>

## HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Robert McMaster (Lillian Stokes) Gillespie, 1915.

## PUBLICATIONS

MMA *Annual Report* 1915, p. 50. Listed as Flemish (Brussels), last half of seventeenth century, possibly style of Pieter van den Hecke.

D.F. [Durr Friedley]. "An Important Bequest of Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin* 10 (1915) pp. 250–52, illus. Said to be in the style of van Schoor, probably woven by Pieter van den Hecke. The border called a later addition.

"The Gillespie Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum." *Good Furniture* 6 (1916) p. 114. Described.

## NOTES

1. Günther Heinz, "Studien über Jan van den Hoecke and die Malerei der Niederländer in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 63, n.s. 27 (1967) p. 130, pls. 113–32.
2. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "Deux tapisseries bruxelloises d'après des cartons de Louis van Schoor," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 26 (1954) pp. 98–102, figs. 1 and 2 (example of *Winter*).
3. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) no. 49, illus.
4. Alphonse Wauters, *Les Tapisseries bruxelloises* (Brussels, 1878) pp. 269, 270.
5. Wauters, *Tapisseries bruxelloises*, pp. 355–56, 358.
6. Advertisement by Perez, London, in *Apollo* 89 (January 1969) p. xviii, illus., and letter from this dealer.
7. *Art News* 32 (September 15, 1934) p. 3, illus.
8. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 152, illus.
9. Ernst von Birk, "Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884) p. 209, no. CIV 2.
10. Zdenka Munk, "Tri Briselske tapisserie u Muzeju za Umjetnost i Obrt u Zagrebu," *Tkalčičevog Zbornika* 2 (1958) p. 203, pl. 2. The months, from left to right, are August, July, and June, but possibly the photograph rather than the design of the tapestry has been reversed.
11. Munk, "Tri Briselske tapisserie," pp. 177–203, pl. 5.
12. This may be the piece owned by the comte de Lasteyrie, Paris, in 1880, mentioned but not illustrated in Ed. Guichard and Alfred Darcel, *Les Tapisseries décoratives du Garde-Meuble* (Paris, [1905]) pl. 74.
13. Munk, "Tri Briselske tapisserie," pl. 3.
14. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries*, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels, 1956) no. 80.
15. Munk, "Tri Briselske tapisserie," pl. 6.
16. Guichard and Darcel, *Tapisseries décoratives*, pl. 74; George Le-land Hunter, *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance* (New York, 1912) pl. 383. Said to be from a set of the *Four Seasons*, of which a duplicate set is in New York.
17. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 360; vol. 2, pls. 166, 167 (*Summer*, gardening; *Winter*, skating). A narrower version of *Summer* was sold at Parke-Bernet, November 10, 1956, no. 512, illus., and February 1, 1964, no. 350, illus.
18. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 2, pls. 308, 309 (*September* and *October*, boating; *March* and *April*, gardening); vol. 1, p. 360 (*January* and *February*, skating; *July* and *August*, picnic); Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "Dépôt récent: une tapisserie de J. F. van den Hecke," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 3rd ser., 6 (1932) pp. 68–71 (*November* and *December*, hunting). Another example of *March–April* was sold at Parke-Bernet, May 10, 1969, no. 122, illus.
19. These may be the set of four tapestries without borders once in the Baumgarten collection, New York (Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 156).







## 35 The Arms of William and Mary

Flemish (Brussels); designed by Daniel Marot (1663–1752) or Johannes Christoph Lotijn (fl. 1686–1700), and woven by Hieronymus Le Clerc (fl. 1676–1719), 1694–1700, for William III of England (reigned 1688–1702).

Brussels mark and weaver's name.

Wool, silk, and metal thread.

9 ft. 9 in. x 7 ft. 7 in. (2.97 m x 2.31 m).

20 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter.

Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1936 (36.57).

### DESCRIPTION

In the center is a shield with the arms of the English monarchs, William III and Mary II (Quarterly with a scutcheon Azure billetty and a lion rampant or [Nassau]: 1 and 4, Quarterly France modern and England; 2, Scotland; 3, Ireland).<sup>1</sup> Around the shield is the pale blue Garter band, with its motto: HONI · SOIT · QVI / MAL · Y · PENSE in silver thread; below is a pale gray ribbon inscribed in red and yellow with the motto of the House of Orange: IE MAINTIENDRAY. A standing figure on either side upholds a royal crown with a red lining. On the left is Hercules, wearing a yellow lion's skin, held by a strap over one shoulder, with the lion-mask on his head. He supports a spiked club with his right hand. On the right is Apollo; he has a blue-green laurel wreath and there are yellow rays streaming out behind his head. He wears a yellow fringed upper garment, dark blue and red classical skirt, and sandals with blue straps. Between his right knee and the coat of arms is a lyre. Both figures stand on a gray stone base, on which rests, between them, a red robe lined with ermine with a jeweled and fringed border, a helmet with a small lion on top under a plume of blue and white feathers, and two red and brown batons. On the left, a blue ribbon with the George of the Garter protrudes from under the robe, and in the center is another with the Garter Star; this has a red cross and the letters HON. The head of a gray and yellow lion rises from behind the base on the left and that of a gray unicorn with a crown around its neck on the right. Each animal terminates in red, brown, yellow, and black foliage volutes with a garland of blue, red, yellow, and black flowers and leaves.

Behind the two standing figures are trophies of classical

and modern arms, including, on the left, a cannon swabber and the animal head of a Roman trumpet; on the right, a linstock and Roman fasces. Above these are flags and Roman vexilla in blue, red, and orange. On the left, the foremost flag has a yellow head with petallike protrusions; on the right, a red flag has three yellow fleurs-de-lis. The uppermost trophy on each side is a helmet, the one on the left with blue and white plumes, the one on the right with red and white. At the center of the tapestry at the top is the monogram WMR (for William, Mary, Rex or Regina) on a blue ground in an elaborate yellow frame. From this, garlands tied with fluttering blue ribbons fall on either side and are caught up by scrolling forms filling the upper corners of the tapestry. The leaves of the garlands are blue, and the flowers, including a number of roses, are chiefly red and white. The forms in the lower corners of the tapestry are similar to the upper ones, that on the left having a red ground; small sprays of blue, red, and white leaves, flowers, and fruit spring from them. The background is a dull yellow-gray. The border shows oak leaves and acorns crossed with ribbons, simulating a carved wooden frame, in dull yellow gray. The guards are dark blue with the letters BB, separated by a red shield, and LE · CLERC in yellow at the lower right side.

Silver and silver-gilt thread are used sparingly throughout for parts of metal objects and the lettering.

### CONDITION

The tapestry is extensively repaired throughout, much of the yellow silk, in particular, being recent. The unicorn's head and the upper part of Apollo's costume are largely rewoven. Sections of the guard are replacements.

### SUBJECT

The figure on the right has been variously identified as Mars,<sup>2</sup> Caesar,<sup>3</sup> or Mars attired as Caesar,<sup>4</sup> but the rays of light around his head and the lyre beside him show that he is Apollo. The fleurs-de-lis and the rayed head on the banners refer to William's victories over Louis XIV, the Roi Soleil. First Apollo, the sun-god, then Hercules, and

finally the achievements of Louis XIV constitute the iconographical program for the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles,<sup>5</sup> so that William may have chosen both figures as an act of defiance to his great rival. Hercules is the deity usually chosen to represent William,<sup>6</sup> and both he and Apollo stand for the king on drawings by Romeyn de Hooze for fountains; the inscriptions on these specifically state that they show “De Vorst als Hercules” and “De Vorst vertoont in de gedaente van Appollo.”<sup>7</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The general scheme is derived from Le Brun’s armorial tapestries. Stylistically, the design is close to Daniel Marot, but J. C. Lotijn (or Lottin), a flower painter, who had the title of king’s painter to William III and acted as his agent in commissioning tapestries, may well have been the artist. It has been suggested that he produced the working cartoons after Marot’s drawings.<sup>8</sup> Constantine Huygens the Younger wrote in 1692 of tapestries “van Marot geteekent” that cost 22 gilders per ell,<sup>9</sup> and Lotijn is known to have made tapestry designs for Brussels weavers. David Teniers III has also been proposed as the designer,<sup>10</sup> but he died in 1685.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

A list dated June 15, 1700, of tapestries ordered by the painter Lotijn for William III is known from its publication by Wauters: “Deux chambres de pièces à armoiries, mêlées d’or et argent, formant ensemble huit pièces, du prix de 24 florins l’aune, et qui furent évaluées par les tapissiers De Clerck, Vander Borch, Cobus et Cnot (ou Coenot), ensemble fl. 5,760—00.”<sup>11</sup>

Hieronymus Le Clerc, whose name appears on 35, was a leading manufacturer in Brussels from about 1677 to 1717.

The number of pieces bought by William III was probably sixteen, eight to a set. The phrase “formant ensemble huit pièces” cannot mean that there were only eight tapestries in all, since the price per square *aune* and the total paid show that the order comprised 240 square *aunes*; dividing this by the square *aunes* of one of the surviving examples gives a figure close to sixteen,<sup>12</sup> the number of tapestries that are known to exist.

The two sets are unlikely to have been made before 1695, as they are not mentioned in the royal inventory of that date.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, Queen Mary died in 1694, so they were presumably commissioned before this date.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Other pieces of the same set as 35 are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (signed “I. Cobus,” acquired 1965);<sup>14</sup> Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (signed “Le Clerc”);<sup>15</sup> collection of David Seton Wills, Littlecote, Wiltshire (not signed).<sup>16</sup> Signed pieces that have appeared in sales are one signed “Castro” that was in the Bellenot sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 22, 1882 (no. 302),<sup>17</sup> and one signed “Le Clerc” in the A. C. Morse sale, Kende Galleries, New York, October 23–24, 1942 (no. 233, illus.).<sup>18</sup> Two different unsigned examples were in the Col. Sir W. Hutcheson Poë sale, Christie’s, London, July 26, 1934 (no. 151, illus.),<sup>19</sup> and the Duke of Westminster (Bourdon House) sale, Sotheby’s, London, July 10, 1959 (no. 89, illus.).

A very similar set with Mars and Minerva instead of Hercules and Apollo is known from pieces in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, England (signed “Le Clerc”);<sup>20</sup> the Dutch Royal Collection in the palace of Het Loo (three examples, one signed “Cobus” and two “A. Castro”);<sup>21</sup> English Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (two examples, signed “Coenot” and “Cobus”);<sup>22</sup> collection of the prince of Hesse, Schloss Friedrichshof, Kronberg.<sup>23</sup> A piece signed “Le Clerc” was in the Mme X . . . sale (identified in the copy of the Frick Art Reference Library as the mistress of Leon Gauchez), Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 20–23, 1892 (no. 409, illus.), the Rochard sale, Hôtel Drouot, May 1, 1905 (no. 141, illus.), the George A. Kessler sale, Rains Galleries, New York, January 23–25, 1930 (no. 349, illus.), and the Burton S. Castles sale, American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, December 14, 15, 1934 (no. 312, illus.).

#### HISTORY

Owned by P. W. French & Co., 1933.

Acquired for the MMA by means of the Lee Fund, 1936.

#### EXHIBITION

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979. *William & Mary*

and *Their House*, cat. no. 58, b, illus. The design said to be definitely the work of Daniel Marot.

#### PUBLICATIONS

"An Armorial Tapestry Made for Dutch William." *Connoisseur* 91 (1933) p. 136, pl. 2. As owned by French & Co.; some other versions listed.

*MMA Annual Report* 1936, p. 25. Mentioned.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "An Armorial Tapestry." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) pp. 122–24, illus. Said to be after Daniel Marot; figures called Hercules and Mars. Dated 1695–1700.

V.P.-S. [Vincent Powell-Smith]. "The Barber Armorial Tapestry." *The Coat of Arms* 6 (1960–61) p. 319. Mentioned; figures called Hercules and Mars attired as Caesar.

Erkelens, A. M. Louise E. "Wapentapijten van Willem III naar ontwerp van Daniel Marot." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 1967, p. 53, n. 6 (2). Listed with other examples. Arms identified as those of William and Mary and tapestry dated 1689–94, before her death. Figures called Hercules and Apollo. Design attributed to Daniel Marot (with many stylistic comparisons), derived from Le Brun's armorial tapestries, with possibly the full-scale cartoons carried out by J. Lotijn.

#### NOTES

1. C. R. Humphery-Smith and Michael G. Heenan, "The Royal Heraldry of England, Part Two," *The Coat of Arms* 6 (1960–61) p. 311. Vincent Powell-Smith has confirmed in correspondence that the arms are those of the joint monarchy.
2. Phillips, "Armorial Tapestry," p. 122.
3. Sale catalogue, Duke of Westminster, Christie's, London, July 10, 1959, no. 89.
4. V.P.-S., "Barber Armorial Tapestry," p. 319.
5. Pierre Verlet, *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection* (London, 1982) p. 427, n. 82. The carpets for the Long Gallery of the Louvre are said to show references to Hercules and Apollo in the same relationship.
6. John Cornforth, "Drayton House, Northamptonshire—III: The Home of Colonel and Mrs. Stopford Sackville," *Country Life* 137 (May 27, 1965) p. 1289.
7. *William & Mary*, exh. cat., no. 152. In the Stichtung Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam.
8. Erkelens, "Wapentapijten," p. 52.
9. M. D. Ozinga, *Daniel Marot, de schepper van den Hollandschen Lodewijk XIV—Stijl* (Amsterdam, 1938). This reference was provided by E. J. Kalf.
10. Paulina Junquera, "Tapices del Museo Lázaro Galdiano," *Goya*, no. 103 (July–August 1971) pp. 4, 5.
11. Alphonse Wauters, *Les Tapisseries bruxelloises* (Brussels, 1878) pp. 270, 271, n. 1. The original document is in Flemish.
12. This calculation was made by Anthony Standen. Heinrich Göbel (*Wandteppiche* I, vol. 1, p. 375) gives the number as twelve, which is too few to include all the extant examples.
13. H. H. Mulliner, *The Decorative Arts in England: 1660–1780* (London, [1924?]) text to fig. 181.
14. Erkelens, "Wapentapijten," pl. 1.
15. Junquera, "Tapices," pp. 3–5, illus. Figures called Hercules and Mars.
16. Christopher Hussey, "Littlecote, Wiltshire—II: [The Property of Mr. David Seton Wills]," *Country Life* 138 (December 2, 1965) p. 1471, fig. 15. The tapestry was listed in a Littlecote inventory of 1897 (information provided by the curator).
17. W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, 3rd ed., rev. (Wakefield, England, 1973) p. 384.
18. This is apparently the piece that was in the Mazaros-Riballier collection, Paris, in 1881 (Ed. Guichard and Alfred Darcel, *Les Tapisseries décoratives du Garde-Meuble* [Paris, (1905?)] pl. 72. Said to have been lent to the Garde Meuble in 1881; figures identified as Hercules and Mars, the design said to be probably by Jean Lottin). It was not, however, included in the sale of this collection at Mannheim, Paris, June 18–26, 1890.
19. This is probably the piece that was in the Prince Paul Galatzin sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 10–11, 1875 (no. 219).
20. *Handbook of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts* (Birmingham, England, 1949) p. 38. From the collections of Lord Hertford, Sir Richard Wallace, Lady Sackville, and Col. H. H. Mulliner (sold, Christie's, July 10, 1924, no. 145, illus.).
21. Erkelens, "Wapentapijten," p. 51, fig. 2. The pair signed "A. Castro" came from the Hill Court sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 14, 1982, nos. 27, 28, illus. (one).
22. Mulliner, *Decorative Arts in England*, text to fig. 181, said to have been offered, but not sold, at Christie's, December 17, 1913, no. 141; Owen Frederick Morshead, *Windsor Castle* (London, 1951) pl. 40 (both seen on wall of King Charles II's Dining Room), said to have been presented by Queen Mary.
23. Erkelens, "Wapentapijten," p. 53, n. 6 (12); inherited from Queen Victoria.
24. John Cornforth, "Hill Court, Herefordshire I: The Home of Mr. John Trafford," *Country Life* 139 (January 27, 1966) pp. 182, 183, fig. 5 (both seen on the wall of hall).

## 36 The Harvest

Flemish (Brussels); woven by Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747)  
and Daniel Leyniers (1669–1728), 1712–28.

Weavers' names.

Wool and silk.

10 ft. x 10 ft. 4 in. (3.05 m x 3.15 m).

18–20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.254).

### DESCRIPTION

In the center of the tapestry a large gray farm wagon is being loaded with yellow sheaves of grain; a few blue flowers are visible among the ears. A man with a gray hat, red jacket, yellow sleeves, and blue leggings stands on top of the load; another, with a gray hat and blue jacket, raises a sheaf. A pale brown and a white horse are harnessed to the wagon. On the right, two couples are dancing. The man with his back turned wears a red cap and jacket, gray-green breeches, white leggings, and gray shoes; the man facing him wears a blue cap, red jacket, and yellow trousers. The girl on the left wears a white cap, yellow blouse, and blue skirt; the other is in a red blouse, blue skirt, white apron, and red stockings. Behind the dancers is a man in a pale brown hat and jacket holding a jug in his right hand and raising a tall glass in his left. A hurdy-gurdy player, wearing a dark gray hat, yellow-pink jacket and breeches, and blue stockings, stands under a group of blue-green trees on the right. Beyond the horses' heads on the left is a group of four harvesters; the kneeling man wears a white shirt and red breeches, the woman behind him is in blue.



Seven distant figures are seen cutting the standing grain or reclining nearby. In the background on the left is a large thatched building on a rise of ground, with scattered trees around. Farther off, other buildings, including a gateway and a church tower, are visible. On the right a landscape with grain fields and buildings is seen between the tree trunks. All the background is carried out in tones of blue, pale yellow, and gray. The sky is blue, fading to white at the horizon, with white clouds.

The foreground is brown and gray, with large leaves and flowers in blue-green and white along the lower edge. On the left are the uprights and some planks of a crude wooden bridge. In the lower right corner (see detail), in orange, is the inscription: V · LEYNIERS · D · L · (Urbanus Leyniers, Daniel Leyniers).

The border, imitating a carved wood frame, is in strong red, red-brown, brown, dark brown, and yellow; it is made up of scrolling acanthus and oak leaves with acorns. The corners have elaborate shell forms. The guards are dark brown.

Silk is lavishly used throughout, and the use of slits for modeling is unusually abundant and skillful.

### CONDITION

There are a few small repaired areas, especially on the white horse, but the condition of the piece as a whole is excellent. The horizontal guards are missing, and the corners of the border on the right are replacements.

### SUBJECT

The tapestry belongs to the type called "Teniers," showing scenes of peasant life similar to those painted by David Teniers II (1610–1690). It has, however, been pointed out that this artist rarely depicted people at work.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Only the dancing figures can be related to known paintings by Teniers. The man with his back turned appears in his *Village Festival* in the Hermitage<sup>2</sup> and the woman on







the right, reversed, in paintings in the Brussels Royal Museums and the Prado.<sup>3</sup> Artists known to have made “Teniers” designs for the Leyniers are Ignaz d’Hondt, Jan van Orley, and Augustin Coppens,<sup>4</sup> but their individual contributions have not been distinguished.

#### WEAVERS AND DATE

The brothers Daniel and Urbanus Leyniers, in partnership with Henry Reydamms from 1712, were the most important weavers in Brussels in the first third of the eighteenth century. Urbanus’s son Daniel (1705–1770) also signed his works D.L., but the initials on this piece are probably those of his uncle.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject is included in a set owned by the earl of Wemyss and March at Stanway, Gloucestershire (formerly at Gosford, East Lothian); the composition is much enlarged on the right, showing another group of figures.<sup>5</sup> It is also one of a set of three formerly in the collection of Count d’Outremont de Wegimont; the others represent a village feast and a girl milking a cow.<sup>6</sup> The set was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 4, 5, 1935, as from the P . . . collection (no. 42, a-c, all illus.), and the *Harvest* and the *Girl Milking a Cow* again with the Keulen collection at the Lempertz Gallery, Cologne, November 24, 1957 (nos. 1465, 1466, illus.). There are no borders or signatures. The harvest scene is extended on the right to include two children watching the dancers and a seated man playing the bagpipes, and below to show a stretch of water. The milking scene is of the type woven by the Leyniers firm.<sup>7</sup>

Another *Harvest* was in the Mrs. Stanley Grafton Mortimer sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, March 19, 1948 (no. 169, illus.), and was sold again at the same auction house, March 25, 1972 (no. 217, illus.). No signature is recorded, but the border is the same as that of 36. The two children on the right are present, but not the bagpiper.

The wagon and harvesters are not known to have been used on other “Teniers” tapestries, and the hurdy-gurdy player is unusual,<sup>8</sup> but the dancers are frequently met with, especially the man seen from the back. He appears in a

*Peasant Festival*, signed by Urbanus Leyniers, from a set of nine made for the archdeacon de Clerx in 1725 from designs by Jan van Orley,<sup>9</sup> and in other versions of the same subject by the same weaver.<sup>10</sup> Adaptations of the group by other weavers, even in other cities, are frequent.<sup>11</sup> The border appears on other Leyniers tapestries.<sup>12</sup>

The composition, showing the loading of the harvest, must be distinguished from the more common *Return from Harvest*, woven frequently by several weavers, though the Leyniers version has not been identified.<sup>13</sup>

#### HISTORY

Said to have belonged to the duc de La Trémoille, probably Charles Louis, duc de La Trémoille, 1838–1911.

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York, before 1930.

Bequeathed to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Rubinstein-Bloch, Stella. *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*. Vol. 6, *Furniture and Works of Art*. Paris, 1930, pl. LXXV.

#### NOTES

1. N. Smolskaya, *Teniers*, Hermitage (Leningrad, 1962) p. 17.
2. Smolskaya, *Teniers*, pl. 25.
3. Adolf Rosenberg, *Teniers der Jüngere* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1895) pls. 26, 29.
4. H. C. Marillier, *Handbook to the Teniers Tapestries* (London, 1932) pp. 26, 27.
5. Christopher Hussey, “Stanway, Gloucestershire—I: A Property of the Earl of Wemyss and March,” *Country Life* 136 (December 3, 1964) p. 1493, fig. 9 (partly visible on wall of hall).
6. Exhibited, *Exposition de l’art ancien au Pays de Liège* (Liège, 1905) cat. no. 5360; G. Terme, *L’Art ancien au Pays de Liège: Album* (Liège, [1910]) pls. 184 (milking scene), 185 (harvest).
7. Marillier, *Handbook*, p. 36, pl. 19 (a).
8. A seated man playing this instrument appears on a festival scene in the Brussels Royal Museums (Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries* [Brussels, 1956] no. 101, pl. 105).
9. *Exposition de l’art ancien*, cat. no. 5357; Terme, *Art ancien*, pl. 183; Marillier, *Handbook*, p. 31.
10. Marillier, *Handbook*, p. 27, pl. 4.
11. Marillier, *Handbook*, pls. 3, 47, 50, 63, 72.
12. Marillier, *Handbook*, pl. 36 (b); Alfred Sussman sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 18, 19, 1922, no. 151, illus.
13. Marillier, *Handbook*, pp. 7, 18, 30, 41, 50.

## 37 The Story of Alexander

Two tapestries from a set

a *Alexander and the Family of Darius*

b *The Battle of Arbela*

Flemish (probably Brussels); designed by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), 1661–68; woven probably 1700–35.

Wool and silk.

37a 8 ft. 9 in. x 12 ft. 5 in. (2.67 m x 3.78 m);

37b 8 ft. 9 in. x 12 ft. (2.67 m x 3.66 m).

17–18 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Mary Anna Palmer Draper, 1915 (15.43.309 [37b]; 15.43.310 [37a]).

### SUBJECT

The set to which these tapestries belong may or may not have included other events found in the original paintings by Charles Le Brun, all now in the Louvre. The subjects of these are the battle at the crossing of the river Granicus (334 B.C.); Alexander's visit to the family of Darius, captured after the battle of Issus (333); the battle of Arbela (331); Alexander's triumphal entry into Babylon (331); and Porus brought to Alexander after the battle at the crossing of the Hydaspes (326). The paintings were intended to glorify Louis XIV and absolute monarchy.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Engravings of all the Le Brun paintings were made before 1679, when they were included in the state-financed volumes of the *Cabinet du Roi*, which circulated throughout Europe.<sup>2</sup> These are the source of all the Flemish tapestry series of the subject.

### WEAVER AND DATE

None of the known signed pieces is closely related to 37, so no weaver's name can be associated with it. An eighteenth-century date is indicated by the undistinguished quality of the design and weaving.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Gobelins manufactory made eight sets of tapestries after the Le Brun paintings between 1664 and 1688. Three

of the paintings are huge; the *Battle at the Granicus* is over thirty feet long, the *Battle of Arbela* and the *Defeat of Porus* are both over forty. Three tapestries were therefore made from each of these paintings, the total series thus consisting of eleven pieces. Four complete sets belong to the Mobilier National<sup>3</sup> and another to the Austrian National Collection.<sup>4</sup>

The Flemish weavers, copying prints after the paintings, did not divide the very large ones in the same way and occasionally added other subjects, so that the numbers of pieces in their *Alexander* sets vary. Examples are a set of six pieces woven by Jan Frans van den Hecke (fl. 1662–1691) owned by Baron Rutger von Essen, Skokloster, Sweden;<sup>5</sup> eight large pieces and four *entrefenêtres* by the same weaver in the duke of Alba's sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 7–20, 1877 (nos. 19–30, *Crossing the Granicus* and the *Battle of Arbela* illus.),<sup>6</sup> and later owned by the baron Erlanger;<sup>7</sup> five by the same weaver in the Residenz, Würzburg, and another set of six by Geraert Peemans (fl. 1665–1692) in the same collection;<sup>8</sup> three pieces by Frans van der Borgh in the Hôtel de Ville, Brussels;<sup>9</sup> four in the collection of the baron de Tuyl de Serooskerken, Heeze Castle, Holland; a set with the arms of the princes of Beauvau-Craon, Château de Craon or Haroué, near Nancy;<sup>10</sup> two pieces signed Jodocus de Vos (fl. 1705–1725) in the Château de Gaasbeek, near Brussels;<sup>11</sup> seven pieces by the same weaver at Hampton Court.<sup>12</sup> The name of Pieter van den Hecke (fl. 1703–1752) appears on one example formerly in Vienna and on one in Gent;<sup>13</sup> three pieces signed Marcus de Vos (fl. 1655–1700) were in the ducal castle at Meiningen in Saxony; two of these are now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.<sup>14</sup> A set by Jakob van der Borgh (seventeenth century) has been noted.<sup>15</sup> A set of six in Schloss Bruchsal, Germany, were bought in Antwerp in 1731.<sup>16</sup> Many unsigned examples are known, especially of the *Entry into Babylon*.

A set of six that was on the New York art market in 1929 is so close in style to 37 that it may have been made by the same weaver.

The series was also copied at Aubusson; a set in the

Musée de Vulliod Saint-Germain at Pézenas in Languedoc includes *Alexander and the Family of Darius* and the *Battle of Arbela*. Both these subjects are also included in the set woven by Bernt van der Eichen in Copenhagen in 1684 and preserved in Rosenborg Palace.

A set of painted canvas wall hangings signed by Jan and Daniel Smit of Amsterdam is in the Hornsberg manor house, Kalmar County, Sweden.<sup>17</sup>

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1915*, p. 50. Listed as illustrating scenes from the *History of Alexander*, Flemish, eighteenth century. "A Bequest from Mrs. Mary Anna Palmer Draper." *MMA Bulletin* 10 (1915) p. 96. Called Flemish, about 1750, after Le Brun.

### 37a *Alexander and the Family of Darius*

#### DESCRIPTION

Alexander, wearing yellow, red, and blue classical armor with a red cloak, extends his left hand toward Darius's family and servants. He has a pale yellow helmet with a winged horse and red and blue plumes. With his right hand he touches the arm of Hephaestion, who stands beside him, wearing blue armor and a pale red cloak; his gray, red, and yellow helmet has a dragon and a red and yellow finial. Fourteen people kneel, crouch, or stand before them. At their head is Darius's mother, Sisigambis, in a pale blue robe with yellow sleeves. The other women, in red, yellow, dark blue, and brown, include Darius's wife and two daughters, with his small son Ochus. In the background are men in red, green, yellow, blue, and brown. One has a yellow and blue Egyptian headdress with letters and imitation hieroglyphs; the head of a black man is seen below him. In the right foreground, a kneeling man in a red jacket, brown skirt, blue sash, and pale dull yellow cloak bows to the ground, with his hands clasped around his head. On the left, a seated woman, in a red and blue headdress and a yellow costume, raises her hands. The group of supplicants is framed by the draperies of a large tent, pale yellow lined with gray-blue, which are tied to the trees with red and yellow ropes; the upper part of the tent, ornamented with red and yellow rayed heads and

tassels, is visible in the background. Large green, yellow, and brown trees rise on either side; that on the right supports a yellow-gray triangular shield and bow hanging from a thick branch. At its foot is a round red and yellow shield. In the background behind Hephaestion is a blue and yellow tent with one seated and two standing soldiers in yellow and blue; one holds a lance and shield. Other tents and some trees are seen in the distance. The upper part of the tapestry is filled with the green and yellow leaves and branches of the trees, one of which is a palm. The lower left corner has a large green and yellow thistle with pale yellow flowers. The foreground is in shades of green, blue, and gray.

#### CONDITION

There are some small areas of bare warp near the base and small repaired sections in the sky.

#### SUBJECT

After Alexander had won the battle of Issus (333 B.C.), the family of the defeated Darius, king of Persia, became his prisoners. The story of his visit to their tent is told by Quintus Curtius.<sup>18</sup> Hephaestion, who was with Alexander, was the taller, so "the queens, thinking he was king, did obeisance to him in their native fashion." When Alexander was pointed out to them, Darius's mother, Sisigambis, "fell at his feet, begging pardon for not recognizing the king, whom she had never seen before. The king, taking her hand and raising her to her feet, said: 'You were not mistaken, mother; for this man too is Alexander.'" He then treated the "royal maidens of surpassing beauty" as if they had been his sisters and ordered that all their ornaments should be returned to them.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is derived from an engraving after Charles Le Brun's painting of 1661, perhaps the one by Simon Gribelin or the one by Gérard Edelinck, made about 1671.<sup>19</sup> The print by Sébastien Le Clerc shows the seated woman on the left in deep shadow.<sup>20</sup> The tapestry designer has followed the print closely, without reversing it, but he has added an enormous amount of foliage, both in the trees and on the ground.





37a

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Gobelins tapestry made from the Le Brun painting follows it very closely.<sup>21</sup>

The Flemish examples include pieces signed by Jan Frans van den Hecke in Skokloster, in Würzburg, and in the former Alba and Erlanger collections. The first two are reversed, the third is not; all are close to the Gobelins design, with no extra foliage. The small square example

from Schloss Meiningen, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, is signed by Marcus de Vos and has the arms of Duke Ernst von Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld (1658–1729); only the central figures are included and the composition is reversed.<sup>22</sup> The piece by Jodocus de Vos at Hampton Court<sup>23</sup> is not reversed and is enlarged on the left to show a standing woman and an extensive background of a military encampment; there is very little foliage. Another

by the same weaver is at Gaasbeek Castle, Belgium. An example by Geraert Peemans of 1699 is in the Munich Residenz; it follows Le Brun closely. Another by this weaver is recorded at the Würzburg Residenz. The example in the Château de Craon set is reversed, and among other unsigned pieces are those in Schloss Osterstein, Thuringia;<sup>24</sup> Baron de Tuyll collection, Heeze; and the Hermitage, Leningrad.<sup>25</sup>

An example apparently woven from the same cartoon as 37a was on the New York art market in 1929. It is not signed and has a heavy framelike border. It is probably the piece sold in Berlin (Leo Spik), September 27, 1962 (no. 312, illus.).

The example at Rosenborg Palace, Copenhagen, woven by Bernt van der Eichen shows this scene combined with Porus brought to Alexander.

The composition is found, reversed, on the painted hanging in the set in Sweden.

### 37b *The Battle of Arbela*

#### DESCRIPTION

Alexander, wearing a red cloak over blue and yellow classical armor and a gray helmet with a yellow winged horse and red and white plumes above, rides a cream-colored horse with a pale blue cloth over its back. A gray eagle soars above him. On the left, Darius is seated in his high, yellow and brown chariot; his robes are pale blue and gray. His terrified horses are gray. On the far left is a mounted archer; he and his horse are sheathed in yellow and brown scales, outlined in brown and black. Another, near him, similarly clad, is in gray and holds a large banner. In the right center foreground, a fleeing man wears a dark red costume with an elaborately patterned cloak in blue, yellow, brown, and gray, and blue sandals. On the left, a riderless gray horse carries red drapery and a yellow and gray shield. There is a black man in dark blue between this horse and the mounted archer. The confused mass of men and horses that fills the center of the scene is almost entirely rendered in shades of gray and dull yellow, though the nearly nude man who restrains one of Darius's horses has a dark red turban and yellow-green drapery, and the group fighting in the lower right corner wears red and blue armor and yellow and green drapery. Above the melee rise gray towers, filled with warriors, carried on the backs of partly visible gray elephants. There are blue-gray

hills in the distance on the left and the sky is pale gray with darker gray clouds. Foliage in dull greens fills the upper corners. The foreground is in shades of gray, green, and brown, with a pile of red and yellow weapons in the left corner and some large, dark blue-green plants.

A brown narrow horizontal border survives at the top. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

#### CONDITION

The tapestry is much faded. The silk has perished in a number of areas, none of them very extensive, exposing the warps, but there has been little repair.

#### SUBJECT

Darius, after his defeat at Issus, gathered an army from all parts of his realm, enlisting Bactrians, Scythians, and "Indi." "The cavalry and their horses had coverings of iron plates joined together in one mesh," and there were two hundred chariots with scythes attached to their wheels. Elephants, however, are not mentioned. He camped at Arbela, but the battle was actually fought at Gaugamela. Alexander, contrary to his usual custom, wore a cuirass; he was on horseback, Darius in a chariot. At a crucial moment, "those who were around Alexander believed that they saw a little above the king's head an eagle quietly flying, not terrified by the clash of arms, nor by the groans of the dying, and for a long time it appeared around Alexander's horse, seeming rather to float in the air than to fly." Darius's charioteer was killed and the Persian king turned his chariot to flee.<sup>26</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The very long engraving by Gérard Audran,<sup>27</sup> after Le Brun's huge painting of about 1668, was presumably copied to make the cartoon. The engraving was reversed, but the necessary alterations were effected so that swords and other weapons are held in the fighters' right hands. The painting and the engraving extend the scene beyond the fallen horse in the lower right corner of the tapestry to show a group fighting around a fallen scythed chariot. A tall tree on the far left of the engraving was used at the far left of the tapestry, but the tree on the right of the tapestry, the foreground plants, and the hills in the background are additions. A body lying under the riderless horse was



37b

omitted, as well as the statues on Darius's chariot. There are other minor alterations throughout.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The three Gobelins tapestries made from Le Brun's painting are not reversed.<sup>28</sup> They show as separate pieces: the fight around the fallen chariot; the central battle, with Alexander almost in the middle; and the archer in scaled armor with elephants behind him. The Audran engraving is reproduced in its entirety, except for the part above the

eagle, on a tapestry in the collection of Baron Empain, Brussels.<sup>29</sup> Flemish examples include pieces signed by Jan Frans van den Hecke in Skokloster, in Würzburg, and formerly in the Alba and Erlanger collections; these are in the same direction as the print, with Alexander on the left, and have the same amount of the total scene as the Gobelins central tapestry, which they closely resemble. Only the Skokloster example includes a tree on the left and all have a minimum of foreground plants. A tapestry with the same border, signature, and coat of arms (Columbus) as the Alba pieces was sold at Christie's, London,

April 17, 1975 (no. 71, illus.); it shows, on the right, the archer in scaled armor (in reverse from the one in 37b) and, on the left, fighters seen on the extreme left of the Audran print. The example in the Geraert Peemans set in Würzburg omits the eagle. Examples signed Pieter van den Hecke are in Gent and the Austrian National Collection;<sup>30</sup> they are only distantly related to Le Brun's original painting. A tapestry showing the left side of the painting is in the Brussels Hôtel de Ville; it is signed by Frans van der Borgh.

An unsigned example was in the Henry Symons sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 27–February 3, 1923 (no. 1162, illus.). This shows Alexander on the right and is close to 37b, except that it is extended on the left by a group of trees beyond the archer in scaled armor and on the right by some of the fighters around the fallen chariot. Another unsigned version was in the Genevieve Garvan Brady sale, American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, May 10–15, 1937 (no. 1905, illus.); it is a reduced version, with Alexander on the left and Darius on the far right, but otherwise close to Le Brun's design. Another on the New York art market in 1929 is enlarged on the left, but otherwise very close to 37b. The baron de Tuyll owns three tapestries showing the complete composition. Another example is in the Academy of Arts, Leningrad,<sup>31</sup> and a piece sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, May 22, 1979 (no. 495, illus.), shows the archer in scaled armor (reversed) and the fight around the fallen chariot.

#### NOTES

1. Donald Posner, "Charles Lebrun's *Triumphs of Alexander*," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959) pp. 237–48.
2. Posner, "Lebrun's *Triumphs*," p. 245.
3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2. pp. 166–85, illus. *Entry into Babylon* and left side of *Battle at the Granicus*.
4. Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung* (Vienna, 1920) vol. 3, pp. 2–4, pls. 231–41 (all eleven pieces illus.); *Historische Schlachten auf Tapisserien aus dem Besitz des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, exh. cat., Schloss Halbturn, Burgenland (1976) no. 43 (eight pieces, including *Battle of Gaugamela* [Arbela] and *Alexander and the Family of Darius*).
5. John Böttiger, *Tapisseries à figures des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles appartenant à des collections privées de la Suède*, trans. Alfred Mohn (Stockholm, 1928) pp. 104–11, pls. 82–87; Douglas Cooper, ed., *Great Family Collections* (New York, 1975) p. 95.
6. The subjects are said to include the *Battle of Issus*, *Alexander and Roxana*, and others not painted by Le Brun.
7. Alphonse Wauters, *Les Tapisseries historiques à l'Exposition Nationale Belge de 1880* (Brussels, 1881) pp. 26, 27, pls. 64–69. A section of the *Defeat of Porus* (pl. 65) is called *Alexander Seizing the Baggage of Darius*.
8. Heinrich Kreisel, "Die Alexanderwirkteppiche in der Würzburger Residenz," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, n.s. 2 (1925) pp. 227–49.
9. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Les Tapisseries de l'Hôtel de Ville à Bruxelles* (Antwerp, 1944) pp. 35–37.
10. Marcus Binney, "Château de Craon, Lorraine—II: The Seat of the Princes of Beauvau-Craon," *Country Life* 158 (July 17, 1975) pp. 139, 140, 142, figs. 5 (*Battle of Arbela* and part of the *Crossing of the Granicus* on the walls of the Salon), 6 (*Alexander and the Family of Darius* on the wall of the State Bedroom). The tapestries, which have the family arms, are said to have been woven at Malgrange, Lorraine (*Le Château d'Haroué en Lorraine* [n.p., n.d.] unpag., *Alexander and the Family of Darius* illus. on the wall of the Chambre d'Apparat).
11. G. Renson, *Le Château-Musée de Gaasbeek* (n.p., n.d.) p. 24.
12. H. C. Marillier, *The Tapestries at Hampton Court* (London, 1962) p. 28, nos. 381–87. The subjects include Alexander taking leave of Hephaestion, Alexander meeting the Chaldean prophets, and Alexander's visit to Diogenes.
13. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 362.
14. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 391; vol. 2, pl. 349; P. Lehfeldt and G. Voss, *Bau- und Kunst-Denkmäler Thüringens: 34. Herzogthum Sachsen-Meiningen*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Jena, 1909) pp. 152–54, illus.
15. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, pp. 403, 404.
16. Hans Rott, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Amtsbezirks Bruchsal (Kreis Karlsruhe)*, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Grossherzogtums Baden*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (Tübingen, 1913) p. 180; Margarete Braun-Ronsdorf, "Bruchsalver Wandteppiche im Heidelberger Schloss," *Kunstchronik* 13 (1960) pp. 209–11.
17. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven, 1978) pp. 123, 400, pl. IX (*Alexander and the Family of Darius*, detail).
18. Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London, 1946) bk. 3, chap. 12, lines 13–23.
19. Posner, "Lebrun's *Triumphs*," p. 238, fig. 1.
20. *Batailles d'Alexandre-le-Grand* (Paris, 1784) pl. facing p. 9.
21. Baldass, *Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, pl. 237.
22. *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 33 (1982) p. 215, illus.
23. W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, 3rd ed., rev. (Wakefield, England, 1973) pl. facing p. 474.
24. P. Lehfeldt, *Bau- und Kunst-Denkmäler Thüringens: 23. Fürstenthum Reuss Jüngerer Linie*, vol. 1 (Jena, 1896) p. 148, not illus.
25. N. Iu Biriukova, "Western European Tapestries in the Hermitage," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) p. 416, fig. 22.
26. Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, bk. 4, chap. 9, lines 1–5; chap. 13, lines 25, 24–33.
27. Posner, "Lebrun's *Triumphs*," pl. 6.
28. Baldass, *Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, pls. 234, 235, 240.
29. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) pp. 120, 121, illus. Called Aubusson, about 1720.
30. Ernst von Birk, "Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884) p. 173, no. LVI, not illus.
31. Biriukova, "Western European Tapestries," p. 416.



## 38 Flora

From a set of three or more tapestries showing classical deities

Flemish (Brussels); designed and woven, probably by one of the van der Borcht family, in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

9 ft. 8 in. x 10 ft. (2.95 m x 3.05 m).

19–22 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of H. Edward Manville, 1942 (42.204).

### DESCRIPTION

Flora, wearing a red underskirt, a cream overdress, and a green cloth falling from the back of her head over her left shoulder, sits on a low pale brown chair with a curved back. She holds white carnations in her right hand. A female attendant in a cream and dull red dress, with a cloak of an intense blue color flying out behind her, holds a pale blue drapery on the chair back. Another, in yellow and white, arranges the flowers on Flora's head. A third, in green, red, red-brown, gray, and dull yellow, kneels on the lower left, holding the handle of a large gray basket of blue, yellow, and white flowers on the ground beside her. Flora places her left hand on the shoulder of a winged boy, who carries a gray jar of white flowers. Behind the group is a young man in a red turban and red-brown costume, holding a pale brown spade over his shoulder. A young woman with an orange-brown watering can stands on the right; she wears a red petticoat and sandals, blue skirt, and gray bodice and sleeves.

A gray-brown building is on the left, with the statue of a woman holding a basket in a niche. In the distance in the center is a formal garden in shades of gray and blue, with arched buildings and a fountain; in front of the fountain are three red-brown and gray flowerpots with red and white flowers. On the right is a gray-brown pedestal with a ball on top. Large trees with brown trunks and green, blue, and brown foliage frame the scene. The sky is dark blue above, pale blue and yellow-gray below. The foreground consists of large gray and brown stone slabs, with, on the right, a brown spade and a rake, and some sprays of green and yellow leaves with red, yellow, and green fruit. The outlines are in red-brown.

The narrow dull purple and tan guards are modern.

### CONDITION

A watercolor of 1861 shows what is said to be this tapestry at the end of a room, but the piece is taller and wider, with a second statue and some large flowers on the left, and red and yellow borders of acanthus leaves twisting around a rod. If this actually is 38 as it appeared in 1861, it has since been cut above and on the left.

There are small areas of repair in the sky, foreground, trees, and silk portions of the costumes. Many slits have been coarsely sewn up.

### SUBJECT

The abundance of flowers and the agricultural implements, as well as the garden in the background, indicate that the chief figure is Flora, goddess of flowers and gardens.

The complete series appears to be that recorded in a memoir of the tapestries in the van der Borcht manufactory in Brussels written after 1709.<sup>1</sup> The subjects are listed as:

*Appollon* dans une Nuée, femme au-dessus qui embrasse le Soleil, les Muses au-dessous. . . .

*Neptune* Commandans aux Vents, Thetis dans un Char, trainé par de chevaux marins, conduit par des enfans. . . .

*Diane* au retour de la Chasse, se repose avec ses compagnes qui la déchaussent. . . .

*Bacchus* triomphe, la Coupe á la main, servi par ses Domestiques, orné de vingne et regardent des satyres. . . .

*Vulcain* avec Venus commande á ses ouvriers de faire des armes pour son fils Eneas. . . .

*Flore* dans son jardin avec des Nimphes, et un jardinier qui l'ornent des fleurs. . . .<sup>2</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

One tapestry in a set of eight somewhat similar mythological subjects in the Austrian National Collection, woven in the same manufactory, is signed by Lodewijk van Schoor,<sup>3</sup> but there is insufficient evidence to attribute the

series to which 38 belongs to this artist. A drawing for *Bacchus* is in a private collection in New York.<sup>4</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Many tapestries of this series are signed by members of the van der Borgh family. The *Apollo and the Muses* in the Swedish National Collection was acquired in 1745 from Jan Frans van der Borgh (head of the guild, 1727–61) and Pieter van der Borgh, with eight other pieces, some, however, from a set of the history of Achilles or the story of Troy; it has survived and is signed “F.V.D. Borgh.”<sup>5</sup> A *Bacchus* in the James Speyer sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 11, 1942 (no. 199, illus.), is signed “I.V.D. Borgh,” and a *Diana Resting after the Hunt* in the Cowper (Panshanger) sale, Christie’s, London, October 22, 1953 (no. 116, illus.), is signed by J. and P. van der Borgh. On the other hand, some pieces carry different signatures, such as the *Bacchus* in the duke of Roxburghe’s collection, Floors Castle, Scotland, signed “I.D. Vos” (Jodocus de Vos). The identification of the weaver of 38 as a van der Borgh cannot, therefore, be considered absolutely certain, though it is extremely probable. A date in the middle of the eighteenth century is suggested by the documented purchase of the Swedish set.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Two pieces of the same set are partly visible in the 1861 watercolor, signed by Frans Alt, in the Metropolitan Museum, that shows what is said to be 38 hanging in a room of the archduke Ludwig in the Hofburg, Vienna.<sup>6</sup> One shows Neptune from a *Neptune and Thetis* tapestry, the other is unidentifiable.

Five tapestries in the collection of the duke of Roxburghe, Floors Castle, Scotland, correspond to the descriptions in the van der Borgh list: *Bacchus*, *Neptune and Thetis*, *Vulcan and Venus*, *Apollo and the Muses*, and *Flora* (signed “F.V.D.B.”).<sup>7</sup> Many examples of all the subjects have appeared in sales. Pieces in public collections include an *Apollo and the Muses* in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (from the Palmy sale, Parke-Bernet, April 6, 1946, no. 170, illus.); *Diana Resting* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; *Neptune and Thetis* in Vienna and the Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań;<sup>7</sup> and *Vulcan and Venus* in Vienna.

A wider version of *Flora* shows another statue on the left with a hollyhock in a tub below and a large flower-filled ewer on the right. An example in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is one of a set that includes a *Diana Resting*, *Neptune and Thetis*, and *Vulcan and Venus*, with a *Triumph of Mars* that is not in the van der Borgh list.<sup>9</sup> The piece in the Roxburghe collection is similar, as is one sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 3, 1934 (no. 135, illus.), and at the Palais Galliera, Paris, May 30, 1975 (no. 128, illus.). Another example, not quite as tall, was in a private collection in the Franche-Comté in 1959.<sup>10</sup> A slightly smaller version, with the border cutting through the ewer on the right, was in the Hugh Carter sale, Sotheby’s, London, June 12–14, 1918 (no. 465, illus.). A narrow version was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 26, 1913 (no. D), and was in the Albert Bloch-Levalois sale at the same auction house, March 25, 26, 1924 (no. 147, illus.); the building on the left is replaced by a fountain with a carved dolphin and a large awning, supported by the branches of a tree, extends over the main group. The winged boy and the buildings in the distant garden are missing. The New York dealers French & Co. once owned two other versions. One, showing the group on the left only, is signed “F.V.D.B.”; it has a large double hollyhock in a tub on the left behind the kneeling girl, with two statues, one holding a wreath, above. The other is in two parts, the group on the left and the standing girl; the latter is signed “I.V.D. Borgh.” It was sold at Neumeister, Munich, November 28–30, 1979 (nos. 1097, illus., 1098). An example sold at Sotheby’s, July 11, 1958 (no. 47), is signed “P.V.D. Borgh”; only the three girls behind Flora are mentioned in the description. A reversed version, without the winged boy and the distant buildings, but with the awning over the tree, was in the John R. Herter sale, American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, October 17, 18, 1930 (no. 369, illus.), and was sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 21, 22, 1970 (no. 251, illus.), when it was described as a modern copy made at Beauvais.

*Flora* appears in a set of ten pieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, with the Hapsburg arms.<sup>11</sup> Only the five figures on the left are shown, with a fountain behind them and a canopy above. It is signed “I.V.D. Borgh.” The set is made up of Trojan War subjects (three of them also in the Stockholm set) with a *Neptune and Thetis* that, like the *Flora*, corresponds to the description



in the van der Borgh list. Another *Achilles* set by Jan Frans and Pieter van der Borgh in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris, does not include a *Flora*.<sup>12</sup>

There were apparently at least three series of tapestries with mythological scenes woven in Brussels in the eighteenth century. That with the earliest date is represented by five pieces of 1717 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Gent, usually called *Triumphs*, designed by Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens and woven several times by Urbanus Leyniers and others.<sup>13</sup> The gods are Minerva, Mars, Venus, Diana (resting, but not having her sandals removed by an attendant), and Apollo (with the Muses, but seated among them instead of in the clouds facing them).<sup>14</sup> Leyniers also signed an example of *Neptune and Thetis*,<sup>15</sup> suggesting that the van der Borgh series and the *Triumphs* could be combined. An *Apollo*, with the god in clouds, in the Murat sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, March 2, 1961 (no. 127, illus.), has companion pieces of the *Triumphs of Mars* (no. 129, illus.) and of *Minerva* (no. 128, illus.). The *Triumphs of Venus and Minerva* (signed "V. Leyniers") in the Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, are combined with a *Neptune and Thetis*,<sup>16</sup> and a *Triumph of Mars* in Vienna is part of a set with four van der Borgh pieces.

A *Flora* that may have been part of the *Triumphs* (the Gent series) shows her standing by an altar with worshippers around her, being crowned by three flying cupids;<sup>17</sup> an example is part of a set with an *Apollo and the Muses* of the series to which 38 belongs and a *Neptune and the Shipwrights* from another series at Grimsthorpe Castle, owned by the earl of Ancaster. They have the mark of Albert Auwercx.<sup>18</sup> *Neptune and the Shipwrights*, *Minerva at Vulcan's Forge*, *Apollo and the Muses* (with Apollo sitting among the Muses), and *Bacchus and Ariadne* make up a set, signed by Jodocus de Vos, formerly in the Harold Arthur Dillon collection, sold at Sotheby's, May 26, 1933 (nos. 155–58, illus.).

The van der Borgh manufactory also produced the set after Lodewijk van Schoor in the Austrian National Collection, showing compositions of a third type; *Flora* in this set is seated and crowned by a zephyr and a cupid.<sup>19</sup> The designs of all three series were evidently considered to be in some degree interchangeable and could even be used to represent quite different subjects, as is shown by the *Flora* in the Raleigh *Trojan War* set.

A nineteenth-century copy, reversed, was sold at the William Doyle Galleries, New York, October 21, 1981 (no. 665).

## HISTORY

Said to have been in the collection of the Austrian archduke Ludwig Victor (1842–1919) in 1861.

Sold, Dorotheum, Vienna, June 2, 1921, no. 461, pl. 125.

Sold, Anderson Galleries, New York, February 4, 5, 1927, no. 271, illus. (without borders), as from the collection of H.I.H. Archduke Leopold Victor of Castle Herrenstein, Lower Austria. Called Gobelins, "Venus for Spring attended by her maidens, French, 1st quarter of 18th century. One of the Audran series, 'The Pleasures of the Gods' from Schoenbrunn Castle. . . . To be sold with original drawing by Franz Alt, dated 1861, showing the tapestry on the wall in the lacquer state room of Schoenbrunn Castle. The borders which appear in the picture were removed when the tapestry was taken to the Palais Ludwig Victor." The watercolor drawing shows a room in the Hofburg, Vienna, and there is no evidence that 38 was ever at Schönbrunn.

Given to the MMA by H. Edward Manville of Pleasantville, New York, 1942.

## PUBLICATION

MMA *Annual Report* 1942, p. 28. Mentioned as *Venus as Spring*, early eighteenth century, Gobelins, from the *Pleasures of the Gods* series.

## NOTES

1. Ingrid De Meûter, "De Triomf van Mars, een Brussels Wandtapijt in de Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 50 (1978) p. 136.
2. J. Denucé, *Antwerp Art-Tapestry and Trade*, Historical Sources for the Study of Flemish Art, vol. 4 (Antwerp and The Hague, 1936) pp. 395, 396.
3. Ernst von Birk, "Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884) p. 190, no. LXXIX.
4. Konrad Oberhuber and Beverly Scheiber Jacobz, *French Drawings from a Private Collection: Louis XIII to Louis XVI*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum (Cambridge, Mass., 1980) no. 22. Called anonymous French, about 1720.
5. John Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af Väfda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1898) vol. 4, p. 52, pl. 56; vol. 3, p. 95. The bill states that there were three pieces of the "Triumphe Des Dieux" and six of "L'Histoire d'Achille." The *Triumphs* were those of Apollo, Vulcan, and *Flora*; as the *Apollo* is from the same series as 38, the others were most probably *Vulcan and Venus* and *Flora*. Only the latter has survived, in a fragmentary state.
6. MMA acc. no. 45.114. The room is identified by an inscription formerly on the back of the frame and the archduke is said to have used it from 1836 to 1861. It was on the second floor, over the Treasury, with windows overlooking the Summer Riding School (information from Dr. Rotraud Bauer).



7. Marcus Binney, "Floors Castle, Roxburghshire—II: The Seat of the Duke of Roxburghe," *Country Life* 163 (May 18, 1978) pp. 1371, 1373, fig. 5 (four pieces on the walls of the drawing room), fig. 11 (*Venus and Vulcan*, detail). The duke owned another *Apollo and the Muses* and a *Diana Resting* that were sold at Christie's, May 31, 1956, nos. 168 (illus.), 169.
8. "Nabytki Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu w Latach 1964–1965," *Studia Muzealne*, Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, 5 (1966) p. 154, illus.
9. Birk, "Inventar" (1884) p. 173, no. LV.
10. *Collections privées de Franche-Comté*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts (Besançon, 1959) no. 25, pl. IV.
11. *Catalogue*, North Carolina Museum of Art (Raleigh, 1956) no. 234. Called Brussels, about 1700, cartoons attributed to Louis van Schoor.
12. *Catalogue sommaire*, Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, 1967) p. 51.
13. De Meüter, "De Triomf van Mars," pp. 123–38.
14. The example of this design signed "I. de Vos," formerly in the New York Public Library, is in the New-York Historical Society (Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 156, 157, pl. x, ea).
15. E. J. Kalf, "Drie Leyniers-Tapijten te Middelburg," *Artes Textiles* 5 (1959–60) p. 111, pl. 28.
16. Aleksandra Wasilkowska, "Gobeliny z serii Triumphy Bógów i Bogin w zbiorach polskich," *Studia Muzealne*, Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, 6 (1968) figs. 46–55; *Gobeliny zachodnioeuropejski w zbiorach polskich XVI–XVIII w.*, exh. cat., Muzeum Narodowe (Poznań, 1971) no. 73, pl. 52. Dated about 1732.
17. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 2, pl. 302. This tapestry is now in the David Weinstein collection, New York.
18. Christopher Hussey, "Grimsthorpe Castle—II: Lincolnshire, The Seat of the Earl of Ancaster," *Country Life* 55 (April 19, 1924) pp. 619–21, figs. 11, 134, 14 (three pieces seen on the walls of the State Dining Room; a *Diana* is mentioned, but not illustrated).
19. Birk, "Inventar" (1884) p. 190, no. LXXIX 3. An example of this design was in the Emma Rockefeller McAlpin sale, American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, November 9, 1935, no. 181, illus.

## 39 Table carpet with unicorns

Dutch, mid-seventeenth century.  
Wool and silk.  
5 ft. x 7 ft. 8 in. (1.52 m x 2.34 m).  
14–16 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.  
Gift of P. A. B. Widener, 1970 (1970.250).

### DESCRIPTION

The ground of the central section is dark blue. In the center a pale gray and yellow unicorn rests under a blue, green, and yellow tree in a landscape of similarly colored fields and trees. A wreath of green and yellow leaves, red and orange fruit, and red ribbons surrounds this scene. The remainder of the central section is filled with leaves, flowers, and fruit in blues, greens, yellow, and red. A narrow brown and blue border with red trefoil forms frames the section.

The wide border has a dull yellow ground. In the center of each side is a unicorn in a landscape surrounded by a wreath, like the central motif. The rest of the border is filled with blue and red vases and masses of flowers, leaves, and fruit in colors like those of the center. The guards are dark blue.

### CONDITION

There are small areas of repair throughout, especially in the silk sections.

### PLACE OF MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The overall design, the coloring, and the forms of flowers, leaves, and fruit are close to those found in Dutch tapestry table carpets of the first half of the seventeenth century.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

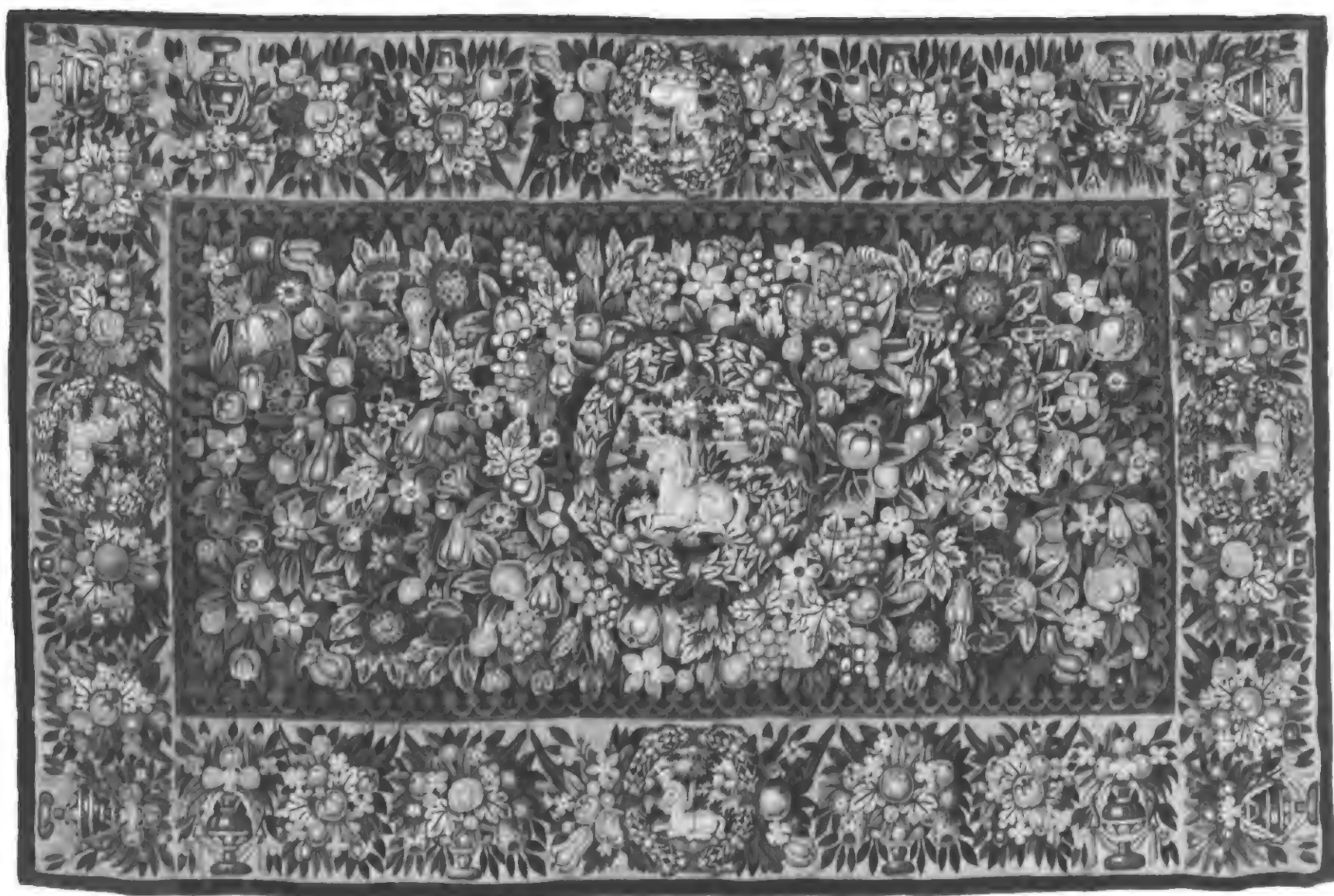
A table carpet owned by Mayorcas Ltd., London, in 1973 shows the same arrangement and coloring, with the same trefoil pattern around the central section and very similar vases, flowers, leaves, and fruit.<sup>1</sup>

### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1970–1971*, p. 24. Listed as Flemish, sixteenth century.  
Standen, Edith A. "Tapisseries Renaissance, Maniéristes et baroques: nouveaux développements." *Revue de l'Art*, no. 22 (1973) p. 96, fig. 5. Called Dutch, seventeenth century.  
*MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975*. New York, 1975, p. 265, illus.

### NOTE

1. *Geweven Boeket*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1971) no. 6, pl. 39. Called northern Netherlands, first half seventeenth century. In the Cassel van Doorn sale, Galerie Charpentier, December 2, 1954, no. 120, illus.







## FRANCE

### Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

FRANÇOIS I started a tapestry manufactory at Fontainebleau about 1540, and it is possible that on these looms were woven a set of tapestries made for Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of his successor, Henri II. All the six known pieces show stories connected with the goddess Diana, including the *Drowning of Britomartis* and the *Blasphemy of Niobe* (40). The designer was probably Jean Cousin the Elder; the author of the complex iconography of both the central scenes and the borders and of the poems on each piece may well have been Pontus de Tyard, and the weavers perhaps the Parisians Pierre II Blasse and Jacques Langlois. The date is certainly between 1547 and 1559.

The only other French sixteenth-century hangings in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum are two embroideries with scenes from the *Table of Cebes* (41), an ancient Greek didactic poem much used in schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They show a young traveler entering the Garden of False Learning and finally, having avoided all temptations, receiving a crown from Happiness. The embroideries are amateur work and the coats of arms are probably those of the de Fenis de Prade family of Limoges. Ladies of this family may have made these pieces, as well as a third now in Paris, between 1550 and 1580.

Henri IV actually supported tapestry weaving in Paris in the early seventeenth century, bringing workmen from Flanders, one of whom, François de La Planche, put his mark on the *Two Statues* (42) from the *Story of Artemisia* series; the piece also has the P and fleur-de-lis of Paris. It is derived from a drawing by Antoine Caron. Queen Artemisia and her son are shown, but not the two statues they are contemplating. The tapestry is nevertheless complete, though the fragmentary nature of the composition makes the scene meaningless. The *Artemisia* series was very large and a great many tapestries were woven with scenes from it, often without much concern for the story.

A less frequently woven series was one of scenes from *Orlando Furioso* by Ariosto; the *Combat of Manricardo and Zerbino* (43) shows a Christian and a pagan knight, each accompanied by his lady love, about to do battle. It was woven in Paris, probably in the workshop of Raphaël de La Planche in the second quarter of the century; the designer may have been Claude Vignon. A set of mythological scenes was designed by Laurent de La Hire and woven in Paris about the same time by Hippolyte de Comans; the painting for *Diana and Her Nymphs* (44) is in the J. Paul Getty Museum.



## 40 Scenes from the Story of Diana

Two tapestries from a set of eight or more

a *The Drowning of Britomartis*

b *The Blasphemy of Niobe*

French (probably Paris); designed probably by Jean Cousin the Elder (c. 1490–1560/61), and woven, possibly by Pierre II Blasse and Jacques Langlois (both fl. 1540–1560), 1547–59, made for Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566).

Wool and silk.

Both 15 ft. 3 in. x 9 ft. 7 in. (4.65 m x 2.92 m).

16–18 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, in accordance with the wishes of their mother, 1942 (42.57.1,2).

### DESCRIPTION

Both tapestries are almost entirely carried out in what are now very cool and mainly pale tones, the only vivid color being the red used in small areas of drapery. Silk is lavishly employed throughout, especially for yellows and the highlights on costumes.

The borders have basically identical frameworks, varying in detail only, but with different fillings in the verticals. The upper borders imitate gilded marble classical cornices in white and pale yellow, with, in the center, a white plaque with brown lettering, surrounded by three-dimensional, very substantial, yellow strapwork. At the corners are shields with the arms of the Grillo family of Genoa (“Di rosso alla banda d’argento, caricata da un grillo [cricket] di nero”) impaling Spinola (“D’oro con una fascia scaccata di rosso e d’argento di tre file, sormontata da una spina di botte di rosso in palo”), in shades of brown, yellow, and gray, surmounted by a marquis’s coronet. Between the arms and the central plaque are two vignettes, surrounded by a twisting, ribbonlike gray scroll with brown lettering. The vignette on the left shows a green island with two trees (intended to represent a palm and an olive) and between them a seated nude woman holding a child (Latona and Diana). The island is linked to a large gray rock by a blue and white chain and the foreground is filled with tossing pale blue and white waves. The inscription reads: SIC IMMOTA MANET (So it remains unmoved). The right-hand vignette shows crossed

branches of palm and olive in green and yellow, with the inscription: NON FRVSTRA JVPITER AMBAS (Not in vain Jupiter [gives or grants] both).

The lower borders also have a classical architectural structure with the same vignettes in reversed positions. At the corners are oval medallions, surrounded by identical yellow three-dimensional strapwork; there are four gray crescents around three of the ovals. A larger blue and white medallion and its borders in the center are different in each tapestry.

The vertical borders are framed by narrow gray and pink bands, simulating marble; each has a brown medallion in the center, surrounded by yellow strapwork. The inserted gray letters in these medallions are two crossed G’s (for Grillo). The background of the vertical borders is dark blue.

### CONDITION

The coronets and shields in the upper corners, the G’s in the vertical borders, and the guards are replacements; the parts of the main borders that extrude into the latter have in some places been mutilated. There are many small areas of repair throughout, especially in the silk portions, and almost all the lettering has been replaced by embroidery. The colors have faded, especially a salmon pink, now visible only on the reverse side.

### SUBJECT

The six other known tapestries of the set represent the following episodes:

1. The Lycian peasants, for refusing to give water to Latona and her children, Apollo and Diana, are changed into frogs; Venus attempts to make Diana fall in love but is foiled by her passion for hunting. The story of Latona and the peasants is told by Ovid.<sup>1</sup>

2. Diana asks Jupiter for perpetual virginity, so that she may be a better huntress; Apollo kills the Python and a temple is erected to him. Diana's request is related by Callimachus,<sup>2</sup> and Apollo's destruction of the Python by Ovid<sup>3</sup> and others.

3. Diana, deceived by Apollo, inadvertently kills Orion; she mourns over his body and Jupiter places him and his dog in the heavens. This version of Orion's death is in Hyginus's *Poetica Astronomica*.<sup>4</sup>

4. Meleager kills the Calydonian boar and then his two uncles, who objected when he offered its head to Atalanta; his mother, sister of the dead men, then burns the piece of wood on which Meleager's life depends, and he dies, mourned by his father and sisters.

The connection with Diana is that she had sent the boar to ravage the fields of Calydon and that Atalanta was a virgin huntress. The story is in Ovid.<sup>5</sup>

5. Diana rescues Iphigenia as she is about to be sacrificed by the Greeks at Aulis, leaving a deer as a substitute.

6. *The Triumph of Diana*. What is probably only a fragment of the tapestry shows Diana in a chariot, with Venus and Cupid, in chains, sitting behind her, and a group of nymphs with a dog accompanying her on foot.

The two devices (vignettes with mottoes) in the horizontal borders have not been found elsewhere. Latona gave birth to Jupiter's children, Apollo and Diana, between a palm and an olive tree on the island of Delos. The island, previously a floating one, was then fixed immovably.<sup>7</sup> The literal meaning of the inscription "Sic immota manet" refers to the island, but, since Apollo and Diana in the tapestries stand for Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, it can also apply to their mutual love. It has been noted that the word *manet* contains the name of Diane's château, Anet.<sup>8</sup> The crossed palm and olive branches may be supposed to have their usual significance of victory and peace,<sup>9</sup> but they can also recall the palm and olive trees on Delos, as well as Apollo and Diana themselves; the last meaning is probably the one intended in the inscription.<sup>10</sup> The two inscriptions combined make a Latin hexameter.<sup>11</sup>

The letters, devices, and symbols in the vertical borders refer to Diana and her love of hunting, Diane de Poitiers, and Henri II; they include, in the other tapestries of the set, stags' heads, net bags for game, and hunting horns and spears. The goats' heads flanking the inscription in the upper border of *Diana Asking for Virginity* are, however,

the supporters of the arms of Diane's husband, Louis de Brezé.<sup>12</sup> The Grillo arms and initials in the borders are replacements.

A tapestry showing Apollo and Diana killing Niobe's children was certainly planned, even if not executed, as it would be a necessary sequel to the *Blasphemy of Niobe*. A drawing of this subject of this period is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>13</sup> but its poor quality suggests a copy. Other subjects found in a later related series, mostly after Toussaint Dubreuil, such as the death of Chione, may have also been represented in the set made for Diane de Poitiers, but it is noticeable that Diana's perhaps most famous deed, the metamorphosis of Actaeon, is not known to have been included in the later series.

A political meaning has been plausibly suggested for some of the tapestries: the slaughter of the children of Niobe could represent the joint success of Henri II and Diane in overcoming their enemies; the killing of the Python, the destruction of heresy; the death of Orion, that of La Chataigneraie, who was killed in a duel that he fought in 1547 on behalf of the king and the royal mistress; the rescue of Iphigenia, the support given to Mary, Queen of Scots.<sup>14</sup>

The author most likely to have devised the scheme of the set, with its recondite, classical details combined with otherwise unknown variations, and to have written the poems and other inscriptions, is Pontus de Tyard (c. 1521–1605), known to have made contributions of this kind at Anet.<sup>15</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

A drawing in the Louvre for the *Death of Orion* has not been attributed,<sup>16</sup> but one for part of the *Death of Meleager* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, is given tentatively to Jean Cousin the Elder.<sup>17</sup> A set of six prints by Etienne Delaune have a number of details in common with the tapestries, especially the two prints that show the death of Orion and Diana mourning him; motifs from both have been used in the *Death of Orion* tapestry. The principal figures and the temple on the hill in the print of Apollo killing the Python have been used for the background scene of the same event in the tapestry *Diana Asking Jupiter for Virginity*. (For the Britomartis relationship, see 40a.) The prints and several drawings for them have been attributed to Luca Penni,<sup>18</sup> who is known to have



designed tapestries.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the woodcuts illustrating the Kerver edition of *Orus Apollo* (Paris, 1543), which show stylistic resemblances in the landscapes, trees, and small plants to both the Delaune prints and the tapestries, have been given to Jean Cousin the Elder,<sup>20</sup> and a detail in the Britomartis tapestry appears in drawings attributed to this artist or to his son (fig. 21). The strongest argument for Cousin, however, is provided by a set of tapestries known to be after his designs, the *Life of Saint Mamas*, of which two pieces are in Langres cathedral and one in the Louvre.<sup>21</sup> Many stylistic similarities exist between the *Diana* and the *Saint Mamas* tapestries.<sup>22</sup>

But Diane de Poitiers is said to have had her own painter at Anet in 1551, Charles Carmoy, of whom little is known;<sup>23</sup> he made tapestry designs for Fontainebleau, along with Claude Badouin, Lucas Romain (Luca Penni), Francisque Cachemici, and Jean Baptiste Baignequeval, between 1540 and 1550.<sup>24</sup> Whether Henri II had the tapestries made for Diane, or whether she commissioned them herself, a court painter might well have been chosen to design them; if she picked the artist herself, he was probably a Frenchman.<sup>25</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The attribution of this set to the manufactory of Fontainebleau, though frequently made, is open to doubt.<sup>26</sup> An alternative suggestion, that the *Diana* set was woven in Henri II's own establishment at the Hôpital de la Trinité in Paris, is a possibility, but the mediocre quality of the only known piece from this workshop argues against it. On the other hand, the great resemblance in color of the *Diana* and the *Saint Mamas* sets supports the attribution of both to the same weavers, as well as to the same designer; the strange yellow-green capitals of the Louvre *Saint Mamas* piece, for instance, reappear in the *Death of Orion*. The *Saint Mamas* tapestries were woven by Pierre II Blasse and Jacques Langlois in Paris in 1544.<sup>27</sup>

The set must certainly have been woven during the reign of Henri II.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four other pieces of the set are at the Château of Anet, Eure-et-Loire, Normandy, owned by the French government: *Lycian Peasants Changed into Frogs*, *Death of*

*Orion*, *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, and the *Death of Meleager*.<sup>28</sup> *Diana Asking Jupiter for Virginity* is in the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen.<sup>29</sup> The fragment of the *Triumph of Diana* is in a New York private collection.<sup>30</sup> The Rouen tapestry has the Grillo-Spinola arms in the upper right corner and the crossed G's in the center of the vertical borders, but in the upper left corner are two deltas, presumably original. On the Anet tapestries the Grillo arms were replaced in the nineteenth century by those of Diane de Poitiers.<sup>31</sup> The upper and lower borders of the fragment show only the two devices, with no inscribed tablets or coats of arms. It has been suggested that this piece belongs to another set;<sup>32</sup> no confirmation of this idea is possible, as the piece is not available for study, but it seems unlikely. Two pieces of a vertical border found at Anet in 1977 have a DH monogram in the center. Among the symbols (stags' antlers, deltas, arrows, and laurel sprays) is a tablet with a rayed sun or star.

Another series of the *Story of Diana* was first woven in Paris about 1600, and frequently in the early seventeenth century. It may have originally been designed in honor of Henri II's illegitimate daughter, Diane de France.<sup>33</sup> Eight drawings for it were made by Toussaint Dubreuil, one of which survives, but tapestries of ten subjects are known.<sup>34</sup> Five of the subjects are found in the Diane de Poitiers set, and many details have been taken over from this set and the Delaune prints.<sup>35</sup> For the *Drowning of Britomartis*, the earlier tapestry was used as a model.

#### HISTORY

Made for Diane de Poitiers during the reign of Henri II, 1547–58, possibly for her Château of Anet, which was completely decorated by 1555.<sup>36</sup>

In the possession of the Grillo family, Genoa.<sup>37</sup>

Possibly owned by Emile Peyre before 1898.<sup>38</sup>

William C. Whitney collection, 871 Fifth Avenue, New York, about 1900.

James Henry Smith collection, New York. Sold, American Art Association, New York, January 18–21, 1910, nos. 407 [40a], 406 [40b], both illus.; illus. of Main Hall, second floor landing, and hall of second floor show tapestries hanging on stairs at 871 Fifth Avenue.

Harry Payne Whitney collection, New York. Sold Parke-Bernet, New York, April 29, 30, 1942, nos. 135 [40a] illus., 136. Bought in.

Given to the MMA by the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney in accordance with the wishes of their mother, 1942.

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York, MMA, 1920. *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*. Lent by Harry Payne Whitney. Listed in leaflet *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, Loans and Special Features*, p. 11.

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Baltimore Museum of Art, 1951–52. *2000 Years of Tapestry Weaving*, cat. no. 110 [40a].

Amsterdam, Rijkmuseum, 1955. *Le Triomphe du Maniérisme européen*, cat. no. 288 [40a].

New York, MMA, 1970–71. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, cat. no. 245, illus. [40a].

Paris, Grand Palais, 1972. *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*. Catalogue by Jean Cural and Marie Hélène Babelon, nos. 460, 461, illus. [40a]. Said to have been probably commissioned by Henri II for an apartment on the first floor at Anet; all attributions mentioned; cartoons for set said to be possibly by several artists.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Du Bois, Guy Pène. "Mistresses of Famous American Collections: The New and Old Collections of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney." *Arts and Decoration* 7 (1917) p. 177, illus. (entrance of Whitney house showing both tapestries on walls).

MMA Bulletin 15 (1920) p. 118. Listed as lent to the *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* by Harry Payne Whitney. Called French, sixteenth century.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 138. Mentioned, with Anet and Rouen pieces of set.

MMA Annual Report 1942, pp. 26, 28, illus. p. 29 [40b]. Said to have been woven at Fontainebleau for the Château of Anet.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "Diane de Poitiers and Jean Cousin." MMA Bulletin, n.s. 2 (1943–44) pp. 109–17, both illus., cover, color detail of 40a. Grillo arms identified, *Triumph of Diana* mentioned, French verses translated, subjects and border devices explained, Diana identified as an idealized portrait of Diane de Poitiers, design attributed to Jean Cousin the Elder by stylistic resemblance with *Saint Mamas* tapestry series, Fontainebleau as place of weaving rejected in favor of Paris (probably the Hôpital de la Trinité), dated 1550–55.

MMA Bulletin, n.s. 5 (1946–47) p. 82, illus. [40a].

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." MMA Bulletin, n.s. 6 (1947–48) p. 126, illus. p. 129 [40a].

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. "An Exhibition of Tapestries." *Magazine of Art* 45 (1952) p. 35, illus. p. 36 [40a].

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Renaissance Galleries." MMA Bulletin, n.s. 12 (1953–54), illus. p. 161 [40a].

Golson, Lucile. "Lucca Penni: A Pupil of Raphael at the Court of Fontainebleau." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 50 (1957) pp. 17, 19, 31–36, fig. 1 [40a]. Dated about 1550, designs attributed to Luca Penni, engraving by Delaune associated with 40a, *Triumph of Diana* said to be from a second set, as well as 40b.

Béguin, Sylvie. *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau, le maniérisme à la cour de France*. Paris, 1960, p. 70. 40a mentioned, attributed to Penni.

Weigert, Roger-Armand. *French Tapestry*. Trans. Donald and Monique King. London, 1962, pp. 94, 95. Attributions to Philibert Delorme, Cousin, and the Fontainebleau workshop questioned; Paris or a temporary workshop at Anet considered possible places of manufacture.

Heinz, Dora. *Europäische Wandteppiche*. Vol. 1. Brunswick, 1963, p. 255. Set mentioned as most probably made at Fontainebleau.

Bardon, Françoise. *Diane de Poitiers et le Mythe de Diane*. Paris, 1963, pp. 66–72, 97, 144–47, 155. Described as commissioned by Henri II for Anet, probably made at Fontainebleau, related prints and drawings discussed, said to emphasize Diana rather than Apollo; 40b and *Triumph of Diana* said to be from a second series; political connotations suggested, indicating 1548–59 as date of commission; Dubreuil series said to have been made 1597–1602, perhaps for Gabrielle d'Estrées or Henri IV's sister-in-law, Diane de France, resemblance to Anet set pointed out.

Standen, Edith A. *Western European Arts: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to the Collections*. New York, 1964, p. 11, fig. 13 [40a].

Sterling, Charles, and Adhémar, Hélène. *Peintures, école française XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris, 1965, p. 33, no. 100. 40a mentioned as containing a portrait of Diane de Poitiers, related to the painting of *Diane Chasseresse* in the Louvre; Golson's attribution of the latter to Penni said to be not completely convincing.

Viatte, Germain. *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle européen: Tapisseries*. Exh. cat., Mobilier Nationale, Paris, 1965, no. 9 (Rouen piece). Mentioned; 40b said to be an early reweaving; attribution to Jean Cousin rejected, since *Saint Mamas* tapestries have more rigorous compositions and tighter drawing; Penni considered more probable, but unknown author of *Death of Orion* drawing in Louvre and *Death of the Niobids* drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale suggested as the designer; woven in Paris.

Jarry, Madeleine. *World Tapestry*. New York, 1969, p. 176. Mentioned.

Blake, Channing. "Stanford White's New York City Interiors." *Antiques* 102 (1972) p. 1064, fig. 9. Stair hall, Whitney house, 871 Fifth Avenue, showing parts of both tapestries on walls.

Béguin, Sylvie. "Ecole de Fontainebleau." *Revue du Louvre*, 1972, p. 405, fig. 10 [40a].

Miles, Hamish. "The 'Treasure-House of Marvels' at Paris." *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973) p. 73. *Diana* tapestries mentioned as designed by one or more unknown artists, not by Penni.

Duret-Robert, François. "La tapisserie française sous la Renaissance." *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 262 (December 1973) unpaginated section. Set discussed.

Raggio, Olga. "Problèmes bellifontains." *Revue de l'Art*, no. 23 (1974) p. 76. Set said to be from the Trinité workshop, perhaps after drawings by Jean Cousin the Elder with the cartoons by different hands. Luca Penni rejected as the designer.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Sixteenth-Century Grotesque Tapestries." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) p. 232. Close relationship of borders to central subject suggested as characteristically French.

Standen, Edith A. "The Tapestries of Diane de Poitiers." *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau et Paris*, 18, 19, 20 octobre 1972. Paris, 1975, pp. 87–98. Known history of set related, subject of 40a and border devices described, Pontus de Tyard suggested as author of poems, place of weaving (probably Paris) and designer (probably Jean Cousin) discussed, related prints and drawings illustrated.

Coffinet, Julien. *Métamorphoses de la tapisserie*. Paris, 1977, p. 165, illus. [40a].

*Défense du patrimoine national*. Exh. cat., Louvre, Paris, 1978, no. 16. Mentioned as possibly the pieces owned by R. Kann and E. Peyre in 1898.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: III. Renaissance and Mannerism." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 27, 28, figs. 15, 16.

## 40a *The Drowning of Britomartis*

### DESCRIPTION

Diana, in the center, has blue eyes and elaborately dressed fair hair, tied with pale blue ribbons and partly covered with a white kerchief; a gray crescent stands on a

yellow and blue support above her forehead. She wears a very pale brown dress, yellow-pink in the light, with darker brown HD (Henri-Diane) monograms and double deltas on the hem, a dark blue belt, and a pale blue scarf, tied in a bow at her waist. The scarf has yellow ornamentation at the end, including a double delta. Her one visible sandal is yellow with blue jewels. She holds a dull yellow bow with a blue grip and dark brown string. Below her on the left is a kneeling woman with a white and green cap (much repaired), a blue-green dress lined with red, and a dull pale yellow-pink cloak. The head of a pale gray-brown dog with a yellow collar is seen between her and Diana; its hindquarters and tail are behind the woman. The foremost of two women immediately above grasps her loose fair locks with her left hand and holds up a pale yellow quiver with a pale blue ribbon in the other. Her upper garments are blue and her long skirt yellow. The stout woman behind her wears a pale yellow-pink cap tied with a pale blue ribbon and a pale yellow-pink dress with a brown, red, and yellow corselet. A dark brown quiver is slung at her back on a blue ribbon and she holds a brown bow in her right hand. The head, right arm, and pale yellow-brown cloak of Britomartis are seen rising above the water on the right.

In the middle distance, King Minos of Crete raises his arms. He has fair hair and beard and wears dark blue and yellow classical armor, with a yellow short cloak, crown, and sword. A nude cupid runs up to him. In the water on the right is a pale red-brown boat with a gray sail, brown mast, and white pennant; three sailors in dark blue and pale dull yellow are engaged in lifting the nude body of Britomartis in a brown net from the water. In the distance on the left, Minos, holding a spear, is seen pursuing the fleeing Britomartis, who has a bow and quiver and is dressed in dull yellow. Farther to the right, Diana, seated, hands a net to two men in dull yellow; behind her is a seated woman with a dog. There is a round gray temple above the group, with nets hung between its columns; its shallow dome has touches of blue and pink.

The sky is blue above, fading to white on the right. In the far distance on the left are pale blue mountains, trees, and buildings; on the right is a stretch of white water with a pale blue ship, a mountain, and buildings. The rugged, rising landscape behind the figures is blue in the distance and green in the center. Two trees with crossed trunks on





Detail of 40a







FIG. 20. *The Death of Britomartis*, by Etienne Delaune. Engraving. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.77.5).

the left are brown with yellow-brown foliage; others in the center and on the right are brown with blue-green leaves. The cliffs that stand above the water are pink, gray, and pale brown. The foreground is green with brown, gray, and dull yellow rocks, and brown and green tree stumps. The rushes and small plants are white and green.

The inscribed panel of the upper border reads:

BRITOMARTE PAR MINOS POVRSVIVIE / QVI PAR LES BOYS A  
FORCE LA VEVT PRÈDRE / AIMA TROP MIEVX EN MER FINIR  
LA VIE / QVÁ SÔ VOVLOIR OVTRAGEVX CÔDESCÈDRE / LORS  
PO<sup>R</sup> SA MORT, VOVLÂT GLOIRE LVY RÈDRE / PHOEBÈ LES  
RETZ ET FILEZ INVENTA / DONT AV LIEV SAINT LE CORPS ON  
RAPORTA / ET PVIS LES GRECS DICTYNNA LONT NÔMEE / O  
SAINTE MORT, QVI AV MÔDE APPORTA / PAR TEL MALHEVR  
CHOSE TANT ESTIMEE.

(Britomartis, pursued by Minos, who wished to take her by force in the woods, greatly preferred to end her life in the sea rather than to submit to his outrageous will. Accordingly, wishing to give her fame for her death, Phoebe [Diana] invented fishnets and snares, with which the body was brought to a holy place, and since then the Greeks have called her Dictynna [fishnet]. O holy death, that gave such a valuable thing to the world by means of such a misfortune!)

The oval medallion in the center of the lower border shows an elevated statue of a goddess holding a net, worshiped by two kneeling figures. There are trees and buildings in the background. A gray scroll below is inscribed in brown letters: HOC TVA MORS VALVIT (Thy death produced this). Above the scrollwork around the medallion is a yellow delta with a red jewel hung on it, and on either side are brown nets, one tied with a white rope. The upright oval medallions at the corners of the lower border have what seem to be piles of rocks, those on the left, blue, on the right, brown and red. The vertical borders are almost identical. At the top of each is a yellow Corinthian capital with a gray crescent on the truncated pilaster below it. The pilaster section rests on the blue point of a brown arrow. Two green and pale yellow olive branches and a pale yellow-gray scroll are entwined in front of each arrow; the scrolls are inscribed in brown letters: CONSEQVI /

FIG. 21. *Pan and Syrinx*, attributed to Jean Cousin the Younger. Drawing. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris (inv. no. 20901). Photo: Musées Nationaux.



TVR QVOD / CVMQVE / PETIT (It attains whatever it seeks). Below each arrow is the scrollwork surrounding the panel with GG; this rests on another arrow with two yellow bows and their strings entwined in front of it. Between the blue and yellow handgrips of the bows is a gray delta. The arrows rest on gray and yellow supports with, beneath them, a fantastic bearded head with long ears and two animal legs in dull yellow, brown, and red. The guards, dark brown at the top and sides and purple below, are replacements.

#### CONDITION

Repairs, carried out in silk thread, are conspicuous in the lighter areas of the costumes of the principal figures. Bare warps are found in the only brilliant red area, the drapery on the extreme left under the kneeling woman.

#### SUBJECT

The version of the story of Britomartis shown here is not exactly that of any classical author.<sup>39</sup> The account in Callimachus says that she was pursued by Minos for nine months and leaped from a cliff to escape him, but that she was saved by the fishermen's nets.<sup>40</sup> Other authors relate that she was drowned and her body raised in a net, or that she herself invented hunting nets. The invention of the net by Diana in order to recover Britomartis's body does not seem to be a classical idea.

The border device of an arrow with the words "Consequitur quodcumque petit" is found at Anet<sup>41</sup> and on the bindings of books that belonged to Diane de Poitiers.<sup>42</sup>

The medallion in the lower border presumably shows a statue of Britomartis or Dictynna, honored because her death resulted in the invention of nets.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Minos standing on the cliff and the ship onto which Britomartis's body is being lifted are close to the same elements in the print by Etienne Delaune (fig. 20). Some of the landscape details are also similar. The figure in the water in the print has Diana's crescent on her forehead and is surrounded by the staked nets of the fishers. The inscription refers to another mythological episode, the death of the giant Tityus, who attempted to ravish Latona

and was killed by her children.<sup>43</sup>

The scene in the background showing Minos pursuing Britomartis is related to similar distant figures in two drawings attributed to Jean Cousin the Elder or the Younger. One is in the Hermitage, Leningrad;<sup>44</sup> the other in the Louvre (fig. 21).<sup>45</sup> The pair of trees with crossed trunks also appears in both drawings.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The tapestry of the same subject in the later series after Toussaint Dubreuil is an almost exact copy, except that it is shorter and wider.<sup>46</sup> Another dog is partly visible on the left and the whole of the boat on the right; the costumes, headdresses, plants, and trees are somewhat altered, and the temple in the distance has no nets. Dubreuil is accordingly not believed to have been concerned with the design of this tapestry in his series.<sup>47</sup>

## 40b *The Blasphemy of Niobe*

#### DESCRIPTION

The main action takes place in the middle distance. On the left is the temple of Latona, a vaulted blue porch with white cornices and keystones, supported by dull red variegated marble columns with yellow Corinthian capitals and bases. Under the vault is the white statue of the goddess, holding the sun in her right hand and the crescent moon in her left (for Apollo and Diana, her children); the statue stands on a yellow pedestal supported by a blue cube. The temple is approached by two white steps. A barefoot priestess (presumably Manto) in blue and white kneels on the lower of these, swinging a yellow censer, from which pour clouds of gray smoke. Four bareheaded men in blues and yellows kneel in front of the shrine. In the center of the tapestry, six of Niobe's seven daughters turn their backs on the temple. Nearer the spectator is a fair-haired, barefoot woman (Niobe), wearing a yellow crown, blue upper garment, yellow-green sash, and pale pink skirt. Behind her, a bearded priest, in a blue miter and upper garment and a dull pale pink robe, holds a yellow censer. The daughters, only partly visible, have fair hair and are dressed in shades of blue, yellow, and pale pink.

Between this group and another facing it is the seventh daughter, a young fair-haired, bare-legged girl in a short yellow dress. She moves to the right, where six men are grouped in opposition to the women with Niobe. One, in pale pink, wearing a helmet, raises his arm. Another, in the foreground, turns his back to the viewer; he wears a yellow helmet, pale pink upper garment, and blue short skirt and sleeves. On the far right, a man in dark blue and pale yellow stoops under the weight of a child sitting on his shoulders. The other men in the group are dressed in blue, dull yellow, and brown.

In the foreground on the left is a large pale brown bull with a wreath of blue-green and pale yellow leaves. Its horn is grasped by a fair-haired, barefoot man in a dull pink cap and pale brown upper garment, with a swirling blue scarf and blue leggings, who holds a green stick over the animal's back. On the right are three men. The young one nearest the viewer has fair, curly hair and wears a dull pink tight-fitting body covering with short green sleeves. Over this is a wide flowing scarf, yellow-brown on one side and an intense, brilliant crimson on the other. He has a short blue-green skirt, looped over a belt around his hips, and dull yellow leg coverings, turned over below the knee and tied at the ankle with a blue band, leaving his feet bare. Both other men, partially visible, are bearded. One has his long dark yellow hair caught up with a pale yellow band and has a dark blue circlet; his clothes are blue and dull yellow and his legs are bare. The other has a dull yellow-pink cap.

In the distance in the center is a blue mountain and beneath it a gray and brown city (Thebes), pyramids, and large round buildings. Below this is a group of seven horsemen (Niobe's sons) in pale grays and browns. On the right is a pale blue estuary with three blue ships, and beyond it a pale blue-gray cliff, its top cut off by white clouds; on these a kneeling figure (Latona) in pale blue and yellow petitions a nude god (Apollo) and a goddess in yellow (Diana). The sky is blue above and white below, with blue buildings, including a pyramid, on the horizon. Two trees with brown trunks and blue-green leaves rise behind the groups in the middle distance. The ground in the center is largely blue-green with darker bushes and foliage. A ridge of earth lies behind the large foreground figures; it is brown and yellow on the left, brown, gray, and green in the center. From it rises a brown tree stump and in front of it is a gray-brown hare or rabbit. The

foreground shows rocks, turf, and plants in grays, browns, and greens, with the cast shadows of the figures in dark green. A path, or dry stream bed, is edged with low clifflike rocks and a small distorted shrub with a creeper twined around it. A blue violet plant is seen below a spiked plant growing from the foreground rocks.

The inscribed panel of the upper border reads:

QVANT VN MORTEL DES BIENS QVE DIEV LVY DÔNE / ESMEV  
D'ORGVEIL GLOIRE NE LVY VEULT RÊDRE / MERVELLE N'EST  
SI SOVBDAIN L'ABONDÔNE, / ET SI MALHEVR OV MORT LE  
VIÊT SUPRÊDRE / NIOBE SORT DE TEBES POVR REPREDRE /  
LE PEUPLE OFFRA[N]T A LATONA PRIERE / ET LA BLASMANT  
SOY ET SES FILZ PREFERE / AVX DIEVX PAR QVI SESCLAIRE  
TOVT LE MÔDE / LATONA LORS A SES ENFANTS REFERE / LE  
IVSTE ESMOY DE SA DOVLEVR PROFONDE.

(When a mortal, filled with pride of the goods that God has given him, does not wish to return Him glory, it is no wonder if He suddenly abandons him and if misfortune or death does come and surprise him. Niobe leaves Thebes to rebuke the people praying to Latona and, blaspheming her, prefers herself and her sons to the gods by whom all the world is illuminated. Latona then conveys to her children the just emotion of her profound grief.)

In the upper center of the framework of the inscribed panel in the upper border is a yellow delta with six green leaves, or possibly bean pods, springing from it; in the center below is a yellow crescent. The oval medallion in the center of the lower border shows a kneeling figure (Niobe) among trees; on the ground in front of her are a crown and some clothes. The confused area on the right may be intended to represent a flaming pyre with clouds of smoke arising from it. A gray plaque below is inscribed in brown letters: HEI [for Heu] MIHI / QVALIS F[for E]RAM (Woe is me, what I was!). Above the medallion are a monogram with HD, a delta, two yellow-gray and one blue-gray crescent. Two blue gray crescents flank the scrollwork border, which also has, on either side, a yellow and green censer and its chain, blue ribbons, and piles of fruit, including a large green pinecone, blue grapes, and green gourds. The upright oval medallions at the corners of the lower border have dark brown grounds and show gray deltas entwined with leafy sprays in green and yellow. The vertical borders are almost identical, except for minor differences in coloring. At the top of each is a yellow-gray ram's head, and below it, two pale blue or yellow-gray quivers, entwined with a delta and yellow or blue ribbons.





Pieces of yellow scrollwork hold pale yellow and blue roundels with entwined deltas. That on the left has a brown and a blue delta, with a ball in the center and six small balls around the edges; that on the right has two gray deltas. From the lower scrolls hang a pair of yellow censers; behind them is a pale blue upright holding a curved vessel, which stands on the scrollwork surrounding the oval medallions with GG. Below is a pale yellow female head surrounded by crescents, which rests on a piece of scrollwork supported by two intertwined yellow-gray bows with blue handgrips. The bows with their cords are also intertwined with two gray deltas and two sprays of pale yellow and blue-green leaves; down the center of each combination is a blue-headed arrow. Each motif rests on a pale blue and yellow vase with a gadrooned body. The wide blue and brown guards are replacements.

#### CONDITION

The repaired areas are particularly noticeable in the center foreground rocks and the simulated marble frames to the borders.

#### SUBJECT

The story of Niobe's blasphemy and her punishment by Apollo and Diana is told by Ovid.<sup>48</sup> Manto persuaded the people of Thebes to worship at Latona's temple, but Niobe, the queen, told them that she, because of her descent from Atlas and Jupiter, her wealth, her beauty, and above all, her seven sons and seven daughters, was a superior being, since Latona had only two children. The people left the sacrifice unfinished, but Latona complained to Apollo and Diana on the top of the mountain Cynthus, on Delos, and they avenged her by killing all Niobe's children; Amphion, her husband, committed suicide, and she was changed into a weeping statue of marble. The medallion in the lower border shows Niobe mourning her children.

The conspicuously placed hare may have its usual connotation of fear.<sup>49</sup>

#### DATE OF WEAVING

The suggestion has been made that this tapestry belongs to a later series because of its composition, "its foreground

figures placed on a diagonal, in an almost Baroque effect of movement and space,"<sup>50</sup> and the difference between its borders and those of the rest of the set.<sup>51</sup> However, the complete tapestries are so exactly similar in height, colors, and technique that it seems impossible that they could belong to different series. Large foreground figures are also found in the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* and a diagonal composition in the drawing for the *Death of the Children of Niobe* that probably represents a missing tapestry of the set. The borders of all the tapestries differ in detail but are completely harmonious in style and color.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The tapestry of the same subject in the later series after Toussaint Dubreuil,<sup>52</sup> though very different in composition and spirit,<sup>53</sup> includes many of the same elements, such as the statue of Latona under an arch, holding the sun and moon, and a bull being led up for the sacrifice. Dubreuil's study of the earlier tapestry, or, more probably, the cartoon for it, is also evident in his painting of an antique sacrifice in the Louvre;<sup>54</sup> the man in the lower left corner, who holds a bull by the horn with his left hand and lays his right arm on its back, is very similar to the corresponding figure in the tapestry.

#### NOTES

1. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. 6, lines 317-81.
2. Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, line 6.
3. *Metamorphoses*, bk. 1, lines 440-47.
4. Georg Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed., vol. 18, pt. 1 (Stuttgart, 1939) s.v. "Orion," col. 1072.
5. *Metamorphoses*, bk. 9, lines 271-546.
6. *Metamorphoses*, bk. 12, lines 24-34.
7. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. 6, line 335; bk. 15, lines 336-37.
8. Anatole de Montaiglon, "Diane de Poitiers et son goût dans les arts," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 17 (1878) p. 299.
9. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600* (Geneva, 1958-59) vol. 2, s.v. "Palmier," "Olivier."
10. The carvings on the wooden door in the monumental portal at Anet include crossed branches of palm and olive combined with a delta (Pierre Désiré Roussel, *Histoire et description du Château d'Anet* [Paris, 1875] p. 30).
11. Gaston Le Breton, "Notice sur deux anciennes tapisseries du Musée des Antiquités de Rouen: tapisserie de l'Atelier de Fontainebleau," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements à la Sorbonne*, 22nd session (Paris, 1898) p. 105.
12. Le Breton, "Notice," p. 105.
13. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, p. 70, pl. 18.
14. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, pp. 70-72, 84.

15. Roussel, *Château d'Anet*, p. 95; Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947) pp. 135–38. Joachim de Bellay has also been suggested as the author of the poems (*Triomphe du Maniérisme*, exh. cat., no. 288).
16. Louvre inv. no. 8743. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, p. 68, pl. 13.
17. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., no. 63.
18. A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-Graveur français*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1868) nos. 133–38; Andre Linzeler, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du seizième siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, vol. 1 (Paris, 1932) pp. 242, 243, nos. 134–39; Golson, “Lucca Penni,” pp. 26, 31. A related drawing representing a stag hunt, with Venus in the sky telling Cupid to shoot Diana, is in the Museum of Rennes; Venus and Cupid (the latter twice shown), the stag, and some of Diane’s nymphs appear in the background of the tapestry, *Lycian Peasants Turned into Frogs* (*Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., no. 139).
19. Maurice Roy, *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France* (Paris, 1929–34) vol. 2, p. 436.
20. Jean Adhémar, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du seizième siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, vol. 2 (Paris, 1938) p. 275. A stag in the *Orus Apollo* can be compared to one chased by Diana in the background of the *Lycian Peasants* (Standen, “Tapestries,” p. 94, fig. 7).
21. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., nos. 453–54 bis.
22. Phillips, “Diane de Poitiers,” pp. 114, 116.
23. Roy, *Artistes*, vol. 1, p. 294.
24. Comte de Laborde, *La Renaissance des arts à la Cour de France* (Paris, 1850) vol. 1, p. 421.
25. Roussel, *Château d'Anet*, pp. 28, 153.
26. Maurice Fenaille stated that the five pieces of the set known to him were certainly woven at the Fontainebleau manufactory, then under the direction of Philibert de l’Orme, probably from the designs of Antoine Caron or one of his pupils (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 98, 102).
27. Weigert, *French Tapestry*, p. 93; J. Baudoin Ross, “Jean Cousin the Elder and the Creation of the Tapestries of Saint Mamas,” *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978) pp. 28–34.
28. *Défense du patrimoine*, Louvre, 1978, no. 16, all illus.
29. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat. no. 455.
30. Golson, “Lucca Penni,” fig. 13. When exhibited at San Francisco in the *Retrospective Loan Exhibition of European Tapestries*, 1922 (no. 37, illus.), lent by Wildenstein & Co., it was said to have been formerly in the collection of Edouard Kann, Paris. It is 12 feet, 10 inches high and has apparently been cut on all sides.
31. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 98.
32. Golson, “Lucca Penni,” p. 17, n. 1.
33. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, p. 142.
34. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 231–40.
35. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, pp. 144–47.
36. There is no documentary evidence that the tapestries were made for Anet, though Ferdinand Moreau, who bought the château in 1860 and acquired before 1875 the four pieces now there, found that they were the right height to be hung on the second or principal floor. After the death of Henri II, Diane de Poitiers retired to Anet (Roussel, *Château d'Anet*, pp. 92, 166; de Montaiglon, “Diane de Poitiers,” p. 296), but she had previously owned the Château de Chenonceaux and three houses in Paris. In the mid-sixteenth century, tapestries were still moveable furnishings.
37. They may have been acquired by Marchese Nicola Grillo, whose wife was a Spinola, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. A seventeenth-century Grillo-Spinola marriage is also recorded (*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* [Paris, 1857] s.v. “Grillo”; Natale Battilana, *Genealogie delle famiglie nobili di Genova* [1825–33; reprint, Bologna, 1971] p. 14, “Famiglia Spinola”). The *Description de la belle Maison d'Anet* of 1640 has been cited as evidence that the set remained at the château until the complete refurbishing carried out by the duc de Vendôme in the late seventeenth century, but it includes only the statement that the “chambres, salles, cabinets, galeries” were “tapisées presque partout de vieilles tapisseries. de particulière façon, fort rares pour leur antiquité” (Roussel, *Château d'Anet*, p. 127).
38. Le Breton, “Deux anciennes tapisseries,” p. 108. The *Triumph* fragment (then owned by Maurice Kann) and “others” in the Peyre collection are said to be from a second set. But these “others” may have been the two grotesques now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon (Weigert, *French Tapestry*, p. 92).
39. Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 5 (1905) s.v. “Diktyнна.” A summary of the accounts of Britomartis given in sixteenth-century dictionaries can be found in DeWitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* (Chapel Hill, 1955) pp. 86, 87.
40. *Hymn to Artemis*, lines 190–200.
41. Roussel, *Château d'Anet*, pp. 75, 76, 127; Alphonse Roux, *Le Château d'Anet* (Paris, [before 1911]) p. 42.
42. De Montaiglon, “Diane de Poitiers,” pt. 2, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 19 (1879) p. 175.
43. Standen, “Tapestries,” p. 94, fig. 8.
44. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., no. 68.
45. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., no. 67.
46. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pl. facing p. 236.
47. Golson, “Lucca Penni,” p. 35.
48. *Metamorphoses*, bk. 6, lines 147–312.
49. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, vol. 2, s.v. “Lièvre.”
50. Golson, “Lucca Penni,” p. 33.
51. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, p. 70, n. 1.
52. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pl. facing p. 234.
53. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers*, p. 146.
54. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., no. 96.

## 41 The Table of Cebes

Two embroideries from a set of three

a *The Garden of False Learning*

b *The Wayfarer Crowned by Happiness*

French, 1550–80; made perhaps by or for a member of the de Fenis de Prade family of Limoges.

Wool and silk on canvas in cross and tent stitches.

41a 9 ft. 2½ in. x 12 ft. 7 in. (2.81 m x 3.84 m);

41b 8 ft. x 9 ft. 10 in. (2.44 m x 3 m).

Cross-stitch, 48–56 per square inch, 9 per square centimeter.

Tent stitch, 156–190 per square inch, 30–36 per square centimeter.

41a Gift of Mrs. Constance McCann Betts, Mrs. Winston F. C. Guest, and Frasier W. McCann, 1942 (42.193.2).

41b Bequest of Anne Archbold, 1969 (69.298).

### DESCRIPTION

Both hangings are similar in color, the predominant shades being a strong dark blue, dull red, dull yellows, and browns. The borders have pink grounds; though they contain similar grotesque figures, none is identical. Each has a narrow guard in brown, tan, and red.

Tent stitch is used for the figures and small details. Silk is employed for highlights, especially in garments.

### CONDITION

Except for the blues and dark browns, the colors are much faded.

### SUBJECT

The *Tabula Cebetis*, translated as the *Table of Cebes*, or the *Mythological Picture of Cebes the Theban*, is a late classical moralistic Greek treatise, certainly not written by Socrates's pupil, Cebes.<sup>1</sup> It is the description of a painting, supposedly in a temple of Saturn, that illustrated the way to achieve true happiness. There were four zones in the painting, separated by walls. The first showed the unborn crowding around the gateway to life; the second, the domain of Fortune; the third, that of false learning; and the fourth, the paradise of true wisdom and happiness. The

zones of the unborn and of Fortune are reproduced in the first hanging of the set.

The book was translated into Latin at the end of the fifteenth century and later into several other languages. It was much used as a school text in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and many attempts to reproduce the supposed painting were made.<sup>2</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The designs of both hangings are derived from a woodcut by David Kandel (fl. c. 1538–1587), dated 1547 (fig. 22).<sup>3</sup>

### MAKER AND DATE

The difference in style and quality between the first piece of the set and the other two is hard to account for. The first piece is freely adapted from Holbein, while the others follow the Kandel print fairly closely. A possible explanation might be that the embroidress whose arms appear in the upper borders finished only one piece and that the others were added, perhaps a generation later, by other less accomplished and painstaking members of the same family. On the other hand, the existence of embroideries with very similar borders, but illustrating different stories, suggests a professional workshop.

### RELATED EMBROIDERIES

What is presumably the first piece of the set, since it shows the beginning of the story and has the same coats of arms, is in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris.<sup>4</sup> It shows the unborn souls as frolicking children, some black, outside the gate of life. An old man (Genius) stands in the doorway; beyond it are a seated woman with a cup and



three others, in gorgeous costumes, standing behind her. On the right is a blindfolded nude Fortune standing on a globe, with a prosperous couple, dressed in the height of French fashion of the 1560s, on her right, and some miserable sufferers on her left. The border includes the same coats of arms as 41a. The design is very much richer in detail than that of 41a or b; the costumes have elaborate patterns, the foreground is thick with flowers, and the landscape variegated with different kinds of trees and many birds and animals. The figures in the border of the first piece are smaller and far more elaborate. The colors are much lighter and brighter and include strong reds. The cross-stitches are smaller, about sixteen to the square centimeter.

The design is adapted from a title page after Holbein used by the Basel printer Johann Froben for Erasmus's edition of the New Testament in 1521 and other works.<sup>5</sup> The figures of Genius in the doorway, the seated woman with the cup, and Fortune are close to the print, but the attitudes of the children are different and the costumes are much richer and thirty years later in style. The couple on Fortune's right are entirely new, supporting the suggestion that they represent the embroidress whose arms appear in the upper border and her husband.

A border of the same general type is found on an embroidered hanging with the story of Esther in the Maurice Lange sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, February 26, 27, 1919 (no. 186, illus.), sold again at Sotheby's, London, June 15, 1928 (no. 161, illus.). The seated woman holding a looking glass in the lower left corner is a mirror image of the figure in the upper right corner of 41b and there are close resemblances in some of the other motifs. Many of the same border motifs are found on two embroidered panels with scenes from the life of Moses sold at Sotheby's, October 21, 1955 (nos. 51, 52, one illus.). Another comparable border is on an embroidery with Aaron before Pharaoh in the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>6</sup> An embroidery in the Château of Anet, traditionally attributed to Diane de Poitiers, is very similar in style.

## HISTORY

All three pieces of the set may have been on the French art market in 1882, when the Jacquemart-André hanging was acquired from Vail.<sup>7</sup>

Both 41a and b were obtained from Leon Lacroix by French & Co., New York, in 1928, when they were cleaned and repaired.

41a was bought by Charles E. F. McCann, 1930.

In the Charles E. F. McCann sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 21, 1942, no. 1110, illus. Called the *Triumph of the Arts and Sciences*, northern French under Flemish influence, about 1570. Bought in.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. Constance McCann Betts, Mrs. Winston F. C. Guest, and Frasier W. McCann, children of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. F. McCann, 1942.

41b was bought from French & Co. by Mrs. Anne Archbold, 1929.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Anne Archbold, 1969.

## EXHIBITION

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1945. *The Human Story in Needlework*, cat. no. 53 [41a].

## PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1942*, p. 28. 41a mentioned as a scene from the *Table of Cebes*.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Garden of False Learning." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 1 (1942-43) pp. 243-47, both illus. Account of *Tables of Cebes*, Jacquemart-André Museum piece mentioned, derivation from Kandel print and relationship to Holbein print established, border grotesques compared to works by Cornelis Floris, dated 1550-70, or shortly thereafter, called probably northern French, technique and condition of 41a described.

Viatte, Germain. *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle européen: Tapisseries*. Exh. cat., Mobilier National, Paris, 1965, p. 15, no. 14 (Jacquemart-André piece). 41 mentioned as inferior in quality and certainly later in date; masculine arms identified as possibly those of the Limousin family Fénis de Prade.

*MMA Annual Report 1969-1970*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 29 (1970-71) pp. 103, 105, illus. [41b]. Both pieces mentioned, called northern French or Flemish.

Mailey, Jean. "The Wayfarer Crowned by Happiness." *Needle Arts* 1, no. 4 (Fall 1970) pp. 4-6, illus. [41b].

Schleier, Reinhart. *Tabula Cebetis*. Berlin, 1973, p. 38, figs. 16, 17.

*MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965-1975*. New York, 1975, p. 295, illus. [41b].

Lapaire, Claude. "Trois broderies allégoriques de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle." *Genava* 23 (1975) p. 150. Mentioned, dated about 1560, said to be stylistically related to embroideries in Geneva, London, and Pau.



## 41a *The Garden of False Learning*

### DESCRIPTION

A blue-eyed boy, wearing a pink, brown, and gray coat, blue stockings, and gray-brown shoes, stands in front of a dark brown fence. He is greeted by a woman at an opening framed by dull blue, red, and gray columns supporting a brown pediment. She has blue eyes and fair hair with a

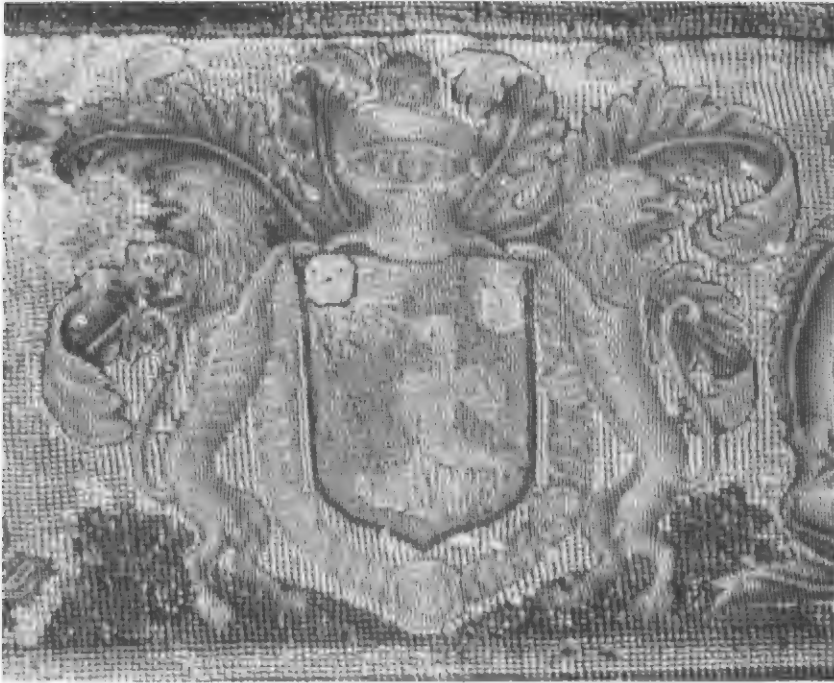
red, yellow, and blue ornament, a patterned blue, red, and dull yellow cape, a red, brown, and tan dress, and gray and brown shoes. Through the doorway a landscape with trees and a small building is visible. On the other side of the fence are two rows of people. On the extreme left in the lower row is a man with a red hat and collar, a blue



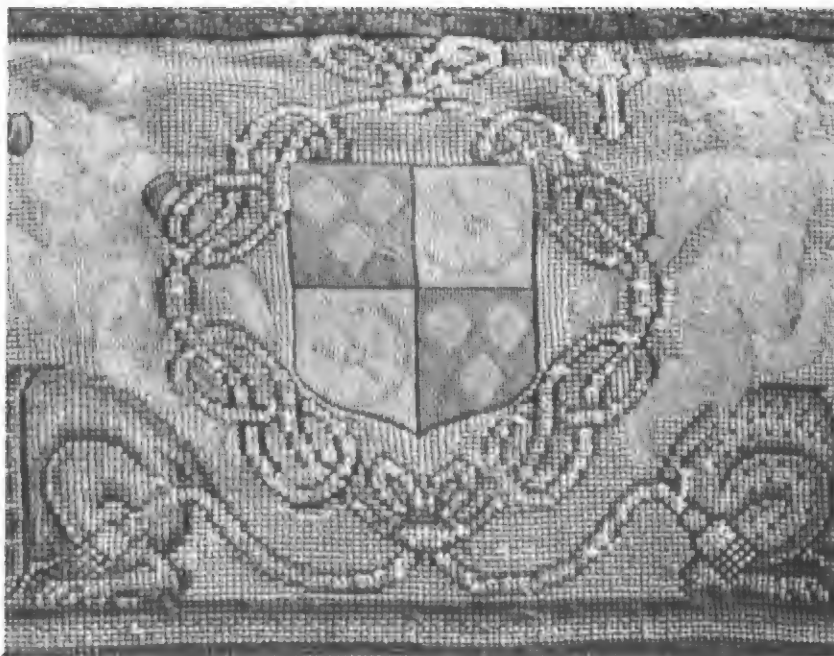
FIG. 22. *The Table of Cebes*, by David Kandel. Woodcut. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1944 (44.1.22).

cape with long dangling sleeves and red stripes, and brown leggings; he holds an armillary sphere. Next to him, a bearded man in a dull pink robe places a pair of blue compasses on a geometrical figure inscribed on a gray and brown board resting on the fence; the letters P (possibly for Π) and J are visible on the board. Two men are

seen in conversation to the right; one wears a red-brown pointed hat and robe, the other a dark green wreath and pink-brown robe. A third, also wearing a wreath, holds a scroll and faces the fence. He has a dull red robe and blue sleeves. A couple, arm in arm, turn their backs to the fence; the man is in brown, the woman has a gray cap and a dull red dress. Another woman, next to the doorway, wears a striped red and gray cap, a red and dull yellow collar, and a blue dress.



The row of people in the background includes, on the far left, a man with a brown cap and dull red and dark blue costume, holding a blue and yellow globe on a stick. Below him is a man in profile holding a pale brown quadrant with numerals in his left hand and a pair of blue compasses in his right; he is dressed in dull pale pinkish brown. A boy holding a gray-brown board inscribed with nu-



Details of 41a

merals walks toward him. He wears a dull red cap, a blue costume trimmed with pale brown fur, and brown leggings. A group of five people making music are sitting on the ground to the right. A woman, in pink and blue, holds a book with three staves of music in her right hand; a man in brown and red behind her has his arm around her neck. Next to them is a man in blue with red stripes playing a small brown harp. Then comes a woman in a blue jacket and dull yellow and red skirt, playing a brown and gray lute, and a man in pale red playing a brown and gray viola da gamba. A woman in pink, dull red, blue, and gray stands on the far right. The sky is dark blue at the top, paler below, with blue clouds. Behind the figures, a distant landscape in shades of blue and brown includes trees and hills and a number of red-roofed buildings. Other buildings, impossibly minute, are seen between the figures on the left.

The upper border contains two coats of arms. That on the left, or masculine, side has a shield surmounted by a helmet and encircled by the collar of the order of Saint Michel. The shield shows a phoenix rising from the flames gazing at the sun (perhaps de Fenis de Prade)<sup>8</sup> on a blue ground; the supporters are lions (see detail). The shield on the right is held by two nude boys and is encircled by a *cordelière*, usually the mark of a widow; it shows dull yellow lozenges on blue and dull yellow flowers on pink (see detail).

In the center of the upper border is a grotesque man holding two trumpets, flanked by flaming urns. On either side are winged figures ending in tails, reaching toward bowls of flowers and fruit. On the left is the front of a brown-gray horse, on the right, a crouching brown gray camel or sphinx with a helmeted human head. This is repeated on the right of the female arms, though this beast is partly spotted. A nude striding boy with a spear is on the right, under a red canopy, and a seated woman in red and blue holding a caduceus is in the corner. The left corner of the border is not in its original condition and now shows a grotesque figure with two tridents and part of a seated figure in red and blue. The lower border has seated women in the corners: the one on the left is in pink, blue, and dull yellow and holds a branch; the other, in a costume of similar colors with a dark blue scarf, holds a small vial. The grotesque figures between them are not symmetrical. They include winged putti riding on human-headed monsters, or holding cornucopias and trumpets, a bird in a



cage, baskets of fruit and flowers, small fish and snakes, canopies, and strapwork.

The side borders differ from each other only slightly. Above the seated corner figures are two gray and two blue dolphins, with nude cupids shooting arrows. Under a drapery swag, a two-tailed bearded man with butterfly wings, flanked by two small birds, holds flowering branches above his head. Above on each side is a winged boy, one in blue, the other in yellow, holding a basket of fruit under a canopy, on each of which are two butterflies.

#### CONDITION

A photograph taken presumably in 1928 shows that the lower half of the bottom border and the right third of the right border have been added in the course of restoration. The upper left corner was then already a patchwork of fragments. There are also many small areas of repair and bare spots, especially in the sky, and larger ones in the background of the borders.

#### SUBJECT

The searcher after happiness, who has escaped from the snares of Fortune in the second zone of the *Table of Cebes* painting, is welcomed at the entrance to the third by a well-seeming woman who is, however, False Learning. In her zone are orators, poets, musicians, arithmeticians, philosophers, astronomers, magicians, alchemists, and other learned men. Only a narrow and difficult path (not shown in the embroidery) leads to the zone of true wisdom and happiness.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design has been adapted from the second and third zones of the woodcut by David Kandel (fig. 22). Only the boy approaching the gate and the woman welcoming him are from the second zone, but all the figures on the left side of the third zone in the print have been copied in the embroidery, except for two men with pipe and tabor, who are omitted. The landscape is not in the print. The stone wall separating the zones has been replaced by a fence.

## 41b *The Wayfarer Crowned by Happiness*

#### DESCRIPTION

The wayfarer, still shown as a young boy, kneels in front of Happiness, who has long pale brown hair, a closed royal crown in red and tan with blue and white gems, a blue costume, and a dull yellow halo. She holds a pale brown scepter and is about to place a red and blue crown on the boy's head. He has brown hair and a brown and tan costume. Happiness sits on a pale brown cushion on a throne draped with dull red and brown; it has a high, pedimented, gray and brown back, with a dull orange-red section behind the figure. On the left, a man with a red, yellow, and blue crown, wearing a dark blue coat ornamented in red and tan at the hem and a red chain, stands between two fair-haired women dressed in dull pale yellow; the one on the right has a red and blue hair ornament. The man has blue stockings and brown shoes. Between the two groups is a gray and brown fountain with a blue and white pool and a central column; water falls from dull pink lion heads and dolphins. Behind Happiness is a walled city, with towers and houses in shades of gray, brown, dull red, and yellow, with some blue roofs. The sky is dark blue and there are many blue and brown trees. On the lower right is a tree with dark blue and brown leaves. The foreground is filled with a brown and dull yellow fence, with blue and brown plants on a red-brown ground visible behind and above it, including two pale gray tulips.

The border has seated female figures in the upper corners. The one on the left is in blue, dull yellow, and dull red and holds a cornucopia in her right hand, with a pale brown bird perched on her left. The other, in gray, blue, and dull yellow, with blue sandals, holds a blue and yellow mirror. The upper border is filled with grotesques, including a winged boy in dull yellow and blue astride a man-headed red and brown monster with a flaming vase on its tail, a winged herm playing a lute, a rearing stag, a bearded man with two blue and brown fishtails, two figures flanking a table with a vase, two winged boys in blue holding bows, two winged monsters with pointed hats, long beards, and snail-shell bodies, birds, vases of flowers and fruit, masks, canopies, and draperies.

The side borders are not alike. At the top on the left is a winged herm with blue drapery, holding two trumpets. Two gray sea horses with blue tails are seen below, then two seated winged boys in blue, a winged man with two red-brown birds, and, at the bottom, two seated blue-gray sphinges with human arms. On the right is a gray sea horse with two blue tails under a gray and yellow canopy, a blue-winged man with two gray and yellow birds, two kneeling boys in blue, a grinning yellow mask, a winged merman with two gray tails, and, at the bottom, two yellow and brown sphinges under a yellow and blue canopy. Wreaths, flowers, and draperies fill the interstices.

#### CONDITION

There are many small areas of repair throughout, especially in the silk portions. These are particularly noticeable in the sky and the figures. The lower border is missing.



Detail of fig. 22.

#### SUBJECT

At the end of his journey, the wayfarer meets many beautiful ladies, who are the daughters of Innocence and sisters of True Wisdom. They represent such qualities as Prudence, Temperance, Discretion, Justice, Love, Pity, and Liberality. They take him to their mistress, Happiness, who crowns him with a diadem of victory.

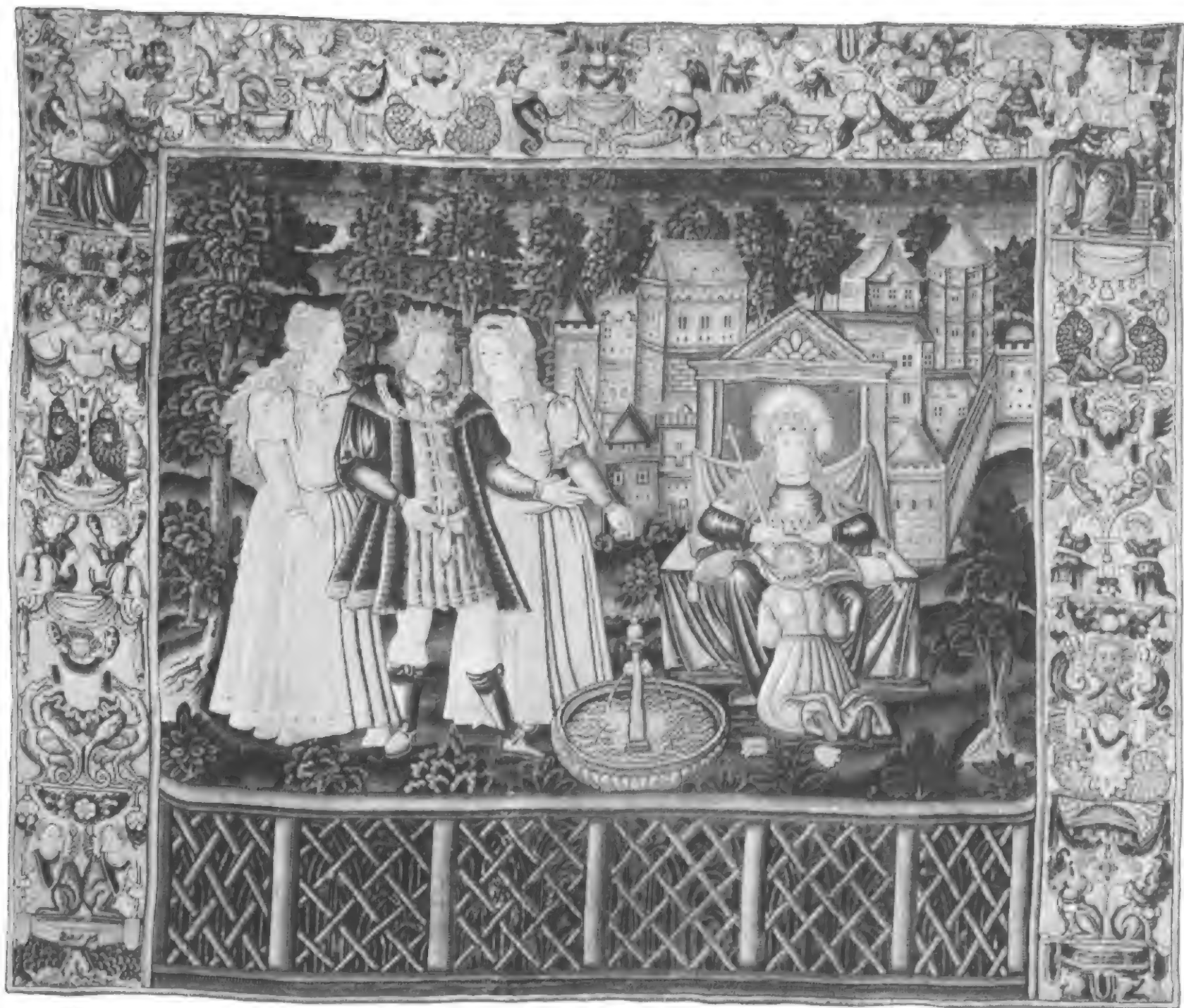
It is not clear who is the crowned man standing between the two Virtues on both the print and the embroidery. Possibly he is a previous wayfarer, already crowned by Happiness.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The left side of the final zone in the Kandel print (fig. 22) was fairly closely copied, though compressed and, in some places, such as the city, simplified. The stone wall separating the zones was changed into a fence.

#### NOTES

1. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis*, pp. 9–12. The use of “table” to mean “picture” is given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as obsolete, with examples dating from 1387 to 1700.
2. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis*, pp. 32–53.
3. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis*, p. 37, fig. 12.
4. Viatte, *XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, no. 14, illus.; Germain Viatte, “Les tapisseries du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *L’Oeil*, no. 131 (November 1965) pp. 20, 21, fig. 6; Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis*, fig. 15.
5. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis*, pp. 34–36, figs. 5–8.
6. Art Institute of Chicago acc. no. 27.1780. Called English, late sixteenth century.
7. *Catalogue itinéraire*, Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, 1929) p. 106, no. 735.
8. “D’az. au phénix s’essorant d’or sur son bûcher enflammé de gue. regardant un soleil d’or mouvant de l’angle dextre du chef.” Jean Fenis was Procureur Général du Roi in Bas-Limousin in 1563 and had a son Pierre de Fenis de la Prade, who married Hélène de Maruc in 1558 (Henri Jouglu de Morenas, *Grand Armorial de France* [Paris, 1934–49] s.v. “de Fenis de Prade”).



## 42 The Two Statues

Right side of a tapestry from a set of the *Story of Artemisia*

French (Paris); after a drawing by Antoine Caron (c. 1527–1599), woven by Frans van den Planken (François de La Planche, fl. 1601–1627) in the Comans-La Planche manufactory in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel in the early seventeenth century.

Marks of Paris and weaver.

Wool and silk.

13 ft. 2 in. x 11 ft. 6 in. (4.01 m x 3.51 m).

18–19 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Lindo J. Johnson, 1975 (1975.328).

### DESCRIPTION

The queen wears a tall dull yellow and red helmet, held by a pale blue ribbon under her chin and surmounted by blue and white plumes; a fringed blue and white widow's scarf falls from the top down her back. She has long fair hair and places her right hand on the end of a tall stick, her left on the hilt of a dull yellow, red, and blue sword slung at her side. The upper part of her dress is blue, with a red and yellow bow at her shoulder; her sleeve and skirt are dull pale yellow, with red, yellow, and dark blue ornamentation. In front of her is her young son, Lygdamis, in blue and dull yellow classical armor, with blue plumes in his helmet. A group of similarly dressed warriors is seen farther away on the left, with Roman standards and weapons rising above them, and, in the distance, two girls in blue and gray carrying blue and white wreaths and a palm branch.

In the foreground on the right behind the queen a soldier with his back turned has a dull yellow and red helmet surmounted by the figure of a small monkey; he wears red and pale yellow classical armor, with blue sleeves and skirt, and red boots with blue tops. Between him and the queen a warrior in blue holds a dull yellow standard; the head of a man in a blue helmet appears behind him. Farther to the right is a man in a blue and pale yellow helmet, topped with a blue dog and red and blue plumes; he has a dull pale yellow cloak over a blue costume. Behind him is a warrior in a long blue cloak and with a blue feather in his dull yellow helmet. Parts of several other helmeted heads are visible. Above this group rises a trophy of arms on a pole, chiefly dull yellow and red; at the top is a helmet with

a red plume. The heads of blue and yellow spears are seen on the right.

The background is formed by buildings in gray, dull yellow, and blue; a balcony at the top seen above the queen shows a small pale yellow hanging and three figures in blue and white. In the distance on the left are a balustrade and a landscape in tones of dull blue, gray, and pale yellow. The foreground is in shades of gray, pale brown, dark blue, green, and pale yellow, with several small plants.

The wide border includes several bands of ornamentation around the central scene in tones of brown, gray, and dull pale yellow, shown as if lit from the upper left. These are fastened to the main border on either side by strapwork, dark blue on the left, blue and dull yellow on the right. Oblong rectangles in the horizontal borders contain oval medallions with monochrome reclining figures on dark blue grounds, Diana and a stag at the top, a river-god at the bottom. Roundels at the corners in dull red, pale yellow, and blue show playing children and have extrusions of three-dimensional strapwork in red and pale yellow. The vertical borders have central strapwork cartouches with red grounds and small medallions of children in blue and pale yellow. Each side border has two female heads with red and pale yellow flower forms above and below them. The other ornamentation of the border is in shades of blue, red, and dull yellow. The guards are dark blue; at the lower left is the Paris mark, at the lower right side, the mark of François de La Planche (see details).

### CONDITION

Dark blue areas show much wear and there are many small repairs throughout. The abrupt ending of the design on the left and, less conspicuously, at the top is original.

### SUBJECT

The subjects of the tapestries of the series are taken from a book purporting to be a life of Artemisia, queen of Caria in Asia Minor, written in 1562 by Nicolas Houel (c. 1520–1587), but never printed.<sup>1</sup> Like other authors of his







Details of 42

time, Houel confused Artemisia I, who helped Xerxes invade Greece in 480 B.C., with Artemisia II, who built the Mausoleum in honor of her dead husband in 353 B.C.<sup>2</sup> But Houel's chief concern was to find parallels between the classical figure and his own queen, Catherine de' Medici. He therefore chose or invented incidents in the lives of the Artemisias that, with some effort of the imagination, could be thought comparable to events in Catherine's career; in his own words, addressed to Catherine, "le principal but de mon entreprise à esté de vous représenter en elle, & de monstrier la conformité qu'il y a de son siècle au nostre."<sup>3</sup> The death of Mausolus (or Henri II), his lying in state and funeral procession, and the ceremonies of his temporary entombment are followed by an assembly of the Estates of the Realm; this corresponds to the meeting of the Etats Généraux at Orléans in 1560. Artemisia's young son Lygdamis is then crowned and his education is described. "Lygdamis" was the name of the father of Artemisia I, who did have a son, but Artemisia II, the wife of Mausolus, did not.<sup>4</sup> The French king at this time was Catherine's young son, Charles IX. The building of the Mausoleum is undertaken and compared to the tomb Catherine constructed for Henri II. Mausolus's body is burned and Artemisia drinks the ashes in wine. The inhabitants of Rhodes revolt, but are reconquered by Artemisia; this historic event is compared to Catherine's victories in the civil wars of her era. The illustrated version of Houel's

manuscript concludes with Artemisia's triumphal entry into Halicarnassus, but the unillustrated text adds an account of Artemisia's assistance to Xerxes.<sup>5</sup> The basic subject, the regency of a widowed queen for her young son, was as appropriate to Marie de' Medici and Louis XIII or to Anne of Austria and Louis XIV as to Catherine; the series was, in fact, woven until the mid-seventeenth century.

The subject of 42 is meaningless without the left half of the design and the sonnet that describes the scene (figs. 23, 24). It is taken from Vitruvius, who says that Artemisia "put up in the city of Rhodes a trophy of her victory, including two bronze statues, one representing the state of the Rhodians, the other herself. Herself she fashioned in the act of branding the state of the Rhodians."<sup>6</sup> Houel's sonnet (fig. 24) tells basically the same story. His prose account reads: "Et pour perpetuer d'avantage sa memoire, fit faire pour son trophée en la maitresse place de la ville, deux statues de bronze, dont l'une estoit de la royne, qui tenoit un fer de chaud dont elle marquoit le front de l'autre statue, qui representoit la ville de Rhodes: Le tout pose, sur deux peidz destail, ou estoit insculpé en facon de basse taille, la victoire qu'elle avoit abentue a l'encontre des rhodiens."<sup>7</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

As well as his prose life of Artemisia, Houel compiled a series of sonnets illustrated with drawings recording the same events. The sonnets were written on the backs of the drawings, each referring to the drawing on the following page. They were, according to a contemporary, La Croix du Maine, "composées par les plus excellents poètes de notre temps";<sup>8</sup> the drawings are described on the title page of the book as "faictes par les plus excellens peintres tant de l'Italie que de la France. De l'invention de Nicolas Houel, Parisien."<sup>9</sup> Houel intended the drawings to be used as models for tapestries; he says at the beginning of his dedication of the book to the queen, "Seulement ma deliberation estoit de dresser un dessein de peinture qui se montrast brave en tapisserie, & qui peut servir de patron à beaucoup d'ouvriers, avec un peu d'écriture pour en donner plus claire intelligence." In the prose work he says that he had been told she enjoyed histories, "specialement quand elles estoient mises en bonne peinture, sculpture, borderye ou tapisserie." After the queen had visited him

and seen some of his work, he was encouraged to complete it, so that she should have, he tells her, “une chose rare & exquise, & dont vous pourrez commander de faire de belles & riches peintures a [et] tapisseries, pour l’ornement de voz maisons & superbes aedifices.”<sup>10</sup> The drawings with the sonnets on their backs are in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre. Later, five drawings without sonnets were added to the compilation; they are all for figures in the funeral procession.<sup>11</sup> There are also six tapestries, including the important coronation scene, for which neither drawings nor sonnets have been found.<sup>12</sup>

By combining drawings, sonnets, and tapestries, a total of seventy-four subjects has been published.<sup>13</sup> This includes five sonnets with no drawings; five early drawings

with no sonnets; twenty-three sonnets and drawings of which no tapestries are known; eight early drawings with known tapestries, but no sonnets; six sonnets with known tapestries, but no drawings; and eighteen subjects for which there are sonnets, early drawings, and tapestries. To these must be added the later drawings and their tapestries and the tapestries with neither sonnets nor drawings.

Most of the earlier sixteenth-century drawings are attributed to Antoine Caron;<sup>14</sup> Giulio Camillo dell’Abate, Niccolò dell’Abate, Baptiste Pellerin, and Etienne Delaune have also been mentioned.<sup>15</sup> The later drawings are given to Henri Lerambert;<sup>16</sup> Felibien says that “Il fit en 1600 des desseins pour l’Histoire de Coriolan & pour celle d’Artémise.”<sup>17</sup> This may mean that Lerambert also made



FIG. 23. *The Two Statues*, attributed to Antoine Caron. Drawing. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

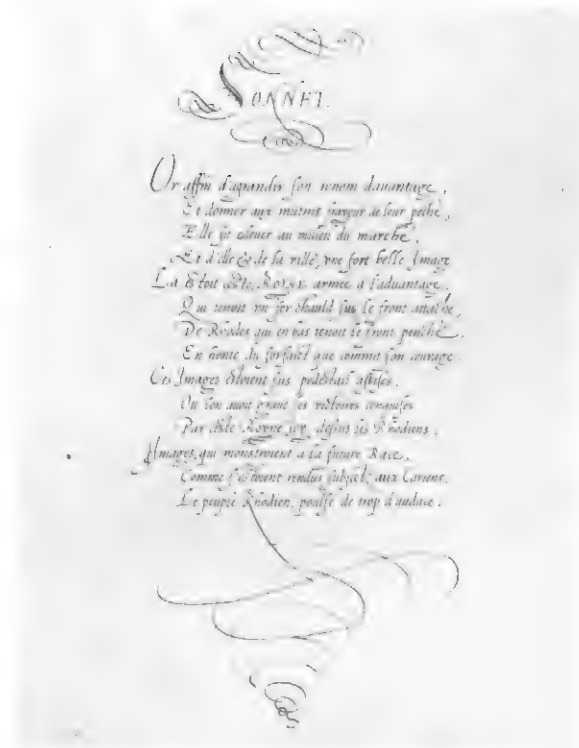


FIG. 24. *Sonnet*, by Nicolas Houel. Manuscript poem. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

some full-scale cartoons after the early drawings,<sup>18</sup> but a contract of October 1, 1607, between Laurent Guyot and representatives of the king obligated this artist to make “grands patrons” of the Artemisia drawings by Caron “représentant les exercices qu’elle faisait apprendre au roi son fils, pendant son veuvage,” for use by the Flemish weavers then working for the king, i.e., François de La Planche and Marc de Comans.<sup>19</sup> Of the twelve designs showing the young king learning languages, sciences, art, riding, fencing, military exercises, swimming, combat, deer hunting, and boar hunting, seven are known to have been woven,<sup>20</sup> presumably from cartoons by Guyot.

The drawing for the *Two Statues* is among those attributed to Caron.<sup>21</sup> There is no evidence to determine if the full-scale cartoon for the tapestry was made by Lerambert, Guyot, or another artist. The drawing (fig. 23) was fairly closely followed, except that the distant landscape was simplified; its extreme Mannerist characteristics, such as the tiny heads and long, thin bodies, have been replaced by more normal proportions.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

No sixteenth-century sets of the series are known, though documents of 1601 and 1606 mention a *Histoire d’Artémise* that the weaver Maurice Dubout was making for the king.<sup>22</sup> Marc de Comans and François de La Planche became partners in 1601, though they did not receive their *lettres patentes* until 1607. In 1610 they received a payment from the Spanish ambassador for four pieces of the “histoire de Hartémise.”<sup>23</sup> As 42 has de La Planche’s mark, it was probably made after 1606 and certainly before his death in 1627; the inventory then taken of his property includes eight sets and a single piece of *Artemisia* in storage or on his looms, a total of seventy-eight tapestries.<sup>24</sup> The *Heralds on Horseback* of the set with the same border shows a crowned L on a banner,<sup>25</sup> indicating that it was made after the accession of Louis XIII in 1610, but it is not certain that 42 belongs to the same set.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A set of six tapestries in the Mobilier National, Paris, has the same border and marks as 42; its height, 3.82 meters to 4.03 meters, is also comparable.<sup>26</sup> Nothing is

known of its early history, and, since it does not include the *Two Statues*, 42 may belong to this set. Another tapestry with the same border, a *Grievances of the People*, was sold at the American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, February 13, 1932 (no. 412, illus.), but it is only 10 feet, 8 inches high and so cannot have been part of the same set as 42.

Another example of the right side of the *Two Statues* is at Eastnor Castle in a set of five pieces, owned by Major and the Honorable Mrs. Benjamin Hervey-Bathurst;<sup>27</sup> it shows more of the scene on the left, including the shield on the step at the foot of the statues.

A presumably similar piece was number 5 in a set of twenty-one tapestries with gold thread listed in de La Planche’s 1627 inventory as in storage; it is described as “Arthémise l’espée au costé.”<sup>28</sup> Another, also with gold thread, was in the royal inventory of 1792 as at Fontainebleau and described as “la Princesse, avec un casque à la tête et un coutelas au côté, qui suit son fils qui monte au palais”; it was part of a set of eight mentioned in the 1663 inventory and was burned in 1797.<sup>29</sup>

The left side of the design, showing the two statues, is in a set of seven in the Mobilier National; this set has the marks of Philippe Maecht, who went to England in 1619, and of Hans Tayer, who succeeded him as head of the “Gold Workshop” at the Saint-Marcel manufactory.<sup>30</sup> This *Two Statues* includes the round shield lying on a step and the group of soldiers above it that are not visible at the left side of 42. Other versions of both sides are at Naworth Castle, Cumbria, owned by Lord Carlisle.<sup>31</sup> *Statues de bronze*, number 5 in a set of seven, mentioned as on the loom in the 1627 de La Planche inventory, presumably showed the left side of the design.

Other sets include two more of seven pieces each in the Mobilier National;<sup>32</sup> six pieces from one set and two from another in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts;<sup>33</sup> two pieces in the New Orleans Museum of Art from a set of five in the Esther Slater Kerrigan sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, January 8–10, 1942 (nos. 429–33, some illus.);<sup>34</sup> seven pieces in the Bavarian State Collection, the Residenz, Munich;<sup>35</sup> and eight in the Hildesheim Cathedral.<sup>36</sup> Seven narrow pieces with the arms of Savoy are known, four in the Timken Art Gallery, San Diego, two owned by the city of Paris, and one in a private collection in 1964;<sup>37</sup> they are from a set acquired by Duke Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy between 1615 and 1620 of which twelve other pieces have



been published.<sup>38</sup> There is a single piece in the Vatican,<sup>39</sup> two in the Art Institute of Chicago<sup>40</sup> and in the New Orleans Museum of Art, and one in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.<sup>41</sup> Others have appeared in sales or are recorded as in private collections, so that over two hundred tapestries are extant of the forty-three subjects known to have been woven.<sup>42</sup>

The stock of cartoons seems to have been treated as a kind of quarry or store, from which designs could be chosen without regard for meaning or composition; 42 is a good instance of this indifference. The subjects of which the most examples have been identified are the *Philosophers* (from the funeral procession) and the *Grievances of the People*, both with eight recorded tapestries of the design, in whole or part, and the *Heralds on Horseback* (from the calling of the Estates), with seven.

Nine different borders are known, some being employed on more than one set. That used for 42 and the comparable set in the Mobilier National, but with variations in the medallions on the sides, is also found on a late sixteenth-century Brussels tapestry of Charlemagne owned by a Munich dealer in 1923<sup>43</sup> and on two pieces made at Pastrana in Spain.<sup>44</sup> It seems probable that the design originated in Brussels.

## HISTORY

Probably in the E . . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 18, 1909, no. 60, described as: "La reine entourée de guerriers portant des dépouilles et des étendards; fond de monuments. Bordure à Mascarons, enroulements et feuilles d'acanthé, avec cartouches à figures mythologiques. Marque de Paris et marque d'atelier."

Bequeathed to the MMA by Lindo J. Johnson, 1975.

## PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 211. Subject of piece in E . . . sale identified; the figure in the lower border medallion is called Neptune.

MMA Annual Report 1975-1976, p. 66. Listed, as *Artemisia and Her Son*.

Jarry, Madeleine. "Parisian Workshops of the Seventeenth Century." In *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, p. 175. Mentioned.

## NOTES

1. Ulrika von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron. Studien zu seiner "Histoire d'Arthemise,"* Ph.D. diss., Ruprecht-Karl-Universität, Heidelberg (Staufen, 1976) pp. 198-269 (all portions of prose text related to drawings and tapestries from original in Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Manuscrits, MS fr. 306). Houel includes a list of the authors from whom he had taken the story, from Aristotle to Xenophon.
2. De Witt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* (Chapel Hill, 1955) pp. 143. The authors describe a similar confusion in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*.
3. From Houel's dedication of the illustrations and poems section of his work to Catherine, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Ad. 105 Rés. (von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 273).
4. Herodotus, bk. 7, chap. 99; Karl Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923) vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 142-43.
5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 111.
6. Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hickey Morgan (1914; reprint, New York, 1960) bk. 2, chap. 8, par. 15.
7. Von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 262.
8. Jules Guiffrey, "Nicolas Houel, apothicaire parisien, fondateur de la Maison de la Charité chrétienne et premier auteur de la tenture d'Artemise," *Memoires de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 25 (1898) p. 185.
9. Von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 138.
10. The complete dedication is given in von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, pp. 271-74. In the prose work, Houel wrote that he had collected "Cartons en peinture de blanc, et de noir, qui sont de mon invention, et elaborez de la main des mellieurs ouvriers du monde: Avecq lexeptions d'un sonnet a chacune histoire. . . ." Here also he says that the ancient emperors and monarchs recorded historical events "en tableaux, en medailles, et quelquefois en riches tapisseries," and that, from the drawings he was presenting, the queen "pourrez faire voyr de riches tapisseries, pour l'ornement de vos maisons des Tuilleries, et St. Maur, ou vous recepvrez aultant dhonneur, que de contentement" (von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, pp. 204, 207).
11. Von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 136.
12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 131 (no. 8), 133 (no. 10), 143 (no. 20), 168 (no. 43). To these must be added a tapestry at Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire (A. F. Kendrick, "Tapestries at Eastnor—I," *Burlington Magazine* 28 [1915-16] p. 24, illus.); it shows a man with a baton directing two young men with ewers in front of a sixteenth-century palace, perhaps Fontainebleau. A tapestry of the series in the 1792 French royal inventory, burned in 1797, was described as "un maître d'hôtel suivi de deux officiers qui portent chacun un vase" (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 205); this would seem to be the same design as the Eastnor piece. Possibly it is part of the *Funeral Banquet*, for which there is a sonnet, but no drawing or tapestry, or an addition to the *Feast* (Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 62). Another tapestry with no drawing or sonnet is in the Royal Palace, Turin (Umberto Chierici, *Torino, il Palazzo Reale* [Turin, 1969] pl. 44); it shows soldiers carrying trophies, one with a dolphin, and is part of the funeral procession. It is from the set acquired by Duke Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy.
13. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 114-19.

14. *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1972) nos. 36, 41, 467–81; von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 134, gives forty-three drawings to him.
15. Sylvie Béguin, "La suite d'Artémise," *L'Oeil*, no. 38 (February 1958) pp. 35–36; von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, pp. 134–36, distinguishes nine hands besides Caron.
16. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, no. 127 (mentioning seven drawings), p. 357 (mentioning six drawings); von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 136 (listing five drawings).
17. André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres anciens et modernes* (first published 1666–85; London, 1705) p. 254; *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie parisienne 1597–1662*, exh. cat., Orangerie de Versailles (Versailles, 1967) p. 21.
18. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 110. In the royal inventory of 1663, all the sets with gold are called "dessein de Lerambert," all those without, "dessein de Caron" (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 200).
19. Jean Ehrmann, "Quatre pièces notariales sur Antoine Caron et sur les tapisseries de la suite d'Artémise," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1968 (1970) pp. 2, 3, 6.
20. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 171–82.
21. Von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron*, p. 134.
22. *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie parisienne*, p. 16.
23. *Ecole de Fontainebleau*, pp. 357, 359.
24. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 200.
25. *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie parisienne*, no. 8, illus.
26. Mobilier National inv. nos. 13.1–6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 209, pl. facing p. 160 (Coronation); *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie parisienne*, nos. 7, 8, 9, illus. (*Grievances of the People*, with different figures in the horizontal border medallions, *Heralds on Horseback*, and the *Presentation of the Book and the Sword*); Madeleine Jarry, "Tapisseries inédites de la tenture d'Artémise," *L'Oeil*, no. 220 (November 1973) p. 6, fig. 2 (*The Queen's Representatives [les Placets]*, left side only).
27. Alistair Rowan, "Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire—III: The Home of Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. B. A. F. Hervey-Bathurst," *Country Life* 143 (March 21, 1968) p. 671, fig. 8 (seen on wall of library).
28. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 200.
29. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 203.
30. Mobilier National inv. nos. 1946.1–7 (previously numbered 1399.1–7). Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 205.
31. Leonard Willoughby, "Some Famous English Halls," *Connoisseur* 28 (1910) p. 246 (both pieces seen on wall of hall at Naworth Castle).
32. Mobilier National inv. nos. 11.1–7 and 12.1–7. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 205, 207.
33. Given to Cardinal Francesco Barberini by Louis XIII in 1625 ("Artemisia Tapestries from the Barberini-Ffoulke Collection Acquired by Art Institute," *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 37 [1948] pp. 118–32).
34. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 211, as sold by Muller in Amsterdam, 1910; Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 67. Said to be from the same set as the pieces at Eastnor Castle.
35. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 67; vol. 2, pl. 34.
36. V. Curt Habich, "Die Gobelins im Rittersaale des Domes zu Hildesheim," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 10 (1917) pp. 275–80, all illus.
37. Jean Ehrmann, "Antoine Caron: tapisserie et tableau inédits dans la série de la reine Artémise," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1964 (1965) p. 28, illus.
38. Mercedes Viale and Vittorio Viale, *Arazzi e tappeti antichi* (Turin, 1952) pp. 93–97, pls. 82–84. The *Captain on Horseback* of this set is in the National Museum of Fine Arts, Buenos Aires.
39. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 35.
40. Jarry, "Tapisseries inédites," fig. 3, 4.
41. Pierre Quarré, "Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, nouvelles acquisitions," *Revue du Louvre*, 1964, p. 250, fig. 3.
42. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 65.
43. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 443; vol. 2, pl. 82.
44. "La Chronique des arts," supplement to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 79 (February 1972) p. 53, no. 181; Mercedes Ferrero Viale, "Quelques nouvelles données sur les tapisseries de l'Isola Bella," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th ser., 45 (1973) p. 111, fig. 16. The Pastrana piece with the arms of Cardinal Diego de Guzman in the Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels, is signed by the Flemish weaver Francisco Tons and dated 1622 (Guy Delmarcel, *Tapisseries: 2. Renaissance et Maniérisme*, Guide du visiteur, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire [Brussels, 1979] pp. 11, 12).

## 43 The Combat of Manricardo and Zerbino

From a set illustrating Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*

French (Paris); designed and woven about 1630–50, probably in the manufactory of Raphaël de La Planche (fl. 1629–1661) in the Faubourg Saint-Germain-des-Près, rue de la Chaise.

Wool and silk.

9 ft. 11 in. x 12 ft. 9 in. (3.02 m x 3.89 m).

16–18 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Gift of Estate of Mrs. A. Exton, 1970 (1970.316).

### DESCRIPTION

Manricardo wears a yellow crown over his blue, yellow, and brown helmet with brown, pale tan, and pale dull red plumes. He has blue armor ornamented in dull yellow and brown, a yellow-brown scarf, and a tan skirt. The inside of his shield is dark blue, with a dull red handgrip. His leg coverings are blue and his boot brown with a yellow spur. He holds Orlando's sword, Durindana, which is blue and brown with a yellow and red-brown hilt. He is mounted on a dark brown and gray horse with a pale yellow mane; its harness is gray, pale yellow, pale pink, and blue, with a brown and yellow stirrup. Its shoes are blue. Zerbino is in blue and yellow-brown armor, with pale yellow and red plumes on his helmet, a yellow-gray scarf with a red and yellow fringe, and a blue stirrup; he rides a dark brown and gray horse, which foams at the mouth. Doralice grasps its blue bridle. She is wearing a dull pale yellow and brown dress over dull blue sleeves, a pale blue-green petticoat with dull red stripes at the hem, and red-brown slippers. On the right is Fiordiligi; she wears a yellow-brown scarf with blue stripes tied into her hair, a pale yellow and gray bodice, a dull pale red and yellow skirt and petticoat, and gray slippers with blue bows. She holds Orlando's brown horse, Brigliadoro, by its blue and gray reins. On the pine tree in the background is hung Orlando's armor, a blue gauntlet, a blue helmet lined with brown and dull red, topped with a dragon and ornamented with pale yellow, brown, and dull red plumes, blue and yellow body armor with a yellow scarf over the breastplate, the skirt trimmed with yellow and dull red, and a blue and dull yellow shield. A large tree with a dark brown and green trunk and green, brown, and pale yellow leaves is seen on

the left, and a grove in the same colors on the right. The sky is dark blue-gray, with gray and pale yellow clouds. Trees and fields are seen in the distance, with a small house, in shades of pale yellow and green. There are dark green, brown, and pale yellow plants in the foreground, one a rosebush with dark dull red flowers. There is a small dark brown dog with a pale yellow chest and a dark blue and red collar near Fiordiligi. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, green, and pale yellow.

The inner border is three dimensional, as if lit from the upper left. It has dark brown or gray, red-brown, and dull blue stripes, with a decorated band in dull dark yellow, brown, and blue-gray. The main border has a dark brown ground, with medallions showing trees in landscapes in shades of green, gray, and pale yellow in the center of each side. The corners have bunches of green leaves and dull yellow, red, and gray flowers. These and the landscapes are framed by three-dimensional pale blue, gray, dull pale yellow, and dull red scrolls. The scrolls are tied to swags of dull red, green, yellow, and blue leaves and flowers, with dull pale yellow ribbons, in the horizontal borders and support bunches of similar flowers in the vertical borders. The guards, preserved only on the sides, are dark blue.

### CONDITION

There are a few small areas of repair, especially in the borders.

### SUBJECT

The incident is described in canto 24 of *Orlando Furioso*. Orlando, driven mad because Angelica was false to him, threw away his arms and armor. These were found by Zerbino, son of the king of Scotland, traveling with his love, Isabella; he hung them on a pine tree. Manricardo, King of Tartary, with his love, Doralice, came upon them and took the sword. Meanwhile Fiordiligi, looking for her lover, Brandimart, arrived and recognized Orlando's armor and his horse, Brigliadoro. Zerbino, infuriated by Manricardo's appropriation of the sword, attacked him,

but got the worse of the battle until Isabella begged Doralice to stop the fighting.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

No related paintings, drawings, or prints have been located. Claude Vignon (1593–1670) has been suggested as the possible designer.<sup>1</sup> Tapestries from a set illustrating *Ariane* by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin are known;<sup>2</sup> they are copied from the plates engraved by Abraham Bosse after Vignon for the 1639 edition of the book.<sup>3</sup> They are certainly from the same manufactory as 43 and the designs for the *Orlando Furioso* series could be by the same hand. A painting of 1651 by Vignon, formerly in the Château of Thorigny-sur-Vire, showing a thirteenth-century battle between Bretons and Turks, includes a knight in medieval armor very similar to Manricardo in 43.<sup>4</sup> A horse in one of the illustrations engraved by Bosse in 1656 for the *Pucelle d'Orléans* by Jean Chapelain is like the one ridden by Zerbino in 43; these prints were copied in tapestry at Aubusson.<sup>5</sup> Vignon is not known to have illustrated Ariosto, though a Tasso subject appears in the inventory of his possessions made after the death of his first wife in 1643.<sup>6</sup>

The designer took some care to represent the armor suitably. Orlando's helmet is classical, but his body armor is of late fifteenth-century type. Manricardo wears what is basically seventeenth-century armor, though his helmet is a combination of classical and sixteenth-century elements. Zerbino's armor is more uniformly characteristic of the late sixteenth century, including the design on the arm covering.<sup>7</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Paris as the place of manufacture and a date in the second quarter of the seventeenth century are indicated by the style of the central subject and the border. An almost identical tapestry formerly in a Swiss collection has the Paris mark and a weaver's initial B; this has been interpreted as the initial of Pierre Brimard,<sup>8</sup> who was a master weaver with nine looms at the Saint-Marcel manufactory (later to become the Gobelins) in 1627, when the enterprise was still under the joint control of Marc de Comans and Raphaël de La Planche.<sup>9</sup> But the resemblance between the *Orlando Furioso* tapestries and the *Ariane* series,

which is after 1639, suggests that the former were also woven after the partners separated in 1633. In the 1661 inventory of Raphaël de La Planche, four cartoons in tempera on paper of the *Histoire de Roland* are mentioned; these were in the rival workshop in the rue de la Chaise of the Faubourg Saint-Germain.<sup>10</sup> Here also there were weavers whose names began with B, viz. Nicolas André and Giles Beaufaict, mentioned in 1635 and 1640; Jean Boulanger, an apprentice in 1644; Henry Boucher, a Flemish weaver, and his son Martin, the latter an apprentice in 1645.<sup>11</sup>

A tragicomedy, *Roland Furieux*, by Jean Mairet, was published in 1640, having been performed in 1635.<sup>12</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The almost identical tapestry in a Swiss collection in 1946 differs only in that it is somewhat higher, shows varied trees in the border medallions, and has all its original guards. A piece from the same set showing the *Madness of Roland* was in the same collection,<sup>13</sup> and a tapestry of the *Flight of Angelica*, with a different border, but apparently from the same series, was in the Lou Kiani collection, Beaulieu-sur-Mer.<sup>14</sup> The series was probably woven at least three times.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1970–1971*, p. 23. Listed as *Scene from a Romance*, about 1627.

*MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975*. New York, 1975, p. 265, illus.

#### NOTES

1. Juliette Niclausse, "Notes sur quelques tapisseries françaises conservées en Suisse," *Hyphé* 1 (1946) p. 226. This opinion is shared by Paola Pacht Bassani, who has written (in a private communication) that the tapestries have "l'atmosphère très précieuse, qui s'adapte parfaitement à Vignon."
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 367, illus.; Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 65 (dated c. 1645); Madeleine Jarry, "A Note on Two Series of Tapestries Woven in Parisian Workshops in the Seventeenth Century," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970) p. 813, figs. 36, 37. One has the DP monogram of de La Planche.
3. Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes (Paris, 1939) vol. 1, p. 505.
4. Claude Grégoire-Bernard, "Les Vignons et la Galerie de Thorigny-sur-Vire," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 56 (1960) p. 64, fig. 7.
5. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 250.



6. Georges Wildenstein, "Deux inventaires de l'atelier de Claude Vignon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 49 (1957) p. 190. Though listed among the paintings by Vignon, it is described as a copy.
7. Information from Dr. Helmut Nickel.
8. Niclausse, "Notes," pp. 223, 224, 226, illus.; Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 2 of reproductions of weavers' marks.
9. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 47.

10. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 61.
11. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 21, n. 1.
12. Alexandre Cioranescu, *L'Arioste en France des origines à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1939) vol. 1, p. 339.
13. Niclausse, "Notes," p. 223, illus. p. 224.
14. Sold, 1933. Cioranescu, *L'Arioste*, vol. 1, pl. 6.



## 44 Diana and Her Nymphs

From a set of four or more  
(probably six) mythological scenes

French (Paris); designed by Laurent de La Hire (1606–1656),  
1644, and woven probably in the workshop of Hippolyte de  
Comans (fl. 1651–1665) in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, be-  
fore 1662.

Wool, silk, and silver-gilt thread.

11 ft. 4 in. x 18 ft. 1 in. (3.45 m x 5.51 m).

22–23 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.44.3).

### DESCRIPTION

Diana, nude except for loose blue and dull yellow draperies, is seated on a yellow-gray rock with her left foot in the blue water. A nude nymph standing in the water supports Diana's dripping right foot and another, behind, raises a pale yellow cloth. To the right, a black, brown, gray, and tan dog sits on a pile of red, blue, gray, and brown draperies, with a dull yellow quiver half-hidden under them, and the bodies of three brown and gray ducks with blue heads and a brown hare alongside. Two nymphs are seen in the background, a standing one in pale yellow and pale dull red carrying a stick with an animal body slung from it, and a seated one in pale yellow and pink holding a bow. On the left, on the other side of the water, are two seated nymphs, one nude, the other dressed in blue and pale yellow; a third, reclining, wears dull pale yellow. Behind on the right is a ruined temple in shades of gray, pale yellow, and brown, with much pale yellow and dull green foliage, and the brown and gray trunks of two tall trees. The sky is yellow-gray in the center, pale brown at the right behind the temple, with a wide landscape of trees and meadows in pale tones of gray, yellow, and green below it. Three nymphs and a dog are visible in the distance. The water is fringed with green and yellow rushes and falls over a ledge in the foreground amid large brown and gray rocks. A pale brown and gray tree trunk with a green vine is seen on the far right and a brown stump on the far left. The forest above the latter is in shades of yellow, green, and brown.

The inner border has a pale yellow-gray ground and is filled with flowers and leaves in green, red, pink, yellow,



and blue, framed by a brown and gray band. The main border has four corner medallions, encircled by floral wreaths in red, blue, yellow, and green which cast heavy shadows, mainly very dark blue, to the right. The centers of the medallions are yellow-blue and show a phoenix (upper left), bird of paradise (upper right), dolphin (lower





left), and lion (lower right) in yellow and gray grisaille. The ground of the main borders is pale blue; the figures in red-brown and dull yellow are partly outlined in dark blue, as if they were sculptured reliefs, lit from the upper left.

The horizontal borders have central cartouches with

yellow grounds; the figures in them are blue and yellow, with the shadow lines in pale red-brown. The upper one shows Venus and Cupid, the lower, a flying winged male figure with a sickle, presumably Saturn. On the left in the upper border is Apollo in his chariot, receiving a whip from Jupiter astride an eagle; the chariot is preceded by a



FIG. 25. *Diana and Her Nymphs*, by Laurent de La Hire. Oil on canvas. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (71.PA.41).

flying putto and a woman pouring water from a jar. Behind Jupiter are two winged figures. To the right of the central cartouche is Juno in a chariot drawn by peacocks, accompanied by a flying putto. Two winged women and another putto precede her, and she is followed by a putto and a kneeling woman pouring water from a jar. Clouds form a base to all the groups. On the lower border, to the left, Venus and Cupid are seated on a shell, with a sea-god behind it, drawn by two dolphins. A putto holds the reins. A figure rising from the water blowing a conch follows

them and a group of two figures and two putti precedes them, with a flying putto above. On the right of the cartouche is Bacchus in a chariot drawn by two leopards; one putto rides a leopard, another tugs at the reins. The drunken Bacchus is supported by a satyr behind the chariot and is followed by a small faun carrying a log and a man with swirling drapery. In front of the chariot is a man kneeling at an altar, with a large vessel in front of him; on the left of the altar are three small figures with a goat.

The side borders have each a central cartouche like those in the horizontal borders, showing, on the left, Ceres with a sickle and, on the right, Bacchus with a goat. Two smaller cartouches in curved gray frames on each side



contain a ram (March) and a crab (June) on the left and a pair of scales (September) and a goat (December) on the right. The spaces between the cartouches are filled with groups of figures, all different. Those on the left are two putti decorating a herm, three worshiping Cupid, two with a sheaf of grain, and three with drapery and ribbons; on the right are two putti holding the drunken Bacchus, two pouring liquid into jars, two with a pair of dogs, and two beside a flaming altar. The guards are replacements.

Metal thread is very sparingly used, except on Diana's drapery and the cloths under the dog.

#### CONDITION

The colors, except for the blues and blacks, are considerably faded. The silk sections are largely repaired, especially in the sky, the landscape, the robes, the dog, and the foreground rocks. There are many other small areas of repair throughout and some bare warps in dark passages, such as tree trunks and rocks.

#### SUBJECT

The five other known subjects of the tapestries of the series do not appear to have a program. No specific event in the story of Diana is seen in 44. The other tapestries show Narcissus admiring his reflection in a pool, Meleager conversing with Atalanta, Cephalus receiving the spear and hound from Procris, Europa mounting the bull, and Glaucus conversing with Scylla before her metamorphosis.

The signs of the zodiac on the side borders refer to the four seasons. The medallion figures and the classical processions probably represent the elements, namely, the phoenix and Apollo for fire, the bird of paradise and Juno for air, the dolphin and Venus for water, and the lion and Bacchus for earth.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by La Hire from which the design is taken is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (fig. 25). It is narrower and higher, not extending beyond the column on the right, but showing more of the ruined temple and of the trees and sky above. It is signed and dated 1644.<sup>1</sup>

The painting for *Narcissus* was sold at Christie's, London, July 19, 1929 (no. 111, illus., attributed to R. Lefevre). That for the *Rape of Europa*, signed and dated 1644, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston;<sup>2</sup> a preliminary drawing, with a considerably different composition, is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. A drawing for *Cephalus and Procris*, very close to the tapestry, is in the Metropolitan Museum. A drawing for *Atalanta and Meleager* has been reported.<sup>3</sup> The painting for *Glaucus and Scylla* is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.<sup>4</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The initials HC found on two tapestries of the series can be assumed to be those of Hippolyte de Comans. The CC of the *Narcissus* formerly in the Fenaille collection has been assumed to stand for Charles Comans, his brother.<sup>5</sup> But Charles died in 1634 and, as two paintings for the series are dated 1644, it seems impossible that he could have woven any tapestries of the series. It is unlikely that any pieces of the series were woven after the establishment of the Gobelins in 1662.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A *Glaucus and Scylla* from the same set as 44 was in the David Benguiat sale, American Art Association, New York, April 11, 1924 (no. 456, illus.), and in the V. and L. Benguiat sale at the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, November 30, 1929 (no. 49, illus.);<sup>6</sup> as it is narrower, the horizontal borders omit some of the figures in the processions. A *Rape of Europa* and an *Atalanta and Meleager* with the same borders are in the collection of the prince de Mérode, Château de Rixensart, Belgium.<sup>7</sup>

Nine different borders have been identified, indicating at least as many sets. The six tapestries, "fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, représentant partie des Amours des Dieux, dessin de la Hyre," owned by Louis XIV,<sup>8</sup> were probably a set of this series; the description of the borders does not correspond with those of any of the identified pieces. All the subjects except *Cephalus and Procris* are included in the set owned by the comte de La Panouse, Château de Thoiry; the *Rape of Europa* and *Diana and Her Nymphs* have the mark of Hippolyte de Comans. The latter is wider than 44, showing red drapery hung on the trees on the right, with a bow and dead game below. Two

*entrefenêtres*, of which only one is now extant, have been listed as part of this set, but probably do not belong to it.<sup>9</sup> A set of five pieces in the Mobilier National (formerly in the Brosselin collection, sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 14, 1944, no. 67, three illus.) includes all the subjects except *Diana and Her Nymphs*;<sup>10</sup> this subject in this set is probably the piece sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 31, 1950 (no. 134, illus.), now in a private collection in Paris.<sup>11</sup> It is shorter than 44, showing less sky, but is extended on the right, with the drapery hanging over the trees. Three pieces from another set, *Diana and Her Nymphs*, *Narcissus* (both with the initials HC), and *Glaucus and Scylla*, were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, April 6, 1908 (nos. 71–73, no. 71 illus.); Diana wears an ornamented vest and the nymphs are much more draped. Three pieces, the *Rape of Europa*, *Glaucus and Scylla*, and *Diana*, were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, June 15, 1964 (no. 157, illus.); the compositions are considerably altered, especially the *Diana*, which has been transformed into a narrow upright, with two nymphs only, both tending Diana, a cupid behind her, and a satyr and a seated dog on the far left.

A single piece of *Diana* was in the Simon Rosenau sale, Hôtel Drouot, May 15–17, 1922 (no. 399, illus.), and was sold again at Parke-Bernet, New York, April 11, 12, 1947 (no. 433, illus.). It is probably identical with an example owned by the dealer Schutz in 1902;<sup>12</sup> the group of nymphs on the left is omitted.

Other examples of *Narcissus* are in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, and a private collection in Paris; the latter, formerly owned by Maurice Fenaille, has the initials CC. *Cephalus and Procris* is also in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. An *Atalanta and Meleager*, with a red curtain in the upper right corner, was in the Fannie Brown sale, Parke-Bernet, April 21, 1962 (no. 179, illus.), and another in the Viscount Leverhulme sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, February 9–13, 1926 (no. 378, illus.). Another, rather crude, version of *Glaucus and Scylla* was in the David Benguiat sale, American Art Association, New York, April 10–12, 1924 (no. 244, illus.); another example of this with a different border was in the Amberley Castle sale, Sotheby's, September 30, 1981 (no. 81, illus.).

#### HISTORY

L. de M... sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 16–19, 1919, no. 384, illus. Purchased by Jacques Seligmann. Purchased from Seligmann, 1920, for the MMA through the Rogers Fund.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- J. B. [Joseph Breck]. "Recent Accessions of Decorative Arts: Part I. Near Eastern Art and European Textiles." *MMA Bulletin* 15 (1920) pp. 201, 202, illus. p. 197. Called Paris, 1600–33, from the *Diana* series after Toussaint Dubreuil.
- Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 351. Mentioned; series, sets, and weavers identified; designer said to be not Simon Vouet, but an artist under the influence of Raphael and Giulio Romano.
- Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 143, 144, pl. IX, ca. Said not to be part of the Dubreuil *Diana* series, but probably designed by Nicolas Poussin.
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 94; vol. 2, pl. 61. Considered part of the *Loves of the Gods* series, mostly after Vouet, of which a set was owned by Cardinal Mazarin; borders said to be typical of Hippolyte de Comans.
- Boccara, Dario. *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie*. Zug, 1971, p. 134. Mentioned.
- Standen, Edith A. "Mythological Scenes: A Tapestry Series after Laurent de La Hire." *Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Bulletin*, n.s. 4 (1973) pp. 10–20, fig. 2. All known tapestries, paintings, and drawings discussed; the composition of 44 said to represent a change in taste.
- Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: IV. Baroque and *Régence*." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 30, 32, pl. III (color).

#### NOTES

1. *The J. Paul Getty Collection*, exh. cat., Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, 1972) no. 34, illus.
2. J. L. S. [Schrader], "Recent Acquisitions: A Seventeenth Century Grand Sujet Mythologique," *Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Bulletin* 1 (1970) pp. 30, 31, illus. (cover). It had been sold at the Palais Galliera, April 3, 1968, no. 209, illus.
3. Information from Pierre Rosenberg.
4. Burton B. Fredericksen, "Recent Acquisitions of Paintings: The J. Paul Getty Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985) pp. 265, 266, fig. 105.
5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 351.
6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 351, illus. as in a private collection. It was presumably no. 385 in the L. de M... sale, Paris, 1919, where a tapestry of the same dimensions is described as a mythological scene with borders resembling those of no. 384 [44].
7. Standen, "Mythological Scenes," fig. 8 (*Europa*).
8. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1885–86) vol. 1, p. 299, no. 31.
9. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 351. Information on this set has been provided by Henry Sorensen.
10. *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie parisienne 1597–1662*, exh. cat., Orangerie de Versailles (Versailles, 1967) nos. 40–43; Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, pp. 349, 350.
11. Boccara, *Belles Heures*, p. 134, illus.
12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 1, p. 351. It was not included in the sale of the Schutz collection, Hôtel Drouot, May 20, 1932, but no. 85 in this sale was a *Meleager and Atalanta* that, though a different composition, can also be associated with Laurent de La Hire (Standen, "Mythological Scenes," p. 16).

# FRANCE

## The Gobelins

LOUIS XIV's great minister, Colbert, established the Gobelins manufactory in Paris in 1662, and the tapestries produced in its early years were almost all designed by Colbert's protégé, Charles Le Brun. Two portieres after this artist formerly owned by the Metropolitan Museum were stolen in 1982 and are not included in this catalogue.

When Colbert fell from favor, the Gobelins manufactory had to find other tapestry designs. The two panels of the *Mythological Subjects after Raphael* (45) and four from a similar set after Giulio Romano (46) date from this period, the late seventeenth century; the compositions are derived from drawings owned by Louis XIV, then thought to be by Raphael and Giulio Romano, and the cartoons were painted by François Bonnemer, Pierre de Sève the Younger, Pierre Antoine Houasse, Bon Boulogne, Charles François Poerson, and Pierre Monier. The workshop heads were Jean Lefebvre the Elder and Jean Jans the Younger. Another expedient was to copy old tapestries; the two from a set of twelve of the *Hunts of Maximilian* (47) are versions of sixteenth-century Brussels tapestries designed by Bernaert van Orley. This procedure was also cheaper than purchasing new paintings, and toward the end of the century circumstances forced the king to spend less on all his manufactures. A series of mythological scenes with small figures, one of which is *Diana and Actaeon* (48), was originated by the weavers for private sale instead of being made solely for the king; Jean Jans the Younger put his name on this piece.

Copying old tapestries continued into the eighteenth century. The three pieces of the so-called *Seasons of Lucas* (49) and the ten of the *Months of Lucas* (50) were taken from sixteenth-century Brussels originals, then thought to have been designed by Lucas van Leyden. The set of the *Months* was made for Louis XIV's bastard son, the comte de Toulouse, between 1732 and 1737; the borders are in the style of this period. Several pieces are signed by the head of the workshop, Michel Audran. His name is also on the *Vintage* (52) from the series of *Daphnis and Chloe* after Etienne Jeaurat of 1741–54, also a private commission, and his shop wove in 1754 the *Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza* (53) with a central scene designed by Charles Antoine Coypel. This tapestry is from a Don Quixote set; it was reduced in width and given by Louis XV to a Russian statesman, Count Vorontsov. Another workshop head, Etienne Claude Le Blond put his name on a portiere (51) with

the arms of France and Navarre, one of a set of *Chancelleries* given by the king to his Garde des Sceaux, Germain Louis Chauvelin, about 1730.

The Gobelins weavers frequently produced small tapestries for their own use, to be sold or given to important people. Jean Jacques Jans put his name and the date, 1725, on the *Young Girl Holding a Mask* (54); the design is from a print after Jean Baptiste Santerre. Pierre François Cozette wove the so-called *Spanish Girl* (55) after Alexis Grimou, and in 1769 he or his son Michel Henri made the portrait of François Boucher's daughter (56) after a pastel by the painter himself.

Boucher was appointed artistic director of the Gobelins in 1755. He designed the four scenes from classical mythology of the central medallions in the large hangings that cover three walls of the Croome Court Room (57). But the wealth of flowers, birds, and symbols of love and the hunt in the tapestries that spread over the whole room and its furniture was designed by Maurice Jacques and Louis Tessier, and the gorgeous crimson ground that imitates a silk damask may have been invented by the workshop head, Jacques Neilson. This tapestry room was commissioned by the earl of Coventry and installed in his country house, Croome Court, in 1771.

By the time the *History of France* (60) series was first woven in 1788, the concept of a set of tapestries made to be hung together as a unit was being replaced by the idea of individual pieces, to be looked at one by one like easel pictures. The *Continence of Bayard* after Louis Jean Jacques Durameau and *Sully at the Feet of Henri IV* after Jean Jacques François Le Barbier, woven in the workshop of Pierre François Cozette, reproduce Salon paintings, as does the little panel *Flowers in a Vase and Two Plums* (61) after Anne Vallayer-Coster. The *Portrait of Napoleon I* (62) was made in the workshop of Michel Henri Cozette by eight weavers between 1808 and 1811. It was given by the emperor to his arch-chancellor de Cambacérès and is in its original frame. It is after a painting by François Gérard and is technically a masterpiece; only the fact that it is made of wool, silk, and gilt thread differentiates it from a painted portrait.



## 45 Mythological Subjects after Raphael

Two tapestries from a set of eight

a *Venus in Her Chariot*

b *Venus and Adonis*

French (Paris); designed 1684–86, by François Bonnemer (1638–1689) and Pierre de Sève the Younger (c. 1623–1695), after drawings then attributed to Raphael; woven, 1686–92, in the haute-lisse workshops of Jean Lefebvre the Elder (fl. 1662–1700) and Jean Jans the Younger (c. 1644–1723) at the Gobelins manufactory of Louis XIV.

Wool, silk, and silver thread.

45a 12 ft. 6 in. x 11 ft. 11 in. (3.81 m x 3.63 m);

45b 12 ft. 3 in. x 11 ft. 4 in. (3.73 m x 3.45 m).

45a 23–26 warps per inch, 10–11 per centimeter;

45b 21–24 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.6, 7).

### CONDITION

All borders are missing (see 45c).

### SUBJECT

The series has no iconographical program. The other scenes show, or are called, the *Judgment of Paris*, the *Rape of Helen*, the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*, the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, *Dancers on the Right*, and *Dancers on the Left*. The only reason for the choice of subjects was the availability of drawings attributed to Raphael in the French royal collection.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

All the designs were taken from drawings owned by Louis XIV that were attributed to Raphael in the seventeenth century. In many cases, engravings after Raphael were also used. Colored sketches were first made, probably by Antoine Coypel (1661–1772), and the cartoons were completed by Michel Corneille (1642–1708), François Alexandre Verdier (1651–1730), Antoine Coypel, Louis Boulogne the Younger (1654–1733), and Alexandre

Ubeleski (1649–1718), as well as by Bonnemer and Pierre de Sève.<sup>1</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

Both pieces are probably from the first set of the series, woven by Jean Jans the Younger and Jean Lefebvre between 1686 and 1692.<sup>2</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The series was woven three times for the king. The other pieces of the first set are now in the Château des Rohan, Strasbourg (*Judgment of Paris* and possibly *Dancers on the Right* and *Dancers on the Left*); Marquis Hurault de Vibraye collection, Château de Cheverny, Loir-et-Cher (*Rape of Helen*, border missing); the Mobilier National (*Marriage of Alexander*, formerly in the Palais de Compiègne); the Belgian Royal Collection, Laeken (possibly the *Dancers on the Left*);<sup>3</sup> and the Châteaux of Pau and Rambouillet (half each of the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*). The *Dancers on the Right* from this set may be the piece that was in the Jacques Louis Stern sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 3, 4, 1950 (no. 216, illus.), rather than the one in Strasbourg, and the *Dancers on the Left* in Laeken and in Strasbourg may be from the first or the second weaving.

The second set was woven between 1690 and 1703. Six pieces belong to the Mobilier National; the two *Dancers* may be the Strasbourg examples or the Laeken and Stern pieces.

The third set, woven between 1693 and 1704, is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>4</sup>

An eighteenth-century weaving without metal thread, made for a private purchaser, is represented by a *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* in the Shelswell-White collection, Bantry House, Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

## HISTORY

The series was conceived, together with the *Mythological Subjects after Giulio Romano* (see 46), after the death of Colbert in 1683, to provide designs for the Gobelins weavers that were not made by Le Brun, Colbert's protégé. Payments for the cartoons are recorded from 1684. The cartoons were completed by February 1686, when Colbert's successor, Louvois, inspected them. Payments to weavers began in September of the same year, and the first set of tapestries was finished in September 1692. Between 1699 and 1703, extra tapestry was woven as draperies to cover some of the nude figures. The set was delivered to the Garde Meuble de la Couronne and given the number 117. In 1789, six pieces of the set were at Fontainebleau; inventory notes taken at this time state that the set deserved to be repaired and moved, "à cause de sa beauté et de son fraîcheur," and it was described as "complète, très belle et d'un beau dessin; elle sert aux voyages et Fêtes-Dieu."<sup>6</sup> The two pieces that were not at Fontainebleau in 1789 are the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* and the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*. King Louis Philippe owned what must have been four pieces of this set, including 45a and b, and the *Rape of Helen* and *Dancers on the Right*. They were in his sale at the Domaine de Monceaux, January 28, 1852 (nos. 5, 11);<sup>7</sup> judging from the dimensions, they were already without borders.

*Venus and Adonis* was in the Charles Laurent sale at his house in Paris, June 15–20, 1896 (no. 622, illus.).

Both 45a and b and 46a–d were probably in the collection of E. J. Berwind, "The Elms," Newport, Rhode Island, in 1904. Given to the MMA by Julia A. Berwind, 1953.

## PUBLICATIONS

Ferree, Barr. *American Estates and Gardens*. New York, 1904, p. 75 (46c and d on wall of the upper hall, "The Elms," Newport, R.I.).

MMA *Annual Report* 1953. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 24. Mentioned (45a and b and 46a–d) as six Gobelins tapestries, seventeenth century.

E.A.S. [Edith A. Standen]. "Notes." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 20 (1961–62) p. 287, illus. [46d].

Standen, Edith A. "The Sujets de la Fable Gobelins Tapestry," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) pp. 143–57, figs. 1, 5, 6, 11, 15, 19, 25, 27. Account of series and set and of *Mythological Subjects after Giulio Romano* (46), with identification of related drawings, paintings, and prints.

Hibbard, Howard. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1980, pl. 27, color [46c].

## 45a *Venus in Her Chariot*

### DESCRIPTION

Venus, who has fair hair, a red and blue head scarf, and a pink and pale purple robe with a dull yellow ornamented border and a blue girdle, sits in a dull yellow chariot drawn by a pale blue winged dolphin. She rests her left arm on a piece of blue drapery. The fair-haired Cupid, with a pale yellow loincloth and pale yellow-pink wings, is in her lap. Four fair-haired winged children accompany her. One, seated on a gray cloud in front of the chariot, holds a red bow and has a quiver at his feet; his wings are pale yellow and gray and he wears a yellow scarf with red stripes. One child flying above has yellow wings and lavender drapery; he empties a yellow basket of pink, purple, yellow, and green flowers and leaves. Two children, half-seen behind the chariot, have pale yellow wings; the one closer to Venus has a band of pink, white, and dark green flowers and leaves across his chest.

In the foreground on the right are a reclining river-god and a seated nymph; both hold dull yellow and brown rudders. He has a wreath of dark green leaves tied with a red ribbon, and over his legs blue drapery with a yellow pattern; he rests his right arm on a yellow and red-brown urn from which pours blue and white water. The fair-haired nymph has a pale blue dress with a red band over her right shoulder; her richly ornamented robe is yellow, red, and silver. She rests her left elbow on a brown urn. The sky is pale blue above, pale yellow below, with yellow-gray clouds. A distant landscape in shades of pale blue, yellow, gray, green, and brown is seen on the left, with buildings, mountains, meadows, trees, and expanses of pale blue and gray water, in which several swimming swans are reflected. A shepherd with a blue shirt, accompanied by a black dog and some sheep, is visible on the shore and a couple is seen above the swans. A large tree with a yellow-gray and brown trunk and green and yellow leaves rises on the right. Below it are green rushes and shrubs with white flowers, vines, and a blue convolvulus. The foreground is in shades of yellow-gray, green, and brown, with dark green rushes, and green and yellow plants, flowers, and rocks.





FIG. 26. *Venus and Cupid*, after Primaticcio. Drawing. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris (inv. no. 3677). Photo: Musées Nationaux.

#### CONDITION

The drapery over Venus's left breast is probably an addition, using the original warps. The left side has apparently been irregularly cut; later weavings show that the branches at the edge spring from a tree stump. There are substantial areas of repair or bare warps, especially in wings, clouds, the sky, the distant landscape, the water, and the foreground. A patch has been inserted to the left of the putto's bow. The colors are considerably faded.

#### SUBJECT

Though the group of Venus and Cupid is derived from representations of the scene in which Venus points out Psyche to her son and asks him to avenge her, this meaning does not appear in this tapestry. A contemporary account says that it represents "à ce que l'on croit, une Psyché dans un char en l'air qui a un Amour déjà grand sur ses genoux, et un fleuve et une rivière dans le bas."<sup>8</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The group of Venus and Cupid was taken from one of two drawings owned by Louis XIV and now in the Louvre, numbers 3497 and 3677 (fig. 26). As a drawing thought to be by Raphael was supposed to be chosen as the basis of the tapestry design, number 3677 is more probable, since number 3497 is inscribed in an old hand "Julius Romanus." The most recent attribution for number 3497 is Primaticcio; number 3677 is considered to be after him.<sup>9</sup> The river-god is taken, in reverse, from Raphael's *Council of the Gods* in the Farnesina. The painting by François Bonnemer has not been located; the final payment for it is recorded in the Comptes des Bâtiments on September 22, 1686: "à Bonnemer pour le parfait paiement de 600 livres pour un tableau d'après le dessin de Raphaël, représentant le *Triomphe de Vénus et de l'Amour*." It measured 12 pieds square.<sup>10</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The tapestry of this subject from the second weaving of the series is owned by the Mobilier National and exhibited in the Louvre; that from the third weaving is in Vienna. This piece can therefore be identified with the one from the first set, woven by Lefebvre between 1689 and September 20, 1692.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The upper left corner of the design was altered in the second and third weavings, now in Paris<sup>11</sup> and Vienna;<sup>12</sup> the flying putto has been moved away from Venus, so that his right foot nearly touches the bow held by the seated child. The tree stump and leafy branches on the left are present in both tapestries, but are more fully visible on the Paris example.



## 45b *Venus and Adonis*

### DESCRIPTION

The fair-haired Venus wears a pale yellow dress and a red and yellow belt with blue stones in the buckle; she has a red drapery with a pattern in pale yellow and metal thread over her knees. Adonis, sitting beside her, has brown and yellow hair, a yellow undergarment, and blue drapery with a yellow pattern; his sandals are pale yellow with metal thread. A blue-winged child, with yellow hair and a quiver at his side, stands next to Venus, and another, with yellow drapery and a bow in his left hand, holds a dark green wreath over Adonis's head. A brown-haired satyr with pale yellow and green leaves and flowers in his hair and red drapery is seen behind the couple, and a youth, presumably Hymen, holding a dull yellow lighted torch, approaches on the left; he has pale brown and cream wings and is dressed in a pale yellow garment with a red strap and a pale purple cloak. On the right, a child with brown and gray wings and pink drapery holds two brown, gray, and dull yellow dogs with a blue band. Part of Venus's dull yellow chariot is seen behind him, with two white doves, held by blue ribbons, perched on it. A richly ornamented cloth in red and yellow with metal thread hangs from two brown and gray tree trunks on the right behind the figures, and a gray and pale yellow classical temple is visible in the background. The tree leaves are in shades of green and yellow. The sky is pale blue in the upper left corner, pale yellow below. On the left is an extensive landscape with distant mountains, trees, and fields in shades of pale yellow and green. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, and yellow with plants in green and yellow. The large flowers on the left are pale lavender and pink; there are a white-flowered plant and a red thistle on the right.

Metal thread (apparently entirely silver) was very sparsely used.

### CONDITION

The additional draperies are the covering of Hymen's body, Venus's breast, and the upper yellow part of Adonis's garment.

Silk areas, such as the upper parts of Hymen's wings,

Venus's dress, the legs of the foremost dog, the doves, and the sky, are much repaired. The metal thread has blackened.

### SUBJECT

Though his spear and the presence of the hunting dogs identify the man as Adonis, and the cupids, chariot, and doves show that the woman is Venus, the satyr has no place in their story and the figure with the torch, who appears to be Hymen, is completely incongruous. The painting was described in a 1690 Gobelines list as *Venus and Adonis*,<sup>13</sup> but another contemporary account says that it represented "un jeune homme et une jeune femme presque nus, qu'un satire veut faire embrasser."<sup>14</sup> The subject of the drawing from which the design is derived has been called *Hymen and Pan with Venus and Adonis*, but *Paris and Helen* has also been suggested.<sup>15</sup>

FIG. 27. *Allegory of Sensual Passion*, school of Giulio Romano. Drawing. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris (inv. no. 3659). Photo: Musées Nationaux.





## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

All the figures except the boy with the dogs are derived from a drawing (fig. 27) now attributed to the school of Giulio Romano in the Louvre (no. 3659). The winged figure, here apparently feminine, directs the torch at the head of the satyr. The painting by Pierre de Sève has not been located; the final payment for it is recorded in the *Comptes des Bâtiments*, March 31–September 22, 1686: “à de Sève, autre peintre, parfait paiment de 550 livres pour le tableau qu’il a fait d’après Raphaël, représentant les *Amours d’Adonis et de Venus*.” It measured 12 *pieds* square.<sup>16</sup>

## WEAVER AND DATE

The tapestry of this subject from the second weaving of the series is owned by the Mobilier National; that from the third is in Vienna. This piece can therefore be identified with the one from the first set, woven by Jean Jans between 1686 and the first quarter of 1690.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The versions from the second and third weavings in Paris<sup>17</sup> and Vienna<sup>18</sup> show no significant differences.

An adaptation of the main group without the satyr and “Hymen” was used, reversed, in eighteenth-century Beauvais tapestries sold at the Clarke Art Galleries, New York, February 8, 1922 (no. 577, illus.), and in the Audrey K. Kennedy sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 10, 1969 (no. 173, illus.). Another example was owned by the London dealers M. Harris and Sons in 1929.<sup>19</sup>

## NOTES

1. Standen, “Sujets de la Fable,” pp. 154–56.
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 272.
3. Anne and Paul van Ypersele de Strihou, *Laeken* (Brussels, 1970) pp. 274, 296.
4. Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung* (Vienna, 1920) nos. 242–49.
5. Desmond Guinness and William Ryan, *Irish Houses and Castles* (New York, 1971) p. 69, illus. (on wall of drawing room).
6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 272, 273.
7. The fourth piece is described only as “une imitation d’une composition de Raphaël,” but it must have been the *Rape of Helen*, with which its dimensions are consistent, rather than the *Judgment of Paris*, which reached Strasbourg in the Napoleonic period (information from Hans Haug).

8. Guillet de Saint-Georges, “Mémoire historique des principaux ouvrages de Charles Le Brun,” in *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l’Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, L. Dussieux et al., eds., (Paris, 1854) vol. 1, p. 56. The *mémoire*, read to the Academy in 1693, was written, at least in part, in 1686.
9. Sylvie Béguin, “Remarques sur la Chambre du Roi,” *Actes du Colloque international sur l’Art de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau et Paris*, 18, 19, 20 octobre 1972 (Paris, 1975) pp. 199, 200, figs. 1, 2.
10. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 268.
11. A. Guérinet, pub., *L’Industrie universelle, ornements Louis XIV, Louis XV, Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.) pl. 77.
12. Baldass, *Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, pl. 245.
13. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 268.
14. Guillet de Saint-Georges, “Mémoire,” p. 56.
15. William McAllister Johnson, “Les débuts de Primatice à Fontainebleau,” *Revue de l’Art*, no. 6 (1969) p. 14, n. 45, fig. 22.
16. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 269.
17. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 276.
18. Baldass, *Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, pl. 242.
19. “Current Art Notes,” *Connoisseur* 84 (1929) p. 406, illus. p. 367.

## 45c Fragments of a lower border

From a tapestry of the  
*Mythological Subjects after Raphael*

French (Paris); designed by Jean Lemoine de Lorrain (1638–1713), Claude Guy Hallé (1652–1736), and Bon Boulogne (1649–1717), 1684–86; woven 1687–91 in the haute-lisse atelier of Jean Jans the Younger at the Gobelins manufactory for Louis XIV. Wool, silk, and metal thread.  
Sofa back 1 ft. 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. x 5 ft. 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (55 cm x 1.82 m); seat 2 ft. x 6 ft. 5 in. (61 cm x 1.96 m).  
25 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.  
Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.783).

## DESCRIPTION

The fragment is now in two pieces. One covering the seat of a sofa shows in the center an oval with crossed L’s in red and dull yellow on a blue ground, surrounded by the collars of the orders of Saint Michel and of the Saint Esprit, and surmounted by a French royal crown, all in reds and dull yellows with much metal thread. Outside the collars are olive branches with dark and light blue stalks and leaves and red berries. On either side, foliate scrolls in red,



45c

pink, and lavender support a red and blue parrot. At each end is a fair-haired winged youth seated on a green platform. The one on the left has blue and pale brown wings, a blue cap, and red drapery; he holds a ball of blue thread and a basket with a ball of red thread is partly visible in front of him. The one on the right has red and cream-colored wings, and wears a blue cap, striped with red, and blue drapery; he holds a ball of red thread.

The sofa back has in the center a basket of red and blue balls and spools of thread, with pale yellow bobbins dangling from it. It is flanked by red and blue foliate scrolls and dark brown branches with red flowers and berries. On either side stands a fair-haired winged boy on a blue platform holding a skein of thread. The one on the left has blue, white, and gray wings, and blue and white thread; the one on the right has red, cream, and brown wings, and

red thread. At the outer corners are dull yellow, gray, and brown monkeys. The one on the left holds skeins of red thread and places his foot on a pink and blue scrolling form, from which dangle bundles of red and yellow bobbins. A swift wound with red thread stands on a pink table behind him. The monkey on the right holds a ball of red thread, which is attached to the skein wound around his swift.

The background to both parts is dull pale yellow with a design in metal thread. The borders show classical ornaments in red, dull yellow, dark brown, and metal thread.

#### CONDITION

The fragment has been cut into three pieces, one left intact to cover the seat of a sofa, the other two joined to



cover the back. The left half of the back was originally on the left side of the seat cover and the right half, on the right, so that the complete fragment made up the center section of a lower border. The side sections of the sofa back are not original. The metal thread, originally silver gilt, has lost its gilding and is tarnished throughout; in many places, the metal is entirely worn away, exposing the silk core. There are many small areas of repair, especially in the silk portions, but no extensive reweaving.

#### SUBJECT

The elaborate borders of the first three sets of the *Mythological Subjects after Raphael and after Giulio Romano* have been interpreted as illustrating the allegorical significance of the story of Cupid and Psyche.<sup>1</sup> But the figures on 45c show preparations for tapestry making; in their original arrangement, the standing boys hold the skeins that the seated youths wind into balls. On the two widest tapestries of the *Raphael* series, the border includes also three winged children dyeing thread in a vat.<sup>2</sup> All three sets were made for Louis XIV, whose double L appears on 45c.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The Gobelins inventory of 1690 records the cartoons for the borders of this series, described as “fort riche de grotesques,” by “sr Le Moine Lorain, et les figures par les srs Hallé et Boulogne l’aîné.”<sup>3</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The fragments were originally on one of the medium-sized tapestries of the series, in all probability the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* from the first set, now divided between the Châteaux of Rambouillet and Pau. This was woven by Jans, 1687–91.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design of 45c is found on the lower borders of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* from the first set, in the Mobilier National, and the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* from the third set, in Vienna.<sup>4</sup> The figures appear in different groupings on the other subjects of the series.

A fragment from the center of the upper border of the same series, possibly from the same tapestry as 45c, is in the Detroit Institute of Arts.<sup>5</sup>

#### HISTORY

In the collection of Mme C. Lelong, as a single piece 3 meters long. Sold, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 27–May 1, 1903, no. 483, illus.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Benjamin Altman, 1913, as sofa upholstery.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*. MMA, New York, 1914, pp. 150, 151. Described as Beauvais, about 1680.

De Ricci, Seymour. *Louis XIV and Regency*. Trans. W. E. Walz. New York, 1929, p. 103, illus. Called Gobelins.

Hunter, George Leland. “The Tapestries of the Altman Collection.” *Arts and Decoration* 5 (1914–15) p. 92. Mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. “The Sujets de la Fable Gobelins Tapestries.” *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) p. 143, n. 1. Mentioned.

#### NOTES

1. Anne and Paul van Ypersele de Strihou, *Laeken* (Brussels, 1970) pp. 282, 287–89, 296–300, 302, 305, 306.

2. As on the *Rape of Helen* in Vienna (Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung* [Vienna, 1920] pl. 248).

3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 268.

4. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 272; Baldass, *Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, pl. 249.

5. Adèle Coulin Weibel, “A Fragment of a Gobelin [sic] Border,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 26 (1947) p. 62.

## 46 Mythological Subjects after Giulio Romano

Four pieces from a set of eight

- a *The Festival of Psyche, with Mercury*
- b *The Festival of Psyche, with Bacchus*
- c *Cupid and Psyche Bathing*
- d *Shepherds and Shepherdesses Dancing*

French (Paris); designed 1684–86, by René Antoine Houasse (c. 1644/45–1710), Bon Boulogne (1649–1717), Charles François Poerson (1653–1725), and Pierre Monier (1639–1703), after drawings then attributed to Giulio Romano; woven 1689–1700, in the haute-lisse workshops of Jean Lefebvre the Elder (fl. 1662–1700) and Jean Jans the Younger (c. 1644–1723) at the Gobelins manufactory for Louis XIV.

Wool, silk, and metal thread.

46a 12 ft. x 18 ft. 4 in. (3.66 m x 5.59 m);

46b 12 ft. x 16 ft. 7 in. (3.66 m x 5.05 m);

46c 12 ft. x 14 ft. 3 in. (3.66 m x 4.34 m);

46d 12 ft. x 11 ft. 6 in. (3.66 m x 3.51 m).

20–26 warps per inch, 8–12 per centimeter.

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.8–11).

### CONDITION

All borders are missing (see 45c).

### SUBJECT

Though the series has an old alternative title of the *Amours de Psyché*, it actually has no coherent program. The other four pieces are the *Coronation of Psyche*, *Dancing Nymphs*, *Musicians with a Lyre Player* (*Musique de la gauche*), and *Musicians with a Bagpipe Player* (*Musique de la droite*). The only reason for the choice of subjects was the availability of drawings attributed to Giulio Romano in the French royal collection; the fact that the two *Festival* drawings were clearly related to the Psyche frescoes in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, led to the series being known as the *Loves of Psyche*, though none of the main incidents in the story are included.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

All the designs were taken from drawings attributed to Giulio Romano, owned by Louis XIV. Engravings after

the same artist were also used. Colored sketches were made, probably by Antoine Coypel, and the cartoons by the four artists listed above, Nicolas van Plattenberg, called Platte-Montagne (1631–1706), and J. B. Corneille the Younger (1649–1695). A drawing by Monier for *Musicians with a Lyre Player* is in the Musée Pincé, Angers.<sup>1</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

As all the tapestries of 46 include gold thread, they must come from the first three weavings. They are most probably all from the second, woven by Jean Lefebvre and Jean Jans between 1689 and 1700.<sup>2</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The series was woven three times with gold thread. The first set, made between 1686 and 1693, belongs to the Mobilier National, except *Musicians with a Bagpipe Player*, which is missing; one piece is in the Palais de Compiègne and four in the Louvre. The second set, to which 46 almost certainly belongs, was at the Trianon in 1789; *Musicians with a Bagpipe Player* is in the Belgian Royal Collection at Laeken,<sup>3</sup> the other three pieces are missing. Six pieces of the third, made between 1693 and 1705, are in the Louvre (*Coronation of Psyche* and *Cupid and Psyche Bathing*) and the Mobilier National (all four music and dancing subjects); the *Festival of Psyche, with Bacchus* was destroyed by fire, the other *Festival* is missing.

Two complete sets without gold were woven for the king in the eighteenth century. One is in the Mobilier National and the Palais de Compiègne, except for the two dancing subjects, which are missing; the other is in the Mobilier National, except for a missing *Festival of Psyche, with Bacchus*. Three pieces of a sixth set, also without

gold, were woven between 1790 and 1795; a fourth was begun but not finished.<sup>4</sup> One of these, a *Musicians with a Lyre Player*, is in the Mobilier National; the other two may be the pieces in the collection of the duke of Alba, Madrid, which have no borders,<sup>5</sup> or these may be from a set woven by Jans for the king of Portugal from 1727 to 1731. This consisted of the two *Festivals* (called the *Hymen de Psyché* and the *Festin de Psyché*), the *Shepherds and Shepherdesses Dancing*, with, probably, the *Dancing Nymphs* (two pieces called *Danse des bergers*) and the *Musicians with a Lyre Player* (called *La Musique à gauche*). The tapestries were described in the contract as made from original drawings owned by the king of France.<sup>6</sup> Another eighteenth-century weaving, without metal thread, for a private purchaser, is represented by a *Cupid and Psyche Bathing* in the Shelswell-White collection, Bantry House, Ireland.<sup>7</sup>

#### HISTORY

For the history of the series, see 45.

The second Giulio Romano set, woven between 1690 and 1707, was delivered to the Garde Meuble with the number 126 in 1707. It was at the Trianon in 1789, described as “Complète, belle et commence à passer. Sert chez les Princes et aux Fêtes-Dieu.”<sup>8</sup>

In the collection of Mme Lucie Dekerm, Paris. Sold at her home, April 27–30, 1885, no. 109, illus. (in part) on the walls. The original borders had been replaced by others and the two *Festivals* made narrower by turning under at the sides.

In the collection of Michel Ephrussi, Paris, in 1903.<sup>9</sup>

Probably in the collection of E. J. Berwind, “The Elms,” Newport, Rhode Island, in 1904.

Given to the MMA by Julia A. Berwind, 1953.

#### PUBLICATIONS

See 45.

### 46a *The Festival of Psyche, with Mercury*

#### DESCRIPTION

Mercury, wearing a dull yellow cap with white wings and yellow, blue, and pink sandals with pink and white wings, sits on a pink and red cushion with a pink and yellow tassel on a brown stool. He has a scarlet cloak with a border ornamented in yellow and metal thread and

holds a dull yellow-brown caduceus with yellow wings. A fair-haired woman in pale blue and yellow kneels in front of him, offering red, pink, yellow, and white flowers; another, in pale orange decorated in blue and with a blue belt, reclines beside him, resting her elbow on his stool. The heads of two others, one in purple with yellow ears of grain in her hair, the other in dark blue, are visible, and a standing girl in purple, holding a large brown branch with blue-green leaves over her shoulder, completes the group. On the right, an elderly red-nosed man with a wreath of green vine leaves holds a brown wineskin on his shoulder; he wears dark red drapery. Behind him, a young satyr in a pale brown animal skin holds a pale gray and dark blue glass flask in his right hand and grasps another with his left as it stands in a large red-brown and pale yellow bowl filled with blue, green, and pink grapes. Behind him is a pale yellow and brown elephant with red eyes and pink and dull yellow trappings, its keeper in blue behind it. On the right is an arbor with blue-green, pale yellow, and red-tipped leaves, some of them grape leaves, with red, pink, lavender, blue, and pale yellow flower garlands and a pale yellow and brown cloth hung over a leaf-covered beam. Below is a sideboard with several shelves holding highly ornamented red-brown, yellow, and gray plates, ewers, jars, and cups. All the shelves are covered with a richly decorated dark blue, dark dull yellow, and orange cloth. On a brown stool at the base is an elaborate dull yellow and orange vessel, with figures of sea beings, and on the ground a red-brown and dull yellow wine cooler with a pale yellow flask in it. A yellow-brown basket filled with festoons of red, pink, white, yellow, and blue flowers stands beside it. On the far left is an old woman in a white and pale blue head covering and purple dress, with a red belt, leaning on a pale brown stick and carrying a dull yellow-brown basket of green, pale blue, and white vegetables. A bearded man in a dull yellow-gray tunic and red belt stands beside her. Black, brown, gray, and greenish rocks, partly covered with blue-green and pale yellow leaves and bushes, rise behind them. There is a vine with red-tipped leaves and purple grapes, a convolvulus with blue flowers, and another creeper with red ones. At the man's back is a low red-brown and gray altar with a red and white fire on it. In the middle distance between this couple and the central figures is a young woman in a lavender-pink dress and blue cloak and hair ribbons carrying a pale brown basket filled with dead birds and holding a stick over her shoulder; on the stick are slung the bodies





Details of 46a

of a pale-brown hare and two blue-headed pheasants. A pale gray dog walks beside her. Behind her, a dark gray donkey with a pink burden and a man in blue are partly visible and, in the distance, a woman milking a yellow-gray cow. Farther to the right are two yellow-gray camels emerging from a group of pale yellow-green trees. One bears a dark gray bundle and is accompanied by two men on foot in pink, yellow, and blue; the other has a single rider. In the pinkish yellow clouds above is a nude Wind

with blue and yellow-gray wings, blowing a brown trumpet. A lake and mountains in shades of pale blue and yellow are seen in the distance. The foreground is in shades of brown, green, pale yellow, and gray, with blue-green and pale yellow plants. A pile of fruit, including yellow-green and pink melons, red and yellow peaches, blue, red, and pink grapes, red and pale yellow pears, and red cherries, lies beside Mercury's stool.

Metal thread is very sparingly used.



#### CONDITION

The added coverings of nudities are the bosom of the kneeling girl, Mercury's pale yellow drapery, and part of the upper garment of the girl with a branch on her shoulder.

There are substantial areas of repair with large introduced patches in the sky and smaller ones elsewhere. Bare warps are apparent in dark passages, especially in Vulcan's costume. A vertical rent from the wineskin on the right to the border has been mended.

#### SUBJECT

The subject of the Giulio Romano fresco (fig. 28) in the Sala di Psiche of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, from which this tapestry and 46b are eventually derived, is usually described as the preparations for the wedding feast of Psyche.<sup>10</sup> The seated god in the fresco is Apollo, not Mercury. The old woman on the left is the storyteller, according to Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, the source of the story, and the god next to her is Vulcan, who, the author says, "prepared supper."

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Any one of three drawings in the Louvre (nos. 3776, 3679 [fig. 29], and 3680) might have been the one selected to form the basis of the design. But none of them and no known engravings contain all the elements of the fresco that are reproduced in the tapestry, such as the woman carrying game. The painting by Houasse is in the Louvre; the artist added the altar, the pile of fruit, the ornamented cloth on the sideboard, and other enrichments. The canvas in its present condition does not show as much of the design on the right as is seen in the tapestry, ending at the edge of the arbor, so that only part of the elephant is included. The nudities are covered in the painting.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

As the other three pieces of 46 are from the second weaving, it seems almost certain that this tapestry comes from the same set. In this case, it was woven in Jean Jans's workshop between 1689 and 1692.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject was woven six times at the Gobelins. The extant examples in addition to 46a are those from the first set by Jans, 1686–93, in the Louvre,<sup>11</sup> and from the fourth and fifth by Monmerqué, 1733–41, in the Mobilier National.<sup>12</sup> The Louvre piece is an almost exact duplicate of 46a, but the eighteenth-century examples have the composition extended on the right, so that more of the plate on the sideboard, which appears on the far left of 46b, is visible. They are also slightly less high, but otherwise have exactly the same design as the earlier versions.

The subject was included in the set made for the king of Portugal, 1727–31.





46a

FIG. 28. *Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche*, by Giulio Romano and assistants. Fresco. Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, Mantua. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

FIG. 29. *Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche*, by Giulio Romano or assistant. Drawing. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris (inv. no. 3679). Photo: Musées Nationaux.





## 46b *The Festival of Psyche, with Bacchus*

### DESCRIPTION

Psyche, wearing a very pale dull yellow robe tied with a red ribbon, reclines on a massive brown and dull yellow couch; a pale pink cloth with a dark pink lining and gold-embroidered border and fringe is spread under her and she rests her arm on a pale yellow cushion. Cupid, who has dark blue and brown wings and a blue drapery over his loins, lies beside her and a small nude child (Voluptas) is seen between them. Another, with pale yellow butterfly wings and dark pink drapery, holds green and red wreaths over their heads. The couch is ornamented with a sphinx at the corner and a half-concealed horned mask. A black and white spaniel lies on the drapery underneath it. On the right a girl in a blue robe holds a dull yellow platter, while another in dull yellow-brown pours water from a ewer onto Cupid's outstretched hand. On the left, Bacchus, wearing a wreath of green leaves and red grapes, and pale brown drapery, places one hand on the head of a dark gray goat. Silenus sprawls on a bench beside him; he has a

wreath and is dressed in pale brown fur. He places one hand on a pale red-brown ewer and embraces a young satyr with brown furry legs with the other. A dark brown goat is partly visible under the bench. In the far left foreground, a child satyr bestrides a pale yellow-brown, spotted feline, the head of whose red-eyed, red-tongued mate is seen beside it. Behind Silenus, a bearded satyr holds the head of a dark brown and gray donkey and a black man that of a pale yellow-gray camel.

Bacchus rests one hand on the shelf of a sideboard that displays an array of dull yellow, gray, and greenish plates, ewers, vases, and cups, one shaped like a duck and another, on the lowest shelf, that is dark blue; the lowest shelf is covered with a rich gold-ornamented fabric in lavender-pink and blue. The sideboard is placed under a leafy arbor, festooned with red, pink, and white flower garlands. A large green and brown tree with a grapevine twining around its trunk and branches rises in the center of the composition. In the middle distance on the right, four satyrs are preparing to sacrifice a dark brown goat on a flaming altar in front of a white male statue. One holds the animal, one has two torches, one blows a trumpet, and the fourth carries fuel. The sky is pale blue fading to white, with lakes and distant hills seen below it in the center, cliffs and trees on the right. The foreground shows red, purple, and pale yellow grapes and blue-green and yellowish leaves. Under Silenus's feet is a dull gray and reddish

FIG. 30. *Festin des noces de Psiché, à gauche*, by Bon Boulogne. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Arras.







46b

bowl filled with blue and pale yellow grapes and red, green, and pale yellow grape leaves.

#### CONDITION

The draperies added to cover nudities include those over Bacchus's left side, Silenus's right shoulder, Psyche's left shoulder and most of her body, and Cupid's blue garment.

There are rewoven passages in many silk areas, especially in the sky and distant landscape. There are small patches of repair and occasional bare warps.

#### SUBJECT

The right side of the south wall of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, reproduced in 46b (fig. 28), shows Cupid and Psyche on their nuptial couch with their



FIG. 31. *Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche*, by Giulio Romano or assistant. Drawing. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris (inv. no. 3681). Photo: Musées Nationaux.

child, Voluptas, between them. The dog is a symbol of married love. The two figures at the foot of the couch have been identified as Juno and Ceres.<sup>13</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Any one of three drawings in the Louvre (nos. 3681 [fig. 31], 3682, 3683) might be that selected to form the basis of the design. But there are elements of Giulio Romano's fresco in the tapestry that do not appear in the drawings or in engravings after the original, such as the black man holding the camel. The painting by Bon Boulogne is in the Arras Museum (fig. 30); the artist added the foreground details and a figure on the far right that is not included in the tapestry. The nudities are covered.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

As the tapestry of this subject from the first weaving belongs to the Mobilier National and that from the third, having been sent to Brussels in 1808, was later destroyed

by fire,<sup>14</sup> 46b must be from the second set and have been woven in Jean Jans's workshop between 1689 and 1692.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject was woven six times. The extant examples are those from the first set and woven by Jans, 1686–90, owned by the Mobilier National,<sup>15</sup> and from the fourth, by Monmerqué, 1737–41, in the Palais de Compiègne. The latter shows the extra figure on the far right that appears in Bon Boulogne's painting.<sup>16</sup>

A reversed copy was made by Braquenié in 1894 to replace the piece destroyed at Laeken.<sup>17</sup>

The subject was included in the set made for the king of Portugal, 1727–31.

### 46c *Cupid and Psyche Bathing*

#### DESCRIPTION

The fair-haired Cupid has large dull pale pink wings. A boy is removing his red cloak and behind him another, with pink wings, holds a bright pink cloth over his head;

the former has red drapery slung at his back, the other has a dark red-purple garment. Psyche wears a green wreath with flowers and a pale yellow-pink robe with red jewels; she holds a blue cloth in her right hand. She is attended by six children, three of them with dull pink and yellow wings. The one who washes her leg wears a red band around his head and orange drapery. One, flying, empties water from a dull yellow jar onto a dish held by a child kneeling on the rim of the pool; the flying child has red and pink drapery

and a blue ribbon in his hair. The kneeling child has a piece of red drapery behind him, and the one sitting on a rock, holding a small saucer and vial, has dark blue drapery. The shallow pool is filled with blue-gray water with white foam and has a flat pink, gray, and brown marble rim; water pours out through a brown lion-mask in the foreground. A piece of richly ornamented blue, brown, black, tan, and red cloth lies partly over the rim.

At the lower left is a dull and pale brown chest with





FIG. 32. *Bath of Mars and Venus*, by Giulio Romano and assistant. Fresco. Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, Mantua. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

claw feet and a ram's head at the corner. A pink, blue-gray, and yellow arrow-filled quiver and a bow are leaned against it and it is partly covered with a blue cloth. At the lower right is a dull yellow table with animal hoofs on its legs; a red cloth is thrown half over it, on which stands a large dull yellow ewer with a female figure as a handle and a satyr mask on the side. A floral festoon, mostly red and white roses, lies alongside and is wrapped around the pale brown trunk and branches of a large tree with green and yellow leaves that reaches the upper right corner of the tapestry. The background is chiefly formed of gray and

brown rocks, with an opening in the center showing a pale blue and white sky and some bushes. On the left are vines and a lilac bush with purple and white flowers. There are a number of green, yellow, and red plants in the foreground.

#### CONDITION

Areas of repair occur throughout, especially in the lighter silk passages, such as Cupid's left wing, the rim of the basin, the wing of the child kneeling on the rim, and the scarf of the boy below. Bare warps are noticeable in the water. The drapery in front of Cupid's body is an addition. Some cuts and joins of small areas appear to have been made, particularly in the lilac bush.

#### SUBJECT

The story of Cupid and Psyche does not contain a joint bathing scene. Psyche took a bath, alone except for invisible attendants, when she first came to his palace.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Neither the Italian sixteenth-century drawing nor the painting by Charles François Poerson has been located, but the ultimate source of the design is a fresco by Giulio Romano in the Sala di Psiche of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua (fig. 32). This shows Mars, attended by amorette, in a bath with Venus; some of his discarded armor is seen on the ground.<sup>18</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

As the other two weavings of this design that contain gold thread are in the Palais de Compiègne and the Louvre, this piece must be from the second set and have been woven between November 12, 1692, and July 1700 by Jans.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject was woven at least seven times at the Gobelins. The example from the first set, by Lefebvre, 1688–93, is in the Palais de Compiègne; that from the third, by Lefebvre, 1700–05, in the Louvre;<sup>19</sup> those from the fourth and fifth, by Monmerqué, 1737–40, are in the Mobilier



National. The sixth may be the piece owned by the duke of Alba. An example from a private commission is in the Shelswell-White collection, Bantry House, Ireland; it is narrower than 46c, the right border cutting through the wing of the child catching water in a dish.<sup>20</sup> The piece in the Louvre is an almost exact duplicate of 46c; a Monmerqué example shows the composition extended slightly on the right.<sup>21</sup>

A nineteenth-century copy marked "LP Aubusson" was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 16, 1968, no. 153.

#### EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1970. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, cat. no. 300.

## 46d *Shepherds and Shepherdesses Dancing*

#### DESCRIPTION

Three men and three women are seen dancing in a ring at the edge of a wood. The fair-haired woman in the center has a blue and white dress and a pink and red cloak. The man on the left has brown hair and wears a cream and orange tunic with a pink decorated border, a striped red, brown, and blue scarf around his waist, and pale and dark green leggings. Next to him is a woman in a blue dress with pink highlights, a green blouse, pink sleeves, dark pink cloak, and a dark green fringed wrap around her hips. She holds the hand of a bearded man with light brown hair, dressed in a blue shirt, red cloak, and pink leggings. On the right, in the foreground, a woman with a pale blue ribbon in her fair hair holds pink roses in her right hand. Her dress is pink, with a blue ornamented border; a red, blue, and pale pink striped shawl covers her left shoulder and is tied under her right arm. Behind her is a fair-haired man in a green and pale pink costume, with dull red leggings.

In the foreground on the left, above a blue and gray pool, are pale blue, cream, and dull orange-brown draperies, a brown club, a wreath of red, pink, and blue flow-

ers, and a tambourine, panpipes, cymbals, a shawm, a triangle, and perhaps a bagpipe, in shades of gray, brown, and black, with silver thread. In the upper right corner is a blue, brown, green, and yellow peacock, standing on a ledge in front of a large dull yellow urn. The upper part of the tapestry and the right side are filled with a mass of foliage, flowers, and fruit in shades of green, yellow, red, pink, blue, white, and lavender. The sky is pale blue above, with yellow-gray clouds and a darker gray and blue below. The foreground is in shades of dull green, gray, and brown, with scattered flowers, fruit, and growing plants in greens, blues, reds, pinks, whites, and yellows. Roses, raspberries, hollyhocks, lilacs, and other flowers can be distinguished.

#### CONDITION

There are substantial worn areas and some crude repairs on the left side, especially in the sky and the pile of musical instruments. A vertical line marks where the tapestry has been folded.

#### SUBJECT

The tapestry has no subject and there is nothing to indicate that the dancers are shepherds and shepherdesses. The fresco from which it is eventually derived, however, represents the effects of the constellation of the Goat on those born when it rises, such as music-loving shepherds.<sup>22</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The Italian sixteenth-century drawing has not been located, but it must have been connected with a ceiling medallion in the Sala dei Venti of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua (fig. 33). The painting by Pierre Monier is in the Arras Museum (fig. 34).<sup>23</sup> The musical instruments and drapery are not seen on the canvas, where their place is taken by plants and flowers.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

As the pieces with this subject from the first and third sets are in the Louvre and the Mobilier National, this piece must be from the second set, woven between 1689 and 1692 by Lefebvre.



46d

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject was woven six times. The example from the first set, by Jans, 1688–89, is in the Louvre; that from the third, by Lefebvre, 1699–1700, in the Mobilier National;<sup>24</sup> that from the fourth, by Jean Lefebvre the Younger and Monmerqué, 1733–35, in the Palais de

Compiègne; that from the fifth, by Monmerqué, 1736–38, in the Mobilier National.<sup>25</sup> The tapestry from the third set is an exact duplicate of 46d, that from the fifth has minute variations in the foliage and flowers.

The subject was included in the set made for the king of Portugal, 1727–31.

FIG. 33. *The Goat*, by Giulio Romano and Rinaldo Montovano. Fresco. Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, Mantua. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

#### NOTES

1. *Cent Dessins des Musées d'Angers*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts (Rennes, 1981–82) no. 75, pl. 9.
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 254.
3. Anne and Paul van Ypersele de Strihou, *Laeken* (Brussels, 1970) pp. 274, 290, 295.
4. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 264, 265.
5. Duke of Berwick and Alba, *Discursos* (Madrid, 1924) p. 38.
6. Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700–1750)*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1971) pp. 1079–81.
7. Desmond Guinness and William Ryan, *Irish Houses and Castles* (New York, 1971) p. 69, illus. (on wall of drawing room).
8. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 255.
9. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 263.
10. A different interpretation of this fresco has been given by Egon Verheyen, "Die Malereien in der Sala di Psiche des Palazzo del Te," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, n.s. 14 (1972) pp. 58, 59; idem, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics* (Baltimore, 1977) pp. 25, 26. The iconographic program of the room is explained as based on Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* rather than on Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.
11. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 104.
12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 250.
13. Verheyen, "Malereien," pp. 58, 59.
14. Van Ypersele de Strihou, *Laeken*, pp. 274, 280.
15. In the French Embassy, Rome, in 1971 (Mariapia Vecchi, *Ambasciate Estere a Roma* [Milan, 1971] p. 140, seen on wall in Palazzo Farnese).
16. Arsène Alexandre, "Le Palais de Compiègne," *Figaro Illustré*, April 1911, p. 22, illus. (seen on wall).
17. Van Ypersele de Strihou, *Laeken*, p. 274.
18. Verheyen, "Malereien," p. 55. Mars and Venus are described as bathing together in Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia*.
19. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 105.
20. Patrick Hadden, *Bantry House, Ancestral Home of the Family of White in the Country of Cork, Ireland: A Short History and Guide* (Killarney, 1981) not paged, illus. (on wall of Gobelins Drawing Room).
21. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 254.
22. E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, vol. 2 (London, 1972) p. 110, fig. 116.
23. H. Oursel, "Peintures françaises décoratives et religieuses des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles au Musée d'Arras," *Revue du Louvre*, 1965, p. 193.
24. Oursel, "Peintures françaises," fig. 7.
25. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 258.

FIG. 34. *Danse des bergers et bergères*, by Pierre Monier. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Arras.



## 47 The Hunts of Maximilian

Two tapestries from a set of twelve

a *The Arrival at the Hunting Lodge* or *April*

b *The Final Assault on the Boar* or *December*

French (Paris); designed probably by Bernaert van Orley (c. 1492–1541/42), about 1531; woven 1692–93, in the basse-lisse workshops of Jean de La Croix (fl. 1662–1712), Jean Baptiste Mozin (fl. 1667–1693), and Dominique de La Croix (fl. 1692–1737) at the Gobelins manufactory for Louis XIV.

Wool and silk.

47a 14 ft. 3 in. x 17 ft. 3 in. (4.34 m x 5.26 m);

47b 14 ft. 2 in. x 17 ft. 2 in. (4.32 m x 5.24 m).

19–21 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.74.1 [47b]; 35.74.2 [47a]).

### DESCRIPTION

Each tapestry has side and top borders of plants, birds, and animals in natural colors; each upper border has an oval medallion with a heavy red-brown and dull yellow frame containing a sign of the zodiac in a grisaille rendering of the same colors. The lower borders show gods and sea creatures in dull yellow and red-brown grisaille on dark red-brown and dull yellow grounds. No two borders are alike. The main border panels are enclosed by yellow, brown, and red-brown bands with classical ornament, simulating a carved wooden frame, lit from the upper left. The guards are red-brown.

### SUBJECT

The series consists of twelve scenes connected with hunting, each with a sign of the zodiac indicating a month of the year. Views of Brussels and the nearby forest of Soignes are seen in many of the backgrounds, and the date of the original series has been established by the state of construction of identifiable buildings.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The sources for the set were twelve sixteenth-century Brussels tapestries that belonged to Louis XIV and are now in the Louvre; they had previously been owned by

Guise family and so are also known as the *Belles Chasses de Guise*. Twelve drawings in the Louvre, two in the Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, one in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and one in the British Museum are related to these tapestries. They are considered to be by Bernaert van Orley or his workshop; this artist is named in seventeenth-century documents as the designer of the series.<sup>1</sup> The set to which 47 belongs is an exact copy, including the borders; it was taken, however, not from the Brussels originals, but from an earlier Gobelins set copied from them. This is proved by the reversed word “Spero” in the *Arrival at the Hunting Lodge*; the earlier Gobelins tapestry, a mirror image of the Brussels original, nevertheless has “Spero” correctly written. The process of reproducing this copy on a basse-lisse loom reversed the entire design, making 47a an exact copy of the Brussels original, except for this word.<sup>2</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

These tapestries are from the third Gobelins set, the second made for the king, woven between 1691 and 1693 by Mozin and the two de La Croix.<sup>3</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The first Gobelins set was made for Colbert at an uncertain date; it included gold thread and is known only from the inventory taken after his death in 1683. The second, made for the king between 1685 and 1687, has no gold and the designs are reversed; all the pieces except *March* and *December* are owned by the Mobilier National, some of them being at Fontainebleau and at Pau. The third set, to which 47 belongs, was also made for the king and has no gold. *February* is at Fontainebleau, *March* and *August* belong to the city of Paris,<sup>4</sup> *November* is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,<sup>5</sup> and *July* (signed “Mozin”) is in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada; the other months are missing.



To this set were added six *entrefenêtres* with details of *January*, *September* (two), *October*, and *November* (two) from a set of twelve that were woven between 1704 and 1708 and constitute the fourth set. The two *November entrefenêtres* were sold at Sotheby's, London, December 15, 1961 (nos. 57, 58, illus.); they are signed "L. Croix. P." and both have labels with the number of the enlarged set in the royal inventory, 187.<sup>6</sup> The *January* and the two *September entrefenêtres* belong to the Mobilier National; *October* is missing. The other six *entrefenêtres* were added to the first set of the *Hunts* woven for the king, number 186 in his inventory. Four belong to the Mobilier National. The two *Novembers* (signed "E. Leblond") were in the Château de Langeais sale, December 13–18, 1886; one of them is presumably the example in the comte de Gramont sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 15, 1934 (no. 97, illus.), when it was said to be from the sale of the duc de G . . . , Paris, May 22, 1925 (no. 72). This piece or the other *November entrefenêtre* must be that owned by the marquis H. de Ganay in 1962.<sup>7</sup>

A single *entrefenêtre* of *September*, made 1718–20 (called the fifth set), belongs to the Mobilier National; a set of fourteen pieces, made for Louis XV as a present to the duc de Charost, constitutes the sixth set and has not been identified. Three other sets were made as private commissions about the same time; they have borders of an eighteenth-century type with the arms of their owners.<sup>8</sup> Two pieces of the seventh set made for the princesse de Conti have been recorded, *September*, formerly in the Double<sup>9</sup> and Vaile collections,<sup>10</sup> and *June*, formerly in the Martin Le Roy collection;<sup>11</sup> the borders (without signs of the zodiac) are not the same as those on the six pieces (the eighth set) made for the duc d'Antin, now in the Château de Pau.<sup>12</sup>

The complete ninth set made for the comte de Toulouse, with his arms, is extant, eight pieces in the Musée de Condé, Chantilly, and four in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres;<sup>13</sup> the borders are the same as those on the Conti set, except that the signs of the zodiac appear in the lower borders.<sup>14</sup> An apparently unrecorded set (with reversed compositions) includes a *January* (with two figures from

*November*) sold at Parke-Bernet, May 11, 1946 (no. 174, illus.), and *June*, *July*, and *October* in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight.<sup>15</sup> Two *entrefenêtres* of *January* and *September* with similar borders, but no signs of the zodiac, were in the Lowengard sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 10, 1910 (nos. 23, 24, illus.). A reversed *April* sold at the same gallery, June 14, 15, 1920 (see 47a), may also be from this set.

## HISTORY

The set was ordered on November 27, 1691, and delivered to the Garde Meuble de la Couronne in 1693, with the inventory number 172. In 1708, with the addition of six *entrefenêtres*, it was given the number 187. In 1789, it was at Fontainebleau.<sup>16</sup>

47a and b were probably in the collection of Mme d'Houdemare before 1903.<sup>17</sup>

In the collection of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, Purchase, New York. Sold, American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, May 14–18, 1935, nos. 950, 951, illus. Said to have been acquired from A. Doucet, Paris, 1909. Called *September* and *April*.

Acquired for the MMA in 1935, from French & Co., through the Harris Brisbane Dick Fund.

## PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 320. Pieces in d'Houdemare collection described without identification of set to which they belong.

*Art News* 33 (June 1, 1935) illus. cover [47a], p. 12 [47b]. Said to have been purchased by French & Co., from the Whitelaw Reid sale.

*MMA Annual Report* 1935, pp. 13, 31–32. Mentioned as woven in 1692–93 after earlier designs by Bernaert van Orley.

Remington, Preston. "Two Gobelins Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin* 30 (1935) pp. 155–58, figs. 1 and 2. Called *April* and *September*; set identified; man attacking boar called Emperor Maximilian.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Museum's Collection of Renaissance Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947–48) p. 126. Listed.

Schneebalg-Perelman, Sophie. *Les Chasses de Maximilien*. Brussels, 1982, pp. 247, 275. Mentioned.

## 47a *The Arrival at the Hunting Lodge or April*

### DESCRIPTION

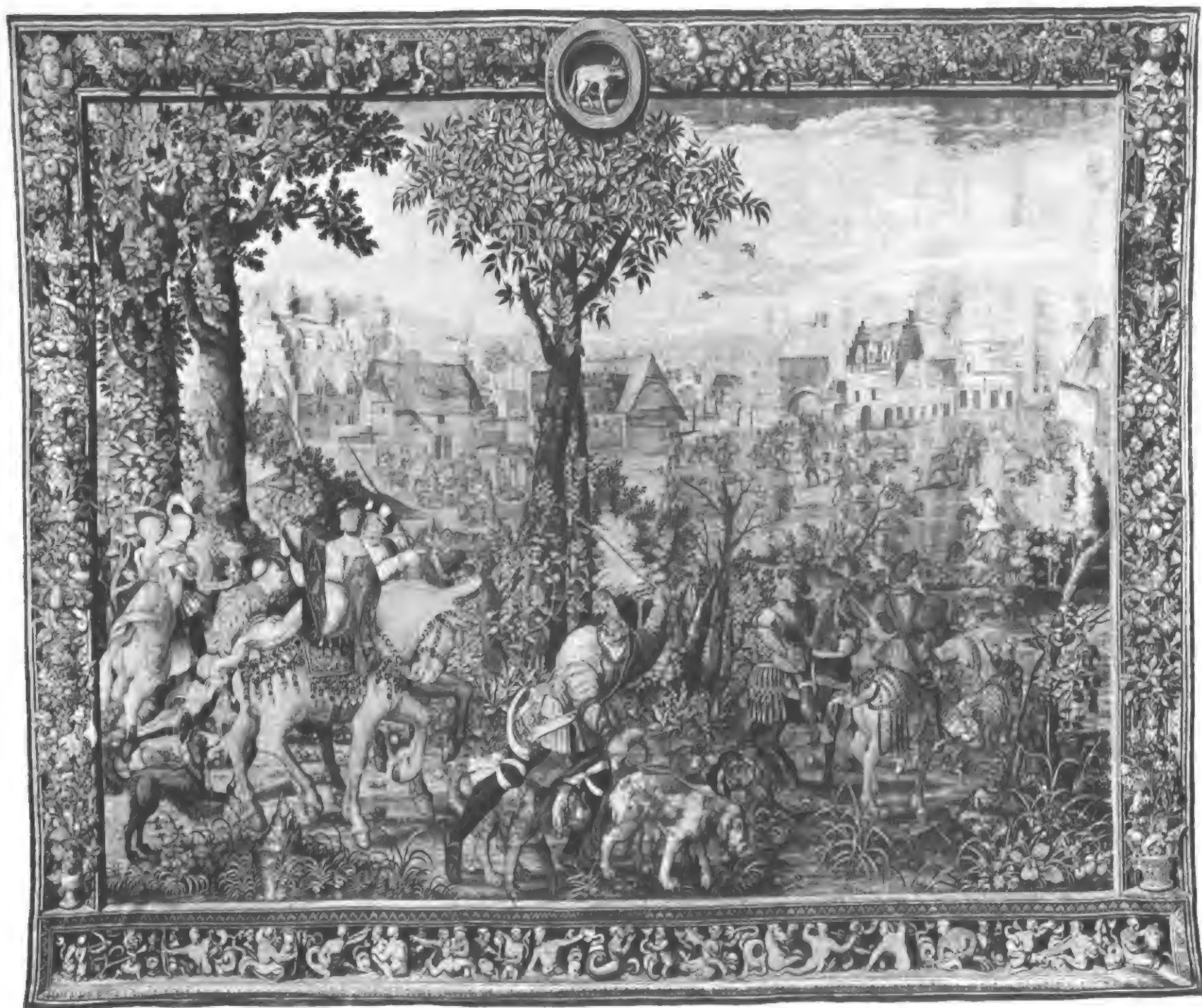
In the center foreground, a kennelman in a crimson cap, pink jacket, crimson leg coverings tied with yellow bands at the knees, and yellow-gray shoes holds four brown and gray hounds on ropes;<sup>18</sup> a blue hunting horn with a brown mouth and tip is slung at his side from a blue strap. To the left, a lady sits on a gray horse; she wears a red cap over a yellow and red hairnet and a dull yellow-brown dress with long dangling red sleeves over tight blue and yellow ones, and holds a gray and brown hawk on her gloved hand. The horse has ornate red and yellow harness; the word SPERO, in reverse, is inscribed on the saddlecloth. A man on a pale brown horse with blue and yellow harness is partly seen behind her; he has a blue cap with red and yellow plumes, and a red strap over his shoulder. He carries a long thin green and brown leafless branch. A man on foot runs between the pair. He has a gray-brown hat with a red plume over a netted cap, a yellow-green jacket slashed with dark pink, green breeches and leg coverings, tied with red bands above the knee, and dull red shoes with brown soles. Below his raised left leg is a gray and brown dog and behind him a couple on a gray-brown horse with blue and yellow harness. The fair-haired man has a red hat with a yellow plume and a blue costume with red leggings; the woman is in pink with yellow-gray sleeves and a red cap with a yellow plume over a blue and yellow net. On the right are two men on horseback. One, on a brown horse with blue and yellow harness, including a huge blue tassel, has a red-feathered hat, a blue jacket with yellow stripes worn over a dull pink undergarment, and yellow-gray leg coverings; the other, on a gray horse with red and yellow harness, also has a red-feathered hat, dull yellow jacket with a blue pattern, a red strap supporting a red and blue hunting horn, and red-brown leggings. Beyond them, another rider, in dull purple-red with a blue hat, guides his gray-brown horse down a hill; a man in blue on foot is partly visible beside him. Two large oaks with brown, green, and gray trunks and green and yellow leaves are seen on the left and two other trees in the center. A honeysuckle with dull pink flowers climbs up one trunk and there are two birds perched among the leaves.

In the background are many buildings in pale shades of gray, blue, brown, and yellow. The numerous figures in the open spaces are in much the same colors; many of them are dressed in pale blue. On the left, a pack of large-eared hounds, like those in the foreground, are being watered at a covered well; on the right are a large number of greyhounds, on leashes or running free, with many men, on foot or on horseback. At the far right is a farm wagon. Fields and trees in pale yellow-gray and pale green are seen beyond the buildings. The sky is gray-blue at the top, but is mostly overcast with pale yellow and yellow-gray clouds. There are two flying birds near the central tree. The foreground is in shades of gray, green, and dull pale yellow, with a brown and green tree stump and a bent tree on the right. There are many plants and flowers, including lilies of the valley, by the central tree.

The lower border shows, on the left, two mermen shooting arrows at a sea monster and one with a trident riding a sea horse. In the center, one is pouring liquid from a jar and one is drinking. On the right, two are blowing a horn and a trumpet and two are fighting with shield and trident, with two sea horses and other similar figures. The zodiac sign is the Bull. The upper and the side borders have central green and yellow stems almost concealed by leaves, flowers, and fruit in red, blue, yellow, white, pink, lavender, and green, with pink ribbons. In the upper border there are two rabbits to the right of the medallion and a snail to the left. Green pea pods, white lilies, and green gourds can be distinguished. The left border has a pale gray vase at the bottom, from which spring white lilies, red roses, and other flowers. Higher up are yellow daffodils, green and yellow gourds, red cherries, red and green pears, with other flowers and fruit and several small birds. The right border has a yellow-gray basket at the base with three birds just above it and another selection of leaves, flowers, and fruit. These include yellow-green pomegranates with red seeds and blue lupines. There is a large dark blue bird near the top and several small ones.

### CONDITION

The entire surface shows scattered small areas of repair. They are particularly noticeable on the right shoulder of the man holding four dogs, on the gray dog nearest the border, in the distant landscape, and in the sky and clouds.



## SUBJECT

The Bull of the medallion identifies the month as April. The scene has been given various names, such as the *Return from the Hunt*, or *Hawking*. In this, and in the *March* tapestry that is usually thought to open the series, some of the hunters have hawks, but, as the hounds are the same as those seen later bringing down the stag, it seems more probable that a stag hunt is in progress throughout the year until the boar hunt begins.<sup>18</sup> *March* is taken as the first tapestry of the series, as it depicts the departure of the hunt from the ducal palace in Brussels,<sup>19</sup> but it has also been suggested that *February*, which shows the interior of the palace, is the real beginning.<sup>20</sup>

The hunters are approaching Bosvoorde (Boitsfort), where the hounds were kept.<sup>21</sup>

The word "Spero" (I hope) has been thought to be related to the motto *Sola Spes Mea Deo* (My hope is only in God) that was used by Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, and the woman with the hawk has been identified as this princess.<sup>22</sup>

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The sixteenth-century tapestry<sup>23</sup> has been reproduced exactly. Besides the reversal of the word "Spero," the only differences are that the dog in the lower left corner has his tail completely visible and the clouds are slightly altered.

## WEAVER AND DATE

The tapestry was woven in the workshop of Jean de La Croix, June 12, 1692, to 1693.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *April* of the first Gobelins set, woven before 1683, has not been identified. That of the second set, 1685–86, belongs to the Mobilier National. The subject was not included in the fourth and fifth sets. The sixth set of 1723–29 is entirely missing. It is not known if the seventh included an *April*; the eighth did not. The *April* of the ninth set, made for the comte de Toulouse about 1735, is at Chantilly; it is wider on the left and does not include the word "Spero." A tapestry showing the same composition, reversed and adapted to an upright shape by the omission of the man with four hounds, the trees behind him, and the

scene by the well, was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 14, 15, 1920 (no. 201, illus.); it has a border of eighteenth-century type with the zodiac sign at each side and includes the word "Spero," but there are no arms or initials. An *entrefenêtre* with the missing portion of this design and the same border, except for the zodiac signs, was sold at Christie's, London, July 14, 1977 (no. 36, illus.).

## 47b *The Final Assault on the Boar or December*

### DESCRIPTION

A prominently placed rider directs a gray-blue weapon with a yellow hilt at a pale gray and brown boar; this weapon is of an unusual type, invented specifically for boar hunting.<sup>24</sup> The man wears a yellow and red cap over a pink head covering decorated with pearls, a red jacket, with a pale yellow fur collar, decorated in yellow, and blue and yellow leg armor with a red spur. The uppermost of the hounds attacking the boar is pale gray and wears a blue and yellow padded coat with red and yellow ties.<sup>25</sup> On the right is a yellow-gray dog with a red and yellow collar decorated with a twisted blue belt with a yellow buckle. Below is a gray and brown hound with a blue and yellow collar showing what may be a phoenix. Two smaller shaggy dark gray terriers jump at the boar, which has downed a brown and gray hound; this dog has a red and yellow collar with a double-headed eagle, and the Pillars of Hercules, joined by a blue ribbon, with the flint and steel emblem of the Golden Fleece. A large tree is seen between the emperor and the boar; its blue and green trunk is covered with green and pale yellow ivy. A large gray and yellow bird perches on a low branch; a gray and brown squirrel and four birds, one crested, sit on the branches above, which are bare except for a few reddish brown leaves. Behind the tree, a huntsman in pink with a red cap and leggings directs a blue spear at the boar and, on the left, two others run up with heavy pale brown sticks. The one in front has a blue cap over a red and yellow head covering, a dark pink jacket with red showing through the slashes, red leggings, and brown and yellow shoes. He has a red and yellow hunting horn hanging on a strap of the same colors. The bare-headed man behind





him has a pink and purple jacket and green leg coverings. In the middle distance is a man in pale pink, yellow, and blue on a gray horse; a man in the same colors with brown, standing by a group of three trees and blowing a horn; two men running with gray dogs on leashes; three men on gray horses, and another on foot. Farther to the right is a running man with a hound on a leash and a gray boar attacked by two gray dogs. In the middle distance on the right is a running man in blue with a red horn on a dark pink strap and a gray long-eared hound on a red leash; an old man beside him, holding a stick; a rider in pale yellow and blue on a gray horse with red and yellow harness, and another walking figure with a yellow hat. On the far left are tall bare trees in shades of green, brown, gray, and pale yellow.

A wintry forest is seen in the distance, with buildings on the right, in the same colors. Snow falls from a dark gray sky on the right; at the left the sky is pale yellow-gray. Dark green holly bushes with red berries are visible behind the boar and the hounds, as well as beside the gray and brown tree stump in the foreground. Red-brown bramble leaves are seen on the left and in the center. Other stumps and green and reddish plants are scattered on the ground, which is in shades of green, yellow, brown, and gray.

The lower border shows in the center a group of gods at a table, including Mercury with his caduceus, Neptune with a trident, Jupiter with an eagle, and a flying cupid. Elsewhere there are mermen and mermaids blowing horns, carrying vessels, playing with dolphins, and riding sea horses. The zodiac sign is the Scales, held by a cherub head. The dense masses of leaves, flowers, and fruit, with pink ribbons, of the upper border include red cherries, pale blue grapes, blue and purple irises, blue and green plums, red pinks, red and pink roses, and green and brown hazelnuts. On the far left, a small animal with a long, thin tail has seized a bird; there are two other birds and two gray-brown squirrels. On the right are other birds, one flying with outstretched legs. The side borders, which are not the same, show leaves, flowers, and fruit twined around a twisting, scaled green and yellow stem, which springs from a yellow-gray or blue vase at the lower corners. Red cherries, red and green pears, blue plums, red pinks, green and blue gourds, white lilies, red roses, green ears of wheat, red currants, yellow daffodils, and green and yellow hazelnuts can be distinguished. There are many small birds on the left side and a crested one standing on a

handle of the vase on the right, with another bird above.

#### CONDITION

A small section of the upper border near the left corner has been entirely rewoven on the original warps and shows as a paler patch. There are many areas of repair throughout, especially on the most prominent horse and rider, the boar's head, and the gray dog biting it. Yellow silk sections are much reworked.

#### SUBJECT

The Scales of the medallion identify the month as September, but the subject and the wintry landscape show that it is December. The chief huntsman has been identified as the emperor Maximilian or his brother Ferdinand and the building in the background as Drijborren (Trois Fontaines) or a now-vanished sanctuary. The Pillars of Hercules on a dog's collar show that the hounds are the imperial pack, as this was a device of Charles V.<sup>26</sup> A dog trampled by a boar is also one of his emblems. The huntsman's action, slowing his horse, rising in his stirrups, and thrusting at the boar with his spear, is the procedure recommended in Gaston Phoebus's *Livre de la Chasse* (written 1387–91).<sup>27</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The sixteenth-century tapestry has been reproduced with extraordinary exactness, except for the upper border, which has been taken in its entirety from the upper border of *September*.<sup>28</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The tapestry was woven in the workshop of Mozin and Dominique de La Croix, July 2, 1692, to July 6, 1693.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Decembers* of the first, second, sixth, and seventh Gobelins sets have not been identified; the subject was not included in the fourth, fifth, and eighth. The *December* of the ninth set is at Chantilly; it is an *entrefenêtre*, showing only the boar, the man blowing a horn, and the running man with the dogs behind. It has the correct zodiac sign of

the Goat. An example showing the left half of the design only (not reversed) was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 22, 1933 (no. 124, illus.), and June 9, 1936 (no. 148, illus.), and at the Hôtel Drouot, May 31, 1950 (no. 137, illus.); it has the border that was used on the eighth set (with the arms of the duc d'Antin),<sup>29</sup> with the LL of the French king in the upper border and the zodiac signs of October and December at the sides.

#### NOTES

1. Roger-A. d'Hulst, *Flemish Tapestries*, trans. Frances J. Stillman (New York, 1967) pp. 171–82; Gaston Migeon, *Les Tapisseries des Chasses de Maximilien* (Paris, 1920) passim; Schneebalg-Perelman, *Chasses de Maximilien*, passim (all tapestries and related drawings illustrated; the set is dated 1548–52, the designs attributed to François Borremans and Pieter Coecke, and the weaver said to have been Jan Ghieteels); Maryan Wynn Ainsworth, "Bernart van Orley as a Designer of Tapestry" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, 1982) pp. 78–87 (drawings attributed to van Orley and the set dated 1527–33).
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 307.
3. Remington, "Two Gobelin Tapestries," pp. 155, 158.
4. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) nos. 24, 25, pls. XIII, XIV.
5. *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* 45 (1950) pp. 108, 109, illus.
6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 312, 321. The labels show that the de La Croix November *entrefenêtres* became part of the inventory set no. 187 and the Le Blond *entrefenêtres* of no. 186.
7. *La Chasse, tapisseries du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, exh. cat., Arras Museum (Arras, 1962) no. 8, illus.
8. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 306–22.
9. Not included in the Double sale, Paris, May 30–June 1, 1881.
10. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 316.
11. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Tapisseries et broderie*, vol. 4 of *Catalogue raisonné de la collection Martin Le Roy* (Paris, 1908) no. 14, illus.
12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 317, 318.
13. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 318, 319.
14. Gustave Macon, *Chantilly et le Musée Condé* (Paris, 1910) pl. facing p. 264, three pieces seen in gallery.
15. Percy Macquoid, *English Furniture, Tapestry and Needlework of the XVIth–XIXth Centuries*, vol. 3 of *A Record of the Collection in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight* (London, 1928) pp. 104–07, pls. 101, 102, 104.
16. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 309, 310. The various inventories cited do not agree on the locations of all the pieces of no. 187.
17. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 300. She owned an *April* and a *December*, 4 m x 5.2 m. Though these dimensions are smaller than those of 47, it is possible that the borders may have been partly turned under. These pieces are described as having the early border design, the word "Spero" on *April* reversed, and the zodiac sign for September on *December*.
18. The dogs are lymers, or trackhounds (William A. Baillie-Grohman, *Sport in Art* [London, 1919] p. 83, note).
19. D'Hulst, *Flemish Tapestries*, p. 171.
20. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 302. A gentleman is shown bringing in a branch on which a stag has rubbed its antlers, a token of spring and of the opening of the deer-hunting season.
21. D'Hulst, *Flemish Tapestries*, p. 172.
22. Schneebalg-Perelman, *Chasses de Maximilien*, pp. 30, 32, 85.
23. Schneebalg-Perelman, *Chasses de Maximilien*, fig. 16.
24. Howard L. Blackmore, *Hunting Weapons* (New York, 1972) pp. 7–11. A spearhead of this type is in the Metropolitan Museum; it has a boar and a hound engraved on the crossbars and was made in Austria in the late fifteenth century (*The Secular Spirit*, exh. cat., MMA [New York, 1975] no. 234, illus.).
25. J. G. Mann, "Dog Armour," *Country Life* 68 (October 18, 1930) p. 502, fig. 2 (drawing of this detail from the Louvre tapestry).
26. Schneebalg-Perelman, *Chasses de Maximilien*, pp. 53, 57, 167. A drawing in Copenhagen is said to identify the site as Ter Hulpen in the southern part of the Soignes forest.
27. Ainsworth, "Bernart van Orley," p. 95, n. 51, pp. 168, 169. Charles V is considered the most probable person to have commissioned the set.
28. Schneebalg-Perelman, *Chasses de Maximilien*, pls. 47 (*September*), 61 (*December*).
29. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 317.

## 48 Diana and Actaeon

From a set of six or more subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

French (Paris); designed before 1680 and woven in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century in the workshop of Jean Jans the Younger (c. 1644–1723) at or near the Gobelins manufactory.

Weaver's name.

Wool and silk.

10 ft. 10 in. x 15 ft. 2 in. (3.3 m x 4.62 m).

20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. George S. Amory, in memory of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Amory Sibley Carhart, 1964 (64.208).

### DESCRIPTION

The fair-haired Diana stands in a pool of dark blue-gray water. She has a red and yellow headdress, a pearl earring, and a yellow armlet. Two nymphs attending her hold blue and brown draperies; the foremost wears a dull orange drapery. A third, on the right, has a red drapery and a spotted animal skin, and a fourth, on the far right, has red hair and dark green and blue drapery. The nymph in the center, farther away, has brown hair and yellow-brown draperies. Beside her is a brown bow and a pile of game which includes a brown rabbit and a red-brown bird with a blue head. The fair-haired Actaeon has a bright blue tunic, a brown animal skin draped around him, a bright red cloak, pink leggings, and yellow sandals. Three brown and gray dogs on the left and a white one on the right are about to attack him. Large trees with brown trunks and foliage in strong greens and blues with dull yellows are seen on the left, with a brown hawk in flight near the center. The cliffs and bushes on the right are in shades of brown, tan, and green, with two goats visible on a rock. The sky is pale above and gray below, with two birds and a distant landscape. The foreground shows a large plant with blue-green leaves and red flowers on the left, an iris with dull yellow flowers in the center.



The borders have narrow inner and outer bands with classical decoration. The ground of the main borders, all different, is red-brown and cream, covered with masses of fruit and leaves, with many small birds and animals. These include purple, blue, yellow, and green grapes; red, pink, and yellow peaches; red and yellow pomegranates and currants; red pears, apples, and cherries; blue plums; and green gourds. The monkeys in the lower corners and the upper borders are brown and gray; the squirrels, in all four borders, are red-brown and cream. There are also red, blue, and yellow parrots, blue and green butterflies, and small birds in brown, red, blue, purple, and green. The guards are dark blue, inscribed I · IANS · in yellow in the lower right corner (see detail). Silk is lavishly used, especially for yellows and creams.

### CONDITION

There are numerous small areas of repair, especially in the white dog, the lower part of the sky, and the distant mountains, particularly in silk passages. The top guard is a replacement. A narrow section at the top has been separated and reattached.

### SUBJECT

The metamorphosis of Actaeon, who had unwittingly seen Diana bathing, has begun, as deer's antlers are sprouting from his head. The series includes an unknown number of metamorphoses or other stories of the gods; the identified subjects are *Acis and Galatea* (two scenes), *Apollo and Daphne*, *Apollo and Hyacinth*, *Apollo Killing the Python*, *Bacchus and Ariadne* (two scenes), *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Cephalus and Procris*, *Cupid and Psyche*, *Diana and Endymion*, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Europa and the Bull*, *Flora and Zephyr*, *Jupiter and Callisto*, *Mercury and Argus*, *Narcissus and Echo*, *Pan and Syrinx*, *Venus and Adonis*, and, possibly, *Vertumnus and Pomona*. To these, a scene from Tasso of *Rinaldo and Armida* was often added. The series was certainly never woven as a whole.





#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The tapestries of this series fall into two groups: seven subjects known to have been first woven before 1684, and some fifteen others, some of them after paintings paid for in 1704–06.<sup>1</sup> 48 is one of the first seven; there is no evidence identifying its designer, but of the tapestries of this group, *Acis and Galatea* (Polyphemus looking at the lov-

ers) is after a painting by Charles de La Fosse in the Prado<sup>2</sup> and *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* is related to a painting by the same artist in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.<sup>3</sup> The painters of the later additions to the series were Louis de Boullogne, Nicolas Bertin, Antoine Coypel, and Charles de La Fosse.

Jean Jans the Younger succeeded his father, also called Jan (Jean) Jans, as head of the first haute-lisse workshop at the Gobelins in 1668 and held this position until 1723. He is also recorded in 1694 as having a private workshop outside the Gobelins called Le Grand Louis.<sup>4</sup> So many tapestries of the *Metamorphoses* are known in two versions, one reversed from the other, that quite possibly this workshop included basse-lisse looms; their products would have been cheaper and so more attractive to private customers. The *Metamorphoses* series was not made for the king in the usual way, though he bought seven pieces of it before 1684 and commissioned another set of seven woven between 1714 and 1720. The first extant weaving that can be dated was of four pieces made for the fifth earl of Exeter in 1680–81; this includes a *Diana and Actaeon* (reversed from 48) and is at Burghley House, owned by Lady Victoria Leatham.<sup>5</sup> Of the other five identified pieces of the same set as 48, three have subjects found in the Burghley House set. The borders of 48 are more characteristic of the late seventeenth than of the early eighteenth century.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four pieces of the same height and with the same borders, three of them signed Jans, were in the MM. X . . . sale, 19 avenue d'Iéna, Paris, December 16, 1933 (nos. h–k, illus.); the subjects are *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, *Diana and Andymion*, and *Acis and Galatea* (Polyphemus turning his back). The *Boreas and Orithyia* and *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* of this set were in the M. B. . . sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 9, 1936 (nos. 146, 147, one illus.), when both were said to be signed J. Jans, but when *Boreas* was sold again at the Galerie Charpentier, March 24, 1955 (no. 115, illus.), no signature was mentioned and the piece was attributed to Beauvais. An *Apollo and Daphne* of the same set, also signed by Jans, was in the sale of Mr. and Mrs. Amory S. Carhart of Tuxedo Park, at Parke-Bernet, New York, November 21, 22, 1941 (no. 445, illus.; described as Gouda, about 1660). It was the companion piece in this collection to 48, which was not included in the sale; it was later in the collection of Mrs. Gaby Salomon of Buenos Aires, sold at Christie's, London, December 2, 1971 (no. 152, illus.).

Louis XIV's inventory of 1684 included as number 92 a set of seven *Metamorphoses* tapestries woven by Jans and

Jean Lefebvre; the subjects named are *Jupiter, Diana and Actaeon*, and *Apollo and Daphne*.<sup>6</sup> The other subjects, the two scenes of *Acis and Galatea*, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, and *Pan and Syrinx*, are known from the four pieces of this set in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>7</sup> Paintings for another series of *Metamorphoses*, are known as the *petite tenture* (probably because the figures are small) were paid for in 1704–06; a set of seven pieces of this series, woven on basse-lisse looms for the king between 1714 and 1720, did not include any of the 1684 subjects.<sup>8</sup> But compositions from both series appear together in some sets, showing that the two groups of designs were looked upon as a single series from which subjects could be taken at random to make up sets. A set of four signed "Cozette" (*Diana's Return*, *Acis and Galatea* [Polyphemus looking at the lovers], *Flora and Zephyr*, and *Mercury and Argus*) from the collection of Sir Hugh Cholmeley were sold at Christie's, London, May 27, 1948 (no. 100); this set shows that at least some of the designs continued to be woven until well into the eighteenth century, as Cozette did not become a workshop head until 1735.

Two sets of six subjects are known. One, in the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth, is made up of *Acis and Galatea* (Polyphemus turning his back), *Apollo and Daphne*, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Diana and Actaeon*, and *Pan and Syrinx*. The other was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, February 12, 1955 (nos. 486–91, five illus.), and included the same subjects, except that *Venus and Adonis* took the place of *Boreas and Orithyia*. Four pieces from this set (*Acis and Galatea*, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, *Pan and Syrinx*, and *Venus and Adonis*) were in the Mrs. Gaby Salomon sale (no. 151, one illus.) and were sold again at Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1982 (nos. 12–15, all illus.).

The *Diana and Actaeon* in Bayreuth is narrower than 48, the seated nymph on the right being omitted. This is also true of the version in the 1955 Parke-Bernet sale (no. 486, illus.), which has a reversed composition. Its side borders have bunches of fruit, but no birds or animals; the horizontal borders imitate a wooden frame. The reversed composition is also seen on the tapestry at Burghley House. An example sold at Drouot Rive Gauche, Paris, May 16, 1977 (no. 67, illus.), is in the same direction and has the same border as 48; it is not as high, ending immediately above the flying bird.

Additional examples of the other subjects in the 1684 set not in the sets already mentioned include:

*Jupiter*: No example found, but possibly identical with *Jupiter and Callisto* or *Europa and the Bull*.

*Acis and Galatea* (Polyphemus turning his back): There is an example in the Burghley House set.

*Acis and Galatea* (Polyphemus looking at the lovers): An example is in a set owned by a New England foundation that was lent to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1919; it is signed "Jans des Gobelins."<sup>9</sup> Others have appeared in the M. X. . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 24, 25, 1926 (no. 234, illus.); the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 24, 1936 (no. 124); and at Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1966 (no. 14, illus.).

*Apollo and Daphne*: One was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 27, 1963 (no. 123, illus.).

*Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*: There is an example in the Burghley House set.

*Pan and Syrinx*: A version with an unusual border was sold at the National Art Galleries, New York, January 27, 28, 1933 (no. 262, illus.).

Examples of subjects in the *petite tenture* of 1704–06 not in the sets already mentioned include:

*Apollo and Hyacinth*: The subject was in the king's set of 1714–20. An example is in the set lent to the Boston Museum in 1919. Others were sold at Sotheby's, London, May 11, 1928 (no. 161d), and in the Vicomtesse Vigier sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 23, 1970 (no. 156, illus.). The design is from a painting of 1706 by Louis de Boulogne in the Grand Trianon.<sup>10</sup>

*Apollo Killing the Python*: The subject was in the king's set of 1714–20. An example is in the Cleveland Museum of Art,<sup>11</sup> and another was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 21, 1935 (no. 78, illus.). The painting was by Nicolas Bertin, but has not been identified.<sup>12</sup>

*Bacchus Greeting Ariadne*: An example is in the Mobilier National, Paris.<sup>13</sup> Others were in the Pannwitz collection,<sup>14</sup> the Mlle Darland sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 21, 1906 (no. 69, illus.), sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, April 6, 1908 (no. 60, illus.), and in the Bienenfeld sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, May 11, 1934 (no. 10, illus.). The composition is found in a print after Antoine Coypel, engraved by him and J. Audran;<sup>15</sup> a painting related to the print was owned by the Viennese dealer Kurt Spira in 1973 (watercolor), and another was sold at Peretz, Cologne, March 16, 1974 (no. 417, pl. 33, oil).

*Cephalus and Procris*: An example is in the Mobilier

National. Another was in the Fournès sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 27, 1935 (no. 124, illus.). The design is related to a painting by Louis de Boulogne at Saint Etienne.<sup>16</sup>

*Cupid and Psyche*: Examples were in the M. X. . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, March 24, 25, 1926 (no. 236), and in a sale at Christie's, December 11, 1952 (no. 241). The design is related to a painting by Antoine Coypel at Fontainebleau.<sup>17</sup>

*Diana's Return from the Hunt*: Probably the *Diana* in the king's set of 1714–20. There are examples in the set lent to the Boston Museum in 1919, signed "Jans des Gobelins"; the Cleveland Museum of Art; and the Huntington Galleries, West Virginia, signed "Jans."<sup>18</sup> Others were in the Mme L. Surmont sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 15, 1935 (no. 14, illus.), sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 9, 1982 (no. 128, illus.), signed "C. Audran"; C. G. Darley sale, Christie's, London, June 25, 1953 (no. 144); James Speyer sale, Parke-Bernet, December 10, 1942 (no. 134, illus.); the Château de C. . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, November 14, 15, 1955 (no. 345, illus.), and owned by the Berlin dealers A. & L. Bodenheimer, 1975<sup>19</sup> (from the Sir Edward Wills sale, Sotheby's, May 2, 1969, no. 11, illus.), signed "L.F." (Jean Lefebvre II). The painting was by Charles de La Fosse, made for the Trianon in 1688, and was in the French embassy in Saint Petersburg in 1914; versions of it are in the Hermitage, Leningrad, the Art Gallery, Toronto,<sup>20</sup> and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes.<sup>21</sup> The figures of Diana and her four companions were used in a Flemish tapestry, signed "Leyniers Reydam," sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, April 6, 1960 (no. 139, illus.), and at the Nouveau Drouot, March 19, 1982 (no. 99, illus.).

*Flora and Zephyr*: The subject was in the king's set of 1714–20. Examples, which often have marked differences, are in the Mobilier National, the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon, and the Cleveland Museum. Others were in the Darley sale (no. 144, illus.); sold at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928 (no. 161b, illus.), and July 1, 1966 (no. 15, illus.); Vigier sale (no. 155, illus.); Palais Galliera, Paris, June 15, 1962 (no. 153B, illus.), and March 25, 1969 (no. 167); and at Christie's, December 11, 1952 (no. 241, illus.). The design is after a painting by Louis de Boulogne at Fontainebleau.

*Mercury and Argus*: The subject was in the king's set of 1714–20. Examples are in the Louvre (inv. no. OA 6255) and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais.<sup>22</sup> One was sold at

Sotheby's, London, May 17, 1968 (no. 12, illus.); Sotheby Parke Bernet, Los Angeles, October 30, 1978 (no. 21, illus.); and Sotheby's York Avenue Galleries, New York, November 29, 1980 (no. 450, illus.). Others were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 9, 1909 (no. 102, illus.); Sotheby's, May 11, 1928 (no. 161c); and the Francis Guérault sale, Paris, March 21, 22, 1935 (no. 141, illus.). The painting by Bertin was in the Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, but was destroyed in World War II; the cartoon is at Versailles.<sup>23</sup>

*Narcissus and Echo*: The subject was in the king's set of 1714–20. An example is in the set lent to the Boston Museum in 1919. One was sold at Christie's, London, July 7, 1932 (no. 117), and another at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 15, 1962 (no. 153A, illus.), appearing again at the same auction house March 25, 1969 (no. 167, illus.).

*Vertumnus and Pomona*: An example with no borders is recorded as having been in the Fouret collection, Paris, in 1904.<sup>24</sup>

*Rinaldo and Armida*: The subject was in the king's set of 1714–20. Examples were sold at Sotheby's, London, May 11, 1928 (no. 161a, illus.); Menier sale (no. 122); Palais Galliera, Paris, March 28, 1968 (no. 192, illus.); Ernest Dreux sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 5, 6, 1911 (no. 216, illus.); Vicomte de Curel sale at the same auction house, May 3, 1918 (no. 60, illus.); Mrs. Beverley Bogert sale, Parke-Bernet, March 5, 6, 1954 (no. 366, illus.). A related drawing was in a private collection in Paris in 1978.<sup>25</sup>

Two landscape *entrefenêtres* were included in the *petite tenture*. No examples have been identified.<sup>26</sup>

Other subjects are not listed in the 1684 set or the *petite tenture*, but have appeared in conjunction with other tapestries of the series. They include:

*Diana and Endymion*: Examples are in the Calais Musée des Beaux-Arts<sup>27</sup> and in the set lent to the Boston Museum in 1919. Another was in the Menier sale (no. 123). One was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, Los Angeles, October 30, 1978 (no. 30, illus.), and at Sotheby's York Avenue Galleries, November 29, 1980 (no. 451, illus.).

*Europa and the Bull*: Examples are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais; the Palace, Lunéville (signed "Jans"); the set lent to the Boston Museum in 1919; and the Darley sale (no. 143, illus.).

*Jupiter and Calisto*: An example was in the Menier sale (no. 125).

*Boreas and Orithyia*: The example in Burghley House is reversed.

## HISTORY

In the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Amory Sibley Carhart, Tuxedo Park, New York, before 1941.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. George S. Amory in memory of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Amory Sibley Carhart, 1964.

## PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1964–1965*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 24 (1965–66) pp. 77, 78. Mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. "Mythological Scenes: A Tapestry Series after Laurent de La Hire." *Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Bulletin*, n.s. 4 (1973) p. 20, fig. 20.

## NOTES

1. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 121–32.
2. Francis H. Dowley, "Three Drawings by Charles de La Fosse," *Master Drawings* 2 (1964) pp. 50–54. The tapestry illustrated is the *Acis and Galatea* with Polyphemus turning his back, not the one that is more closely related to the painting, with Polyphemus looking at the lovers.
3. *Catalogue des peintures françaises*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (Dijon, 1968) no. 64, pl. 27. One of a set of four paintings made for the Château of Marly in 1699.
4. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 182, n. 1.
5. Information from the Burghley House archives provided by Dr. Eric Till.
6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 419, 420; vol. 3, p. 121. *Apollo and Daphne* is listed in the second reference as a subject in the 1684 set.
7. A.M.L.E. Erkelens, "Vier wandtapijten met Ovidius' Metamorphosen, Manufacture des Gobelins, Atelier Jans en LeFebure, van vóór 1684," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 7 (1959) pp. 64–69. Previously sold at Christie's, July 17, 1930, no. 157. The tapestries have the French royal arms.
8. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 129, 130. A *Diana* was probably *Diana's Return from the Hunt* rather than *Diana and Actaeon*.
9. S.G.F. [Sarah G. Flint], "The Metamorphoses: A Set of Gobelin [sic] Tapestries," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, 17 (1919) p. 5, illus.
10. Antoine Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon de marbre, 1688–1714* (The Hague, 1967) pp. 94, 95, no. 166, fig. 56.
11. Katharine R. Malloy, "Three Eighteenth-Century Gobelins Tape-stries," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 44 (1957) pp. 24–27, illus.
12. Thierry Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin (1668–1736), peintre d'histoire* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1981) p. 156, no. 157, fig. 13.



13. Guillaume Janneau, "Au Mobilier National: Nouvelles acquisitions de tapisseries et de meubles anciens," *Revue des Beaux-Arts de France* 8 (December 1943–January 1944) p. 97, illus.
14. Otto von Falke, ed., *Die Kunstsammlung von Pannwitz: Band II, Skulpturen und Kunstgewerbe* (Munich, 1925) no. 219, pl. 47.
15. "L'Oeuvre gravé des Coypel, II," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 64 (1964) pp. 148, 149, no. 44, illus.
16. Antoine Schnapper, "Le Grand Dauphin et les tableaux de Meudon," *Revue de l'Art*, nos. 1–2 (1968) p. 60, illus.
17. Schnapper, "Grand Dauphin," p. 64, illus.
18. *Three Hundred Years of French and Flemish Tapestry*, exh. cat., Huntington Galleries (Huntington, W.Va., 1966) illus., cover.
19. 7. *Kunst und Antiquitäten-Messe* (Hanover, 1975) p. 12, illus.
20. Margaret Stuffman, "Charles de La Fosse et sa position dans la peinture française à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 64 (1964) p. 104, nos. 33, 34, illus.
21. François Bergot, "Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes: Récents enrichissements," *Revue du Louvre*, 1973, p. 55, illus.
22. J. P. Samoyault, "Nouvelles acquisitions d'objets d'art," *Revue du Louvre*, 1968, p. 444.
23. Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, p. 162, no. 193, fig. 10 (Warsaw painting), p. 133, no. 55, figs. 11 (Versailles cartoon), 12 (Louvre tapestry).
24. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 131. Possibly this tapestry was actually a Beauvais version of this subject from the same series as 67, q.v.
25. Antoine Schnapper, "Plaidoyer pour en absent: Bon Boullogne (1649–1717)," *Revue de l'Art*, no. 40–41 (1978) p. 136, fig. 36. Attributed to Bon Boullogne.
26. The two landscapes lent to the Boston Museum as part of the set in 1919 have the Lille mark and the signature of G. Werniers.
27. Samoyault, "Nouvelles acquisitions," p. 444, fig. 6.

## 49 The Seasons of Lucas

Three tapestries from a set of four

a *Summer*

b *Autumn*

c *Winter*

French (probably Paris); designed by a Flemish artist about 1535; woven in the late seventeenth century, probably by Gobelins weavers.

Wool and silk.

49a 10 ft. 2 in. x 17 ft. 4 in. (3.1 m x 5.28 m);

49b 10 ft. 2 in. x 21 ft. 6 in. (3.1 m x 6.55 m);

49c 10 ft. 4 in. x 14 ft. 2 in. (3.15 m x 4.32 m).

20–21 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of Olivia M. Cutting, in memory of her husband William Bayard Cutting, 1950 (50.14.1–3).

### DESCRIPTION

The borders are in shades of red-brown and yellow. The guards are replacements, except for the left side of 49b, which is dark blue.

### SUBJECT

Each tapestry shows one or more typical occupations of country people in a season, with a presiding deity in the sky. The main occupation in *Spring* is catching fish in a river in nets (the method used in *March* [50b] in the *Months of Lucas*), with gardening, hoeing, and staking vines going on in the background; the goddess holds a book, an unexplained attribute, but also a branch, and so is presumably Flora. *Summer* shows the grain harvest and the payment of the laborers (as in *August* [50f] of the *Months of Lucas*) and is presided over by Ceres. *Autumn* has the vintage and a god on a goat, presumably Bacchus, and *Winter*, skating (as in *December* [50j] of the *Months of Lucas*), fire fighting (in other examples of the design), feeding hogs, and gathering wood; the god is presumably Boreas or Aeolus.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The known tapestries of this series are apparently all of seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century manufacture,

copied from a sixteenth-century set not known to be still in existence. It must, however, have been designed by the same hand or workshop as the *Months of Lucas*; the name, *Seasons of Lucas*, has thus been given to it, though Lucas van Leyden was not the artist.<sup>1</sup> The original tapestries were very wide. The border of 49 is a typical French design of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

### WEAVER AND DATE

The coloring and technique are characteristic of the Gobelins manufactory, but the series was never woven there officially. An example of *Winter* inscribed “L’Hiver” is another indication of a French origin. It is possible that the first French sets were made between 1694 and 1699, when the manufactory was closed; during this period some weaving is known to have been done and some sales to private purchasers were made.<sup>2</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Three complete sets are known. One was in the Viscount Wimborne sale, Christie’s, London, March 6–8, 1923 (no. 148, *Spring* and *Autumn* illus.), was next owned by Richard W. Lehne, New York,<sup>3</sup> and is now in the Brookline Trust Co., Brookline, Massachusetts. The borders (probably Flemish) do not belong to the tapestries and many sections are replacements. A set with metal thread from Balloch Castle, Scotland,<sup>4</sup> was in the Henry Symons sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 27–February 3, 1923 (nos. 1166–69, illus.), and the Frank H. Ginn collection,<sup>5</sup> and is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.<sup>6</sup> The borders are missing. Another is recorded as in the collection of Mme de Pruynes in 1930.<sup>7</sup>

A set of three pieces with metal thread (*Spring* missing) was in the King Louis Philippe sale at the Domaine de Monceaux, Paris, January 28, 1852 (no. 15); it was later

in the collection of George O. Hovey and in the Mrs. John T. Morse sale, American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, November 22, 23, 1929 (nos. 425–427, illus.). *Summer* was sold at Sotheby's, London, March 30, 1962 (no. 104; illus.), and in 1979 was on the New York art market. *Autumn* and *Winter* were in the collections of Mrs. Alexander H. McLanahan and William Randolph Hearst and are now in the Carnegie Institute Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.<sup>8</sup>

#### HISTORY

In collection of Mr. and Mrs. William Bayard Cutting, New York, from before 1913.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Olivia M. Cutting, 1950, in memory of her husband William Bayard Cutting.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Hunter, George Leland. "Tapestries in American Museums." *International Studio* 50 (1913) p. LXXI. Mentioned, as owned by the late W. Bayard Cutting.

Warwick House. *The Balloch Castle Seasons of Lucas*. New York, 1918, p. 6. Mentioned, as in the collection of Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting, New York.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 152. Mentioned, as in the collection of Mrs. Cutting.

MMA *Annual Report* 1950. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 10 (1951–52) p. 35. Listed as French (Gobelins), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

### 49a *Summer*

#### DESCRIPTION

In the center a reaper raises in his right hand a short blue scythe with brown handle and in his left holds a similarly colored curved implement;<sup>9</sup> he wears a red cap with brown feather, a white shirt, a green jacket with loosened red ties, red and yellow breeches, blue stockings, and red-brown shoes. To the left, a woman stoops to bind a sheaf of yellow wheat; she wears a white cap and blouse, tied at the wrists in red, a brown jacket, green petticoat, a tucked-up yellow-pink skirt, and brown shoes, and has a bunch of gray keys hanging from her waist by red and yellow strings. A seated man rests his right hand on a yellow-brown jug, as he proffers a brown mug with his left; he has

a red cap and leg coverings, a blue jacket, orange sleeves, and brown shoes. There is a knife in a yellow, brown, and red sheath hanging from his yellow belt. Between him and the woman is a dark-haired child, holding a brown spoon in one hand and a red, yellow, and green fruit in the other. His dress is green, with red belt and ties. A brown and yellow basket containing red and yellow fruit and a white napkin is hung over his left arm and he has a red and yellow pouch at his side. A brown dog raises its head toward him. A dull yellow, pink, brown, and black tree stump with a green vine growing up it is seen in the left corner, and a brown, green, and yellow tree, with green leaves and yellow fruit, encircled by a creeper with red berries, rises behind the stooping woman.

On the right of the tapestry, under an apple tree with a brown and gray trunk, green and yellow leaves, and red and yellow fruit, a woman sits on a gray and brown stone bench, her pink and pale yellow hat on the ground beside her. There are several gray and brown birds, some with red heads and wings, perched on the branches of the tree or flying nearby; on the right, three of them are tormenting a small owl. The woman wears a white headdress and blouse and a blue dress with red stripes and huge turned-back cuffs; these have a red pattern on a yellow ground. Her petticoat is red and her apron a green and yellow watered fabric, tied with a red cord. She has red-brown shoes with blue-slashed ends and she holds a red and yellow purse with a blue key in her right hand as she points with her left to a pile of pale yellow and gray coins on the bench. A fat kneeling man puts his hand on these. He wears a gray shirt, a red costume with a gray belt, yellow-pink leg coverings tied with red garters at the knee, and brown sandals. Over his right arm is a yellow ear of wheat tied to a blue cornflower and a pink poppy, on what may be his cap. Behind the bench stands a man in a red hat and sleeves, a yellow-green costume, red leg coverings, and brown slashed shoes. He holds a pale brown book in one hand and a yellow quill in the other; a brown inkpot and a penholder hang by red strings from his blue belt.

To the left of this group, in the middle distance, is a reaper seen from the back; he has dark hair, a white shirt, a sleeveless red jacket with a design of two crossed arrows and two rings in yellow and pale blue, pink breeches and leg coverings, and dark gray and brown shoes. He wields the same implements as the man in the foreground. Behind all the foreground figures is yellow standing wheat, with



49a

scattered red poppies, blue cornflowers, and other plants and flowers among it.

In the distance on the left are two pollarded green trees and a wagon drawn by two pale brown horses. A boy in red and yellow, sitting on a blue saddlecloth, rides one of the horses. A woman in pink with a large yellow hat sits at the front of the wagon and an embracing couple in red, pink, and yellow at the back. A pale green, pink, and gray castle beyond a stretch of water is seen above the horses. In the distance in the center are pale green and yellow trees and pale yellow and gray thatched farm buildings, with two women and three men in red, yellow, blue, and gray tying up sheaves of grain. On the right, a wagon drawn by

a brown and a gray horse crosses a pale brown wooden bridge and passes under a high roof; one of the horses has a rider in red and another man in pink and red follows on foot. Two gray and brown tree stumps with scanty green foliage are seen on the right.

In the sky in the center is Ceres, holding yellow ears of wheat and a blue sickle. She is in a pink costume with a yellow-green hat and cloak, tied with a red cord. Yellow-gray clouds surround her. The sky is pale blue and pale yellow. The foreground is in shades of green, brown, yellow, and gray, with many green and yellow plants; pale blue violets, red poppies, blue cornflowers, and white daisies can be distinguished.



## CONDITION

Bare warps are visible on dark sections, such as the tree stump at the far left, and on brown shoes and tree trunks. There are a few small areas of repair, notably on the right shoe of the kneeling fat man.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Both reapers, especially the one seen from the back, are close to figures in the *July* of the *Medallion Months* (see 3) in the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>10</sup> The two horses and the rider of the wagon on the left, with the woman in a large hat, are exactly repeated from the earlier tapestry. Ceres is close to the deity labeled "Rumana Concine." The woman paying wages is related to the similar figure in *August* of the *Bruges Months* in Vienna.<sup>11</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Brookline *Summer* shows the left half of the composition, except for the tree stump, but replaces the scene of the laborer receiving his pay with quite different figures, including a kneeling woman, with a sheaf on her shoulder, holding a child by the hand, a dog, and a picnic basket. There is more sky, and Ceres, who is smaller, is riding in a chariot. There is more foreground, with plants and tools. The Cleveland *Summer* is much smaller, extending only from the raised scythe of the foremost reaper to the back of the kneeling man on the right. Ceres is missing and the top is cut off above the flying bird near the apple tree. The *Summer* that belonged to Louis Philippe is the same on the left side, but is cut off on the right behind the kneeling man; there is an added strip at the bottom, showing agricultural implements and a ewer and cups on the ground. A *Summer* that belonged to Admiral Beatty in 1915<sup>12</sup> has a floral border and includes Ceres.

A upright panel of *Summer*, showing only the right side from the reaper seen from the back to the broken tree to the right of the laborer receiving his pay, was sold at the Hans W. Lange auction house, Berlin, December 6, 7, 1932 (no. 409, illus.), called Brussels, about 1600; it was later in the Ottmar Strauss sale, Hugo Helbing, Frankfurt am Main, May 21–24, 1935 (no. 1058, illus.). It has an elaborate border in the style of Louis XIV.

## 49b *Autumn*

### DESCRIPTION

Two men are treading blue, yellow, and pink grapes inside a large, low, open, brown cask. The one on the right wears a green jacket, white shirt, and yellow skirt; the one on the left has a pink hat with a white feather, red jacket, white shirt, and green breeches showing red in the slashes and fastened with blue ties. He reaches into a dark yellow bucket with a blue rim and handle held by a woman in a yellow straw hat, white head covering, pink and tan sleeves, blue jacket and skirt, red and dull yellow stockings, and brown shoes. She has a yellow-brown apron, a red and yellow bag on blue strings, and a brown knife hanging from her waist. Two boys cling to the sides of the cask. The one on the left wears a red and yellow jacket, a blue skirt, red stockings, and yellow-brown shoes; the one on the right is in red and yellow with green stockings and blue leggings, ornamented in red and yellow. He has in his left hand a dark yellow bucket with a blue rim and handle, filled with blue and yellow grapes. A child in green sleeps leaning against the cask, supporting himself on an upturned brown basket full of dull red and yellow grapes. Another sleeping child in red, dull yellow, and pale blue sprawls across his lap. Above them a man and woman carry between them a low brown cask filled with green and pink grapes, with green and yellow vine leaves. She wears a red and blue hairnet, a gray and white blouse, orange sleeves, a green dress laced across a dark red bodice, blue stockings, and red shoes. He has a red cap ornamented in yellow, a pale yellow shirt, red jacket lined with yellow, red and yellow sleeves, and red breeches and leg coverings, with blue showing through the slashes. At his feet, a seated child in red and yellow presses red juice from a bunch of blue and yellow grapes into the mouth of another child in blue sprawling on the ground. Behind them, a man in a blue coat, brown apron, red stockings, pale brown leg coverings, and brown shoes kneels on a yellow-brown barrel as he empties red juice from a blue-handled brown wooden bucket into it. At his side is a small red bag.

On the far right, a young man in an orange coat, red stockings, yellow-brown leg coverings, and black and brown shoes stoops to pick bunches of blue grapes from a vine with green and yellow leaves. He has a brown knife with a blue pattern at his side and his red cap lies on the

ground beside him. Behind him rise tall trees with gray and brown trunks and blue and yellow leaves; a convolvulus climbs up one of them. At the far left, two men stand under two trees with pale brown trunks, up which grows a vine with green and yellow leaves and pink and blue grapes. The man turning his back has one foot on a brown tree stump; he wears a red hat with a yellow medal, a green coat with blue bands and a pale brown fur collar, red sleeves, red stockings, and brown shoes. He has a red, blue, and yellow dagger slung behind him. To the right is a woman in a green dress ornamented in yellow, dull red and yellow sleeves, dull red and tan petticoat, blue stockings, and tan sandals. She holds a vine branch with green and yellow leaves and blue and pink grapes and has simi-

lar grapes in her apron. Two women are seen behind her, one in a green and dull red dress, with red and tan sleeves; she has a red and blue carrying pad on her head. On this is a dull yellow basket of pale blue and pink grapes. The other woman, in orange and pale gray, stoops to lift a brown basket of dull pink and yellow grapes. Behind the winepress are a man and a woman in blue, yellow, pink, and green, both carrying brown baskets of dull pink and green grapes on their backs.

Behind the foreground figures is a brown wattle fence, with a pale yellow-brown opening covered by a high roof on which sit two brown birds. A man in red with a grape basket on his back comes through the opening, followed by a woman in dull red and lavender. A woman in yellow



sitting on the fence in the center by a gray-brown pollarded tree is embraced by a man in red. To the right of the opening, a bagpipe player in dark pink with yellow-brown leg coverings and brown shoes sits on a pollarded tree stump; he plays for four dancing couples in red, pale yellow, blue, and pink. One man and all the women wear dark blue-green wreaths. A pale yellow hill planted in green and yellow vines rises behind them with a small brown hut on a pole, approached by a ladder, standing among them.<sup>13</sup>

In the distance on either side of the hill are buildings, fields, trees, and hills in shades of green, yellow, pale blue, and brown. On the left, two dancing figures in pale pink, blue, and yellow are visible. On the right, an approaching

man has a basket on his back and two shepherds in red and blue are accompanied by a brown dog with a red collar and several pale brown sheep. The sky is yellow-blue with yellow-pink clouds. A bearded deity in pink and blue is seen riding a brown and gray goat above the distant hill. The foreground is in tones of green, brown, dull yellow, and gray; there are two orange and yellow buckets with blue handles filled with blue, pink, and dull yellow grapes and many plants with green and yellow leaves and blue and pink flowers. At the right is a tall pale yellow-pink mullein.

#### CONDITION

A vertical tear in the center reaching from the lower border to the waist of the woman in green has been coarsely sewn up. There are bare warps in dark passages, such as the tubs, and many small repaired areas, especially in yellow silk parts.

#### SUBJECT

The two men in the far left are usually found in the same position in *Spring*. The man on a goat, who should be Bacchus, has more the appearance of the drunken Silenus.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Brookline *Autumn* omits the figures on the far left and right; the two men on the left were used in the *Spring* of this set. There is more sky; the raised hut has a pointed roof and there is another one in the distance. There is an extra band of flowers below the figures. The Cleveland *Autumn* is much smaller, extending only from the woman holding a bucket of grapes and the gateway above her to the man emptying wine into a cask and the two children below him. It is cut off at the top close to the roof of the gate; the raised hut and the deity are missing. The Pittsburgh *Autumn* is also narrower, omitting the two men and the trees on the left; on the right, though the trees are present, the stooping man is missing. It shows an extra band of plants, flowers, and containers of grapes below the figures.

An example that was in the sale of the comte de Chaudordy at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 20–23, 1903 (no. 404, illus.), omits the two men and the trees on the far



left and the bending man on the far right. It has a rich Brussels-type border of swags of fruit and flowers, with the emblem of the Scales and the word “Sep / tēber” at the top.

The scene, in two parts, divided immediately to the right of the large tub, is found on what are now two tapestries in the Château of Ville-de-Val in Lorraine, owned by the Pommery family.<sup>14</sup>

## 49c *Winter*

### DESCRIPTION

A frozen lake in shades of blue extends from the far left to past the middle of the tapestry. At its edge, in the center foreground, is a seated bareheaded man fastening a skate. He has a blue jacket, orange and yellow cloak, and red and yellow leg coverings. He still has on one orange and yellow shoe, with red showing through the slashes over the toes; the other lies on the ground beside him, with one slipper that he will apparently wear under his skate. What is presumably his blue and dull yellow hat is also on the ground beside him. A man in a yellow cap, a blue hood falling over his back, red jacket, dull red stockings, and yellow shoes bends over him. To the right of this pair stand a man and two women, seen from the back. He wears a yellow cap, a spotted red hat, blue jacket, and orange boots; a red and yellow sword in a brown sheath hangs at his back. The woman on the left has a dark red cap, blue dress, and green coat with a brown fur collar and a broad red stripe at the hem. Her shoes are red-brown. The one on the right has a red and yellow headdress and a deep red robe.

In the lower left corner are two children in green, yellow, red, pale brown, and blue huddled over a brown brazier. On the lake, on the left, is a man holding a short brown stick; he wears a blue hat with red plumes over a red and tan cap, a pale red and tan costume with blue ornamentation, pink and tan leg coverings with blue garters, brown shoes, and dark blue skates. Next to him, a man in red and yellow, with dark green leg coverings tied with pale red and dull yellow garters, has a short yellow sword in a brown sheath at his back. He pushes a woman in a red hat with gray and yellow feathers over a white headcloth fastened with a yellow band, red sleeves, a blue dress ornamented in yellow, red petticoat, and brown shoes; he has blue skates, she has not. Seen between this couple and the man putting on his skates are a boy and a

girl who have fallen down on the ice. She is wearing a blue cap, white blouse, blue sleeves, green dress with a white belt, and dark yellow stockings. Two brown oval shapes beside her feet are apparently what she is using instead of skates. The boy, who has skates, is in red, with a dull blue hat and yellow leg coverings. Farther away on the ice, two children in green and pink pull two others in pink and blue on a sled, and a man in red and tan with a pale blue cloak raises his hands. Another, in a red hat tied with a blue ribbon and a green, yellow, and blue costume, skates toward the spectator. Two men in red, green, and yellow, holding hands, come up behind him, and other people, in red, yellow, and blue, are seen on the ice and on the banks of the lake.

In the distance, four enormous brown pigs feed at a brown trough, watched by a swineherd in red and blue. On the right of the tapestry are bare green, gray, and brown trees with sparse dark green leaves. A man in a dull yellow hat, dull orange coat, and gray leg coverings, and a woman in a white cap and blue dress lined with dull orange emerge from among them; a man farther away, in pale blue, pink, and red, carries a bundle of wood on his back. Three seated figures are seen immediately behind the foreground group. An old woman has a blue hat and a dull red and yellow dress; a man in a yellow hat and blue jacket puts his hand on her shoulder. A boy in pink is seen behind him.

On the far shore of the lake on the left is a palace in shades of pale yellow, brown, and blue, approached by a brown bridge. Huge green vines appear at the base of the palace. The background shows fields and bare trees in pale shades of blue, green, yellow, gray, and brown, with a single distant figure on the left. In the center are rocky crags in brown, grays, and dark green. Beyond them are buildings and bare trees, with some distant figures, all in pale tones of brown, gray, blue, and yellow. The sky is pale yellow-gray at the sides, with dark blue-gray clouds in the center; these contain many small heads of winds with pink and yellow wings and a draped figure in pale blue. The foreground is in shades of black, brown, green, and gray, with a dark brown tree stump on the right and some red and yellow plants.

### CONDITION

The tapestry may have been cut on the left; the left border is a replacement and there are introduced sections





49c

to the left of the man with a raised hand and in the landscape above. There are many areas of bare warps, especially in darker passages. Small patches of repair are evident in most of the costumes, especially on the deep red dress of the woman with two companions in the foreground; there is a larger repaired area at the top of the sky immediately above her.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The general composition and a number of the incidents are like *December* in the *Months of Lucas* (50j), but none of the figures has been directly borrowed.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Brookline *Winter* is much wider. It excludes the couple emerging from the trees on the far right, but includes the man carrying sticks and continues past the two children and the brazier, who are here almost in the center of the composition, with a large number of seated and standing figures. In the distance above them are burning buildings and people running with ladders. There is more sky and an extra band of plants and pebbles at the base. The Cleveland *Winter* includes the left half from the man putting on his skates to the children with the brazier; it continues with the Brookline figures and background. It is cut down at the top, so that the towers of the palace and

most of the cloud, including the deity, are not seen. The Pittsburgh *Winter* also has the figures and the burning building on the left, but it extends to the right to include the man with two women in the foreground and the man carrying sticks in the distance. The top of the palace is visible and there is an extra band of plants above the lower border. Much the same composition was used for a *Winter* owned by Amherst College, though here the right-hand border cuts through the foreground group, and the far left figures and the burning buildings have been omitted; there are no borders. The example in Bourges includes the burning building; there are no figures in the sky. A version in the Detroit Institute of Arts is very wide, with a number of bare trees on the right beyond the couple leaving the wood; the zodiac sign of the Goat (December) is on a medallion in the upper border and a fleur-de-lis on the lower guard. One in the Hôtel Lallemand, Bruges (with a *Spring*), has a narrow border with fruit, flowers, and leaves.

A *Winter* in the A. W., Vienna, sale at Paul Cassirer, Berlin, December 7, 1926 (no. 73, illus.), has all the extra figures on the left and includes half the man bending over the man putting on his skates, but the upper border cuts through the palace immediately above the gatehouse; there is no fire and no cloud with winds. The borders have bunches of fruit and flowers tied with ribbons; in the upper one are the scales (for September) in a roundel and the words "L'Hiver."

A *Winter* in the Annette Lefortier sale, American Art Association, New York, December 2–4, 1920 (nos. 518, 519), is in two parts, one showing the left side missing in 49c, the other, the central portion of 49c. A *Winter* with the missing portion only, in a plain framelike border, was in the Emma Budge sale, Paul Graupe, Berlin, September 27–29, 1937 (no. 450, pl. 94), and was owned by the Berlin-Düsseldorf dealer Bodenheimer in 1970.<sup>15</sup> A wide version with the lower right corner cut off was owned by Mrs. Charles Van Raalte, Brownsea Castle, Dorsetshire, in 1921,<sup>16</sup> and was sold at Christie's, February 20, 1930 (no. 138, illus.). Another was at Canford Manor, Poole, Dorset, in 1888.

#### NOTES

1. The name was first applied by William G. Thomson in 1915 (quoted in the Henry Symons sale catalogue, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 27–February 3, 1923, pp. 282, 283), who believed Lucas was the designer.
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. VII.
3. Karl Freund, "Four Gobelin [*sic*] tapestries," *International Studio* 80 (1924) pp. 234–38, all illus. Described as after Lucas van Leyden, woven by Pierre Lefèvre, 1685–1700.
4. Warwick House, *Balloch Castle Seasons*, pp. 5–22, all illus. Called Gobelins, first half of eighteenth century.
5. Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 152. Said to have been copied from sixteenth-century tapestries after Lucas van Leyden by Gobelins weavers in the last half of the reign of Louis XIV.
6. Evelyn Svec Ward, "Four Seasons Tapestries from Gobelins," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 40 (1953) pp. 113–19, *Summer* and *Autumn* illus. Dated late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.
7. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "L'énigme des 'Mois de Lucas,'" *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'Histoire de l'Art* (Brussels, 1930) vol. 2, p. 499, n. 2.
8. *Carnegie Magazine* 55 (1981) pp. 6, 7.
9. This method of reaping was used in the Low Countries and is frequently found in Flemish art (Edith A. Standen, "The Twelve Ages of Man," *MMA Journal* 2 [1969] p. 150).
10. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 2, pl. 146.
11. Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinssammlung* (Vienna, 1920) pl. 115.
12. Lawrence Weaver, "Hanover Lodge, Regent's Park, the Residence of Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, K.C.B.," *Country Life* 37 (May 1, 1915) p. 591. The tapestry was not included in the Beatty sale, Christie's, May 12, 1938.
13. According to information provided by Philippe Chapu, former director of the Musée des Vins de Touraine at Tours, these structures are watchtowers for sheltering men or boys engaged in frightening away birds. A similar tower is seen in the *February* miniature in the Da Costa Book of Hours in the Morgan Library, New York, attributed to Simon Bening of Bruges, about 1520, and the *February* in a Book of Hours from the atelier of Gerard Horenbout and Simon Bening in the collection of Peter Ludwig, Aachen (Sandra Hindman, "Pieter Bruegel's *Children's Games*, Folly and Chance," *Art Bulletin* 63 [1981] p. 455, fig. 10).
14. *Merveilles des châteaux d'Alsace, de Lorraine, de Champagne, des Provinces de Liège, de Limbourg et de Luxembourg* (Paris, 1974) p. 106, illus. on wall of Grand Salon (called Flemish, end sixteenth century).
15. Advertisement in *Weltkunst* 40 (1970) p. 1558, illus.
16. Robert Lutyens, "Brownsea Castle, Dorsetshire, the Seat of Mrs. Charles Van Raalte," *Country Life* 49 (April 9, 1921) p. 436, fig. 9.

## 50 The Months of Lucas

Ten tapestries from a set of twelve

- |                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| a <i>January</i> | f <i>August</i>    |
| b <i>March</i>   | g <i>September</i> |
| c <i>April</i>   | h <i>October</i>   |
| d <i>May</i>     | i <i>November</i>  |
| e <i>July</i>    | j <i>December</i>  |

French (Paris); designed by a Flemish artist of the school of Bernaert van Orley (known as the Master of the Months of Lucas) about 1535, with additions and alterations, probably by Joseph Yvart (1649–1728) and Charles Chastelain (1672–1755) about 1721, and perhaps by Louis de Boullogne the Younger (1654–1733) about 1731; the borders by Pierre Josse Perrot (fl. 1724–1735); woven 1732–37 in the haute-lisse workshop of Michel Audran (1701–1771) at the Gobelins manufactory for the comte de Toulouse (1678–1737), son of Louis XIV and Mme de Montespan.

Weaver's name on 5ob, c, d, e, g, and h.

Wool and silk.

Height 50a–j 11 ft. 10 in. (3.61 m); width 50a 10 ft. 4 in. (3.15 m), 50b 15 ft. 4 in. (4.67 m), 50c 8 ft. 10 in. (2.69 m), 50d 19 ft. 3 in. (5.87 m), 50e 10 ft. 1 in. (3.07 m), 50f 15 ft. 5 in. (4.7 m), 50g 15 ft. 6 in. (4.72 m), 50h 9 ft. (2.74 m), 50i 19 ft. (5.79 m), 50j 15 ft. 9 in. (4.8 m).

20–21 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1944 (44.60.1–10).

### DESCRIPTION

Each tapestry shows characteristic occupations of peasants or gentry or both for each month. The borders imitate carved gilded wooden frames, as if lit from above and the left, in tones of dull yellow, tan, rust red, and brown. In the top center are the French royal arms with a difference (*De France au bâton peri en barre de gueules*), yellow fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground, for Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse, surmounted by a count's coronet and encircled by the collars of the orders of the Golden Fleece, Saint Michel, and the Saint Esprit in tones of dull red and yellow. At the base, partly covered by the cross of the Saint Esprit, is a pale blue anchor, for the count's office of Admiral of France. At the four corners are cartouches, framed by heavy red-brown or purplish scrollwork, with the letter A (for Alexandre) in dull red

and yellow (sometimes bluish) on a dark blue ground. Similar cartouches in the centers of the lower borders have partly dark blue, partly brown grounds, with a sign of the zodiac in pale brown and tan on each. From all five cartouches spring bunches of naturalistic flowers and blue foliage; none of these is identical on any single tapestry, but the same designs have been used on all the pieces. The flowers include white lilies, pink roses, red and lavender poppies, pink honeysuckle, and others in shades of blue, pink, cream, and white. The guards are dark blue. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

Pieces of earlier linings attached to the present linings of *January*, *March*, *April*, and *September* have nearly illegible inscriptions, stating, in French, that these pieces are from a set (*tenture*) of nine with the signs of the year, and giving the dimensions in *pieds* and *pouces*. These may have been written when nine of the tapestries were owned by King Louis Philippe.

### CONDITION

The first six *Months* show alterations made in the course of weaving to increase the height. Some pieces, especially the wider ones, show extensive fading in the backgrounds. *July* and *August* have substantial modern rewoven sections. For details, see discussion of individual tapestries.

### SUBJECT

The occupations, a combination of rustic tasks and aristocratic pleasures, are mostly typical Flemish sixteenth-century ones. The name by which the series is known was given to it in the seventeenth century, when the designer was thought to have been Lucas van Leyden. The appearance of two-headed eagles on the floor tiles of *January*, on the horse trappings of *May*, and on a grain container in *November* suggest that the original set was woven for a member of the imperial family, possibly the extremely richly dressed fair woman who appears in many of the tapestries.

#### SOURCES OF THE DESIGNS

The sources for the set were twelve Brussels tapestries woven about 1535 that belonged to Louis XIV and were destroyed in 1797. Three Flemish drawings at Chatsworth, two in the Metropolitan Museum (formerly in the Harry Sperling collection), one in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, and one in the Hermitage, Leningrad, are closely connected with these tapestries; they have not been attributed, and the designer of the series is accordingly called the Master of the Months of Lucas.<sup>1</sup>

The first Gobelins weavings of this series, made before 1695, were copied directly from Louis XIV's Brussels set, including the typical Flemish sixteenth-century borders. Bonnemer is recorded as having made 118 drawings of parts of figures for the set woven by de La Croix and Mozin in 1688–89, as well as a woman and child in *May*, and Chastelain and Yvart made a widened version of *August* in 1721. The additions that make this *August* wider than the sixteenth-century original are mainly trees and landscapes, very different from the large foreground figures that have been added to *March*, *May*, *September*, *November*, and *December* of 50. New cartoons are indeed listed in 1736 as having been made for all the *Months*, but the only wide one was for *May*, which was twice as wide as it was high; the other *Months* kept their original, nearly square format.<sup>2</sup> The later weavings of *May* are wide tapestries, but *March*, *September*, *November*, and *December* are always upright or square except for those of 50. It would seem, therefore, that the important side figures in these four tapestries, such as the boy with a watering can in *March*, the white dog in *September*, the man, woman, and child in impossible costumes on the left in *November*, and the two youths on the far left and right in *December*, were designed especially for this set. Of the artists named as having made new cartoons for the *Months of Lucas*, Bonnemer and Joseph Yvart (Yvart  *fils*) were dead before 1730; of the remaining two, Charles Chastelain is known to have specialized in landscape. Louis de Boulogne the Younger, however, was then nearing the end of a most distinguished career; he was First Painter to the King and had been ennobled. His work at the Gobelins, naturally, dates mostly from his early years (see 45), but perhaps for a son of the king, such as the comte de Toulouse, he was willing to undertake the trivial task of adding figures to existing tapestry designs.

The eighteenth-century French designer, whoever he

was, has attempted to make his figures harmonize with the earlier ones, sometimes copying costumes fairly closely; an example is the boy carrying a watering can in *March*, who wears the same type of jacket as the man raking the flower bed. The jester of *May* was presumably suggested by the one who originally appeared in the center of the tapestry, rolling a hoop; he has similar rows of bells at his waist and knee. Sometimes, however, the eighteenth-century artist succeeded only in providing figures in fancy dress, like those at the left in *November*.

Full-scale cartoons (*modèles*) at the Château of Fontainebleau for *January*, *March*, *June*, *November*, and *December* do not include the additions. That for *May*, however, shows the jester on the left instead of in the middle, as he appeared on the Brussels original. These are presumably the new cartoons listed in 1736, with only *May* enlarged into a wide tapestry.

The borders are basically the same as those designed by Pierre Josse Perrot for the fourth set of the *Mythological Subjects*, begun in 1733,<sup>3</sup> and somewhat like those used on the set of the *Hunts of Maximilian* made for the comte de Toulouse, now at Chartres and Chantilly (see 47).<sup>4</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Seven of the tapestries of the set, including six of 50, are signed by Michel Audran, who became head of the first Gobelins haute-lisse workshop in 1732. This shop made another set in its entirety between 1733 and 1743; the second haute-lisse atelier made one between 1731 and 1735 under Jean Lefebvre the Younger, and, under Mathieu Monmerqué, divided one equally with Audran's men between 1737 and 1740. As there must have been two cartoons for each tapestry by this date, with additions especially designed for the unusually large number of wide tapestries needed for the comte de Toulouse's set, no difficulties would have arisen in weaving 50 as well as the official sets made for the king between 1732 and 1737, except for *May*. This *Month*, in its wide form, was put on an Audran loom in 1734 as part of a set woven for the king, but was not finished until 1743; it seems almost certain that the wide *May* cartoon was taken from behind this loom so that it could be used to weave 50d.<sup>5</sup> Although there is no proof that the set was finished before the count's death in 1737, it may well have been, as another set was begun in that year.



## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The months missing from this set, *February* and *June*, belong to the Mobilier National, Paris. They are both wide panels. *February* has several extra figures on both sides, with a woodcutting scene instead of the procession of satyrs of the Flemish original in the background on the left and a door with vases above it on the right. *June* has more sheep on the left and two large trees on the right; it is signed by Audran.

Six pieces of the series made in Paris for Fouquet are known only from an entry in Louis XIV's inventory. The first Gobelins set was made for Colbert at an uncertain date; it is included in the inventory made in 1685 after his death, but is not otherwise known. The second was made for the king in 1688–89; it is an exact copy in reverse of the originals and now belongs to the Mobilier National, ten pieces being in the Château of Pau. Two other sets are known to have been finished by 1695; they were not woven for the king and so no account of their manufacture has survived, except that they were made by Jean Lefebvre the Elder, an haute-lisse *entrepreneur*, and were “pareilles à celles que le Roy a.” A complete set in the Mentmore, Buckinghamshire (Lord Rosebery) sale, May 18–27, 1977, Sotheby's (nos. 802–13, all illus.), has been identified with one of these sets; it is similar to the Pau set, except that it is not reversed and has a red eagle under a crown in each upper corner. Nine pieces are signed by Dominique de La Croix and one each by Jean de La Fraye and Jean Souet, all basse-lisse *entrepreneurs*. Another set, also an exact copy, except for the borders, was woven for the king between 1712 and 1715. It was given to the Swedish ambassador, Count Erik Axelsson Sparre, in 1717; seven pieces have been identified.

Three pieces not reversed, with a simplified version of the original border, were made for the princesse de Conti and are now at Pau. A set from new cartoons, with a new border of an eighteenth-century type, reversed except for *January*, *February*, and *March*, was woven from 1731 to 1735; the arms of the king of Poland were added when he acquired it in 1737. It now belongs to the Mobilier National, with *July* and *October* missing; *March* is in the Louvre, and four pieces are at Pau. Another set was made for the king between 1733 and 1743; *June* is in the Louvre, *November* and *December* in the Mobilier National, and *July* in the Spanish National Collection. The border was altered for a set made from 1737 to 1740 and given to

Count Brühl of Saxony in 1746; eleven pieces were in the Residenzmuseum, Dresden, but are now lost.<sup>6</sup> *April* is in the Louvre and *November* in the Hermitage, Leningrad. Seven pieces were made between 1747 and 1751, two of which belong to the Mobilier National. The last official weaving, from 1767 to 1770, was of four pieces, two of which belong to the Mobilier National.

Seven pieces and an *entrefenêtre* are known of a set with the arms in the upper corners of the comte de Toulouse and his wife, Marie Victoire Sophie de Noailles, whom he married in 1723. They are exact copies of the Brussels originals with the border of the first Gobelins sets, except that medallions with playing children replace the heads in the centers of the sides. These borders are not known to have been woven after the fifth set, made in 1712–15. The arms are apparently replacements, possibly of recent date, and the set may well be one of the seventeenth-century weavings. The *February* of this set is in a private collection in Innsbruck; *March*, *June*, *July*, *September*, and *December* are missing. The *entrefenêtre* is now in Vaux-le-Comte, owned by the comte de Vogüé.

Other sets were made as private commissions; the most nearly complete one, other than 50, contains nine pieces (*March*, *September*, and *October* missing) in scattered locations. (For these and other examples, see under the separate *Months*.)

## HISTORY

Made for the comte de Toulouse, 1732–37.

Inherited by his son, Louis Jean Marie de Bourbon, duc de Penthièvre (1725–1793), on his father's death in 1737; hung in the Hôtel de Toulouse, Paris.

Nine pieces (*February*, *June*, and *October* missing) sold with the collection of King Louis Philippe (1773–1850), grandson of the duc de Penthièvre, at the Domaine de Monceaux, January 28, 1852, no. 2.<sup>7</sup>

Nine pieces in the collection of the third Earl Somers (died 1883), Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire. Inherited by his daughter, Lady Henry Somerset (died 1921).

*October* was in the Vaile collection and was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 20, 21, 1898, no. 181, illus., as part of the collection of M. X . . . (perhaps de Bondy).

Owned by Duveen Brothers in 1918.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., collection, New York, probably before 1920.

Given to the MMA by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1944.

## EXHIBITIONS

- Cleveland Museum of Art, 1918. *Loan Exhibition of Tapestries*, cat. nos. 30–34 (*January, March, April, September, October*). Lent by Duveen Brothers, said to be from Eastnor Castle.
- New York, MMA, 1920. *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*. Listed in leaflet, *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, Loans and Special Features*, p. 11, as lent anonymously.
- Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1950. *The Eighteenth Century Art of France and England*, cat. no. 115 (complete set).

## PUBLICATIONS

- Thiery, Luc Vincent. *Guide des Amateurs et des Étrangers voyageurs à Paris*. Paris, 1787, vol. 1, p. 306. Description of the Hôtel de Toulouse, including tapestry set, “faite sur les dessins de Lucas de Leyden.”
- Lafond, Paul. “Les tapisseries du Château de Pau (suite). Les Mois dits de Luca.” *L’Art* 52, pt. 1 (1892) p. 17. Mentions tapestries in Louis Philippe sale (called probably Flemish, or workshops of Savonnerie, or Louvre), sold for 6,210 francs. Original tapestries attributed to Bernaert van Orley, with two or three after Lucas van Leyden.
- Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 365–68, 370. *February* and *June* (then in the French Embassy, Saint Petersburg) and *October* (Vaile collection) identified and listed as part of the twelfth set, woven for the comte de Toulouse, about 1725; Louis Philippe’s nine pieces said to be probably the remainder of the set. Original tapestries said to be later than Bernaert van Orley, but the attribution to Lucas van Leyden doubted. All Gobelins sets listed with contemporary documentation. *February* and *June* of Toulouse set illustrated, pls. facing pp. 364, 366 (as in the Mobilier National).
- Latham, Charles. *In English Homes*. 3rd. ed., London, 1909, vol. 1, p. 329, illus. pp. 325, 327, 328. Called Gobelin [*sic*], “taken from Fontainebleau during the three days revolution, in the time of Louis Philippe.” *January, March, April, May, July, September, November, December* are visible, in whole or in part, on the walls of the Library and Small Library of Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire, then owned by Lady Henry Somerset, daughter of the third Earl Somers.
- Kendrick, A. F. “Tapestries at Eastnor—II.” *Burlington Magazine* 28 (1915–16) pp. 72–75, pl. II (*May*). Set identified as the *Months of Lucas*, weaver’s name and comte de Toulouse’s arms mentioned. *May, July, August, November, and December* named as components of the set.
- J. B. [Joseph Breck]. “French Decorative Art and Sculpture of the Eighteenth Century.” *MMA Bulletin* 15 (1920) pp. 132–34, illus. (six pieces on walls of MMA Gallery of Special Exhibitions). Ten pieces lent anonymously for MMA *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*.

- Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 129, 151, 179, 180, 241, pls. XII, b (*January*), c (*April*), d (*October*); XVII, e, f (*November*, details). Original tapestries attributed to Lucas van Leyden, shortly after 1526. Set said to be in the collection of Mr. John D. Rockefeller. Charles V and Isabella of Portugal identified as all three couples in *January*, associated with double-headed eagle on floor tiles.
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, pp. 145, 508. Original tapestries said not to be after Lucas van Leyden. *October* in Vaile collection said to have been piece in M. X . . . sale, Paris, 1898.
- MMA *Annual Report* 1944, p. 2, *January*, illus.; pp. 8, 26. Said to be woven for count of Toulouse under direction of Michel Audran, probably between 1732 and 1737. Designs possibly work of Lucas Cornelisz.
- Remington, Preston. “A Great Gift of Tapestries.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 3 (1944–45) pp. 89–95, *January, October, May, November, March, and December* illus. Designer of original tapestries said to be perhaps Lucas Cornelisz. Dated 1732–37.
- Jones, Mary Eirwen. *British and American Tapestries*. Hadleigh, Essex, 1952, p. 78, *November* illus.
- Remington, Preston. “The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 67, *November* and *December* illus. in gallery.
- Standen, Edith A. “Drawings for the ‘Months of Lucas’ Tapestry Series.” *Master Drawings* 9 (1971) p. 7, fig. 5 (*January*).
- Coffinet, Julien. *Métamorphoses de la tapisserie*. Paris, 1977, p. 188, illus. *May*.
- Standen, Edith A. “Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: V. Rococo and Neo-Classicism.” *Apollo* 114 (1981), p. 36, figs. 1 (*January*), 2 (*April*), 3 (*November*), 4 (*December*). Eighteenth-century additions to compositions noted.

## 50a *January*

### DESCRIPTION

The two-faced Janus sits behind a table in the center under a high cream-colored canopy; the overhang is decorated with cherub heads and the cloth of state has a pattern including affronted birds, picked out in blue and red. There are plumes in containers at the front corners of the canopy. Janus wears a red hat and hood and a pale lavender dress; he holds a blue snake biting its tail. On his right is a sleeping figure with a blue and yellow wreath; on his left, a woman in red and pale blue, with a wreath of blue and yellow leaves, holding a yellow cornucopia with

blue and green leaves, purple grapes, and other fruit. Three couples are parading in front of the table, two in the foreground, one entering through a doorway on the left. The men carry pale yellow and brown flaming and smoking torches, the women, pale yellow headless arrows. All the men wear the same costume: a red hat with pink and white plumes, over a blue and yellow cap; a blue jacket, decorated in yellow, with dangling sleeves and a scalloped yellow collar, worn over a red and pink long-sleeved garment and a white shirt; a yellow sash, from which a sword with a yellow hilt and brown scabbard is slung; puffed and slit red and brown breeches; red hose and yellow sandals. The women have fair hair and wear blue and yellow caps with long white scarves dangling from them; green sleeveless dresses decorated in red and yellow; pink and yellow sleeves; and white sashes ending in blue and yellow tassels. Between the two foremost couples is a white and brown dog with a red and yellow collar.

On the left, seen through the doorway, is a crowd, not dressed like the parading dancers; the figures in front are in blue, pink, pale yellow, and white. Behind them, a tall pale cream building is visible against a pale blue sky. On the right, alongside the table, are a drummer with a red cap and pink costume, a jester in dark blue and yellow, and a man in red, blue, and yellow, playing a transverse flute. The table is covered with a white fringed damask cloth, with some dishes on it. The wall behind the canopy has pale brown simulated wood paneling with carved reliefs of fantastic birds and foliage. A gray pilaster on either side has a pale blue capital with a yellow cherub head and classical foliage. The wall frieze at the same height has a dark blue ground and dull yellow ornament. A yellow birdcage with blue tassels hangs by a blue cord on the left; it contains a green parrot. Between the birdcage and the doorway is a red and pink pillar with an elaborately decorated base, backed by a dark blue vertical band. On the right, behind the musicians, is an elaborate brown sideboard with dark blue and yellow inset panels. On it are a number of blue and yellow vessels, presumably representing crystal and gold; a tall gold cup has a standing figure on the cover. The table and the musicians stand on a raised brown wooden floor, but the foreground is tiled; white bands separate squares with two-headed blue eagles on yellow grounds. The zodiacal figure in the lower border is Aquarius, shown as a nude boy pouring water from a jug in each hand.

#### CONDITION

A strip at the bottom is an addition, apparently made at the time of weaving to increase the height. There are a number of small areas of repair. The horizontal guards are replacements.

#### SUBJECT

Janus, two-faced and holding a snake biting its tail, a symbol of Eternity, is frequently found in representations of the month of January (see 2a). The sleeping figure on his right could be Bacchus or perhaps the Old Year; the woman with the cornucopia, Ceres, or the New Year. Bacchus and Venus, with their names inscribed beneath them, stand on either side of the feasting two-faced Janus in the *January* panel of the *Medallion Months* (see 3). The headless arrows carried by the women may refer to the passage of time, which, in the year just beginning, is to fly by without causing any harm.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The sixteenth-century Brussels tapestry, no longer in existence, from which the composition is derived, is known from a Flemish (or possibly, Paris) example, with gold, sold at Wechsler's Galleries, Washington, May 22–24, 1970 (no. 996, color illus.), now in the Nereo Fioratti collection, New York, and a Gobelins weaving at Pau from the first set made for the king, 1688–89.<sup>8</sup> Both of these show the composition reversed (the original was certainly in the same direction as 50a) and both are nearly square; the section above the dais in 50a has been added to at the top and another row of tiles at the bottom. There are some other small differences; the scarves of the two foremost women dancers in 50a fall in more complicated and graceful curves, the man with his back turned shows more of his profile, the other male dancer has his sword at his left side, and there is more space between the heads of the figures and the birdcage and canopy. On the whole, however, the original has been very closely followed, including the colors.

A cartoon in the Château of Fontainebleau shows the graceful curves of the scarves.

The calendar page for *February* in the Book of Hours known as the Golf Book in the British Library (fig. 35) shows a very similar scene with a lord sitting under a cloth



of state in the center background and a dancing couple in the foreground; the man carries a flaming torch held upside down. There are musicians playing the fife and drum, with a jester, on the right, and two men, dressed like the male dancer, on the left. People enter through a door in the left background and there is a display of plate on a cupboard on the right.<sup>9</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore example is owned by Bernard C. Solomon, Century City, California. It omits the sleeping figure on Janus's right, as do the pieces in Pau and the one with the added Toulouse-Noailles arms. The last was in the Norton Simon Foundation sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 7, 8, 1971 (no. 229, illus.); it has the straight-falling scarves of the early versions. The sleeping figure is present, however, on the *January* of the set woven by Souet in 1712 and given to Count Sparre; in 1928 this tapestry belonged to Countess Eva Trolle-Bonde, Stockholm.<sup>10</sup> It has the nearly square format and is in the same direction as the Brussels original. The women's scarves also preserve their original lines. The *January* woven 1734–35 by Lefebvre, belonging to the set bought by the king of Poland, but later returned to the French crown, is in the Mobilier National, but the piece of 1737–40, by Audran, from the set given to Count Brühl, has been lost. Monmerqué's weaving of 1747–48 is in the Mobilier National.<sup>11</sup> This has the zodiac signs of Pisces, or February. The design has been enlarged at the top, so that the ceiling rafters are visible.

Examples from other sets, privately commissioned, are known. A *January* signed "L.F." (Lefebvre) belonged to Mme Masselin, Paris, in 1876;<sup>12</sup> it has a version of the border used by Lefebvre in 1731–35 and is from the same set as four pieces formerly in the Joseph Widener collection (see 50c, *April*). It is probably the example in the Comte Greffulhe sale, Sotheby's, London, July 23, 1937 (no. 63, illus.), which has borders like those of the seventh and eighth sets, but with no coat of arms or royal initials, and with the zodiac sign in the upper border.

A somewhat crude example with the composition reversed from that of 50a and borders of the Flemish type was acquired by William Randolph Hearst from French & Co. in 1922. It contains gold thread.<sup>13</sup> Though called French seventeenth century, it is probably Flemish.



FIG. 35. *February*, attributed to Gerard Horenbout. Miniature from the Book of Hours known as the Golf Book. British Library, London (Add. 24098 f 19v).

## 50b *March*

#### DESCRIPTION

The lady sitting on a brown stone seat in the center, with a fair-haired child in a red dress and dull orange leggings at her knee, wears a red hat fastened over a white head covering. Her shirt is lavender-pink, with dull yellow ornament; over it is a sleeveless blue robe, decorated in red and yellow. Her undersleeves are red and the full oversleeves are pink and dull yellow. She has a narrow brown fur band around her neck. The child holds up a bright red





50b

object, perhaps a cake or toy. On the left is a gardener, raking a flower bed. He has a red cap, green shirt, dull orange jacket, red breeches, and brown-white stockings and shoes with red laces. Behind him, a man in blue with a pink and red cap sits on the dark blue fence; he has a red and yellow bag and dagger hanging from his red and yellow belt. On the right, a fair-haired young man with a red

cap holds a large brown watering can as he stands by a tall brown tree wreathed with a dark blue-green creeper. He wears a lavender undergarment with a dull orange jacket over it, dull red breeches, and brown stockings and shoes. Behind the lady are three men, standing under a pale gray raised roof, with two birds on it, supported by light and dark blue beams. The man on the left has a red cap and

cloak, green dress, and pink stockings; the man on the right is in yellow with a pink cap, blue leggings with yellow ties, and yellow shoes. Between them is a bearded man in pale blue. A blue railing behind this group marks the extent of a garden with flower beds framed in blue. A stooping woman, with a yellow hat and sleeves, white head covering, blue dress, and pink jacket, places a plant in a bed. Behind her, a woman in pale blue and yellow holds a pale yellow basket with potted plants on her head; a young man in dull yellow and red raises his hands to relieve her of it. On the far right, inside the fence, a kneeling fair-haired man in dull yellow and pink supports himself on a brown watering can as he places a plant in a bed. Across the fence is a girl in pink and pale blue holding a basket with potted plants on her head.

On the far left is a rushing blue and white stream in which stands a fair-haired young man wearing a pink jacket, blue breeches, and yellow boots. He holds the long handle of a bag-shaped net containing gray fish and eels. The other end of the bag is held by a man with a red hat, blue head covering, yellow and red dress, white apron, red leggings, and yellow shoes. The fish are being ladled into a shallow yellow bucket with a gray rim; other fish lie on the ground beside it. The stream is blocked by a net slung between yellow poles. Farther away, a man with a red cap and pale pink and yellow costume stirs the water with a stick; on the bank beside him is a white horse with a rider in blue and a standing man. Two other men are pollarding the willows that extend along the edge of the water until it reaches the walls of an extensive castle in pale grays and yellows with pale blue roofs. Two figures stand in a round-arched window above a pedimented doorway, leading to a bridge; two other figures are seen in the doorway. Dimly seen buildings extend in the distance to the right, with hills behind them. A landscape with small buildings, trees, and hills forms the background on the left. The sky is pale blue in the upper left, pale gray and white elsewhere; there are three flocks of birds.

In the foreground, between the child and the man with a rake, is a white vase decorated in blue holding a carnation plant, confined by a yellow framework; the flowers are red and white, the leaves blue-green. On the ground below the man with the rake is a spade with a blue blade and a yellow handle. On the far right is a brown pot with a blue-green plant in it. Leaning against it is a reel of brown cord of which one end is attached to a long dark gray nail, intended for use in aligning flower beds. A large pair of

shears with brown handles and black and gray blades lies beside the flowerpot. The ground is in shades of brown, gray, green, and tan, with, in the center and left, a number of blue-green plants. Below the shears is inscribed in dark red-brown: AUDRAN. The zodiacal sign is Aries, a ram.

#### CONDITION

An irregular band immediately above the lower border appears to be an addition made at the time of weaving to increase the height. There is a patch at the corner above the scallop of the medallion in the lower left corner. The background is faded. There are small areas of bare warps, but no extensive repairs. The horizontal guards are replacements.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The original composition can be inferred from the example at Pau, woven in 1688, by de La Croix at the Gobelins;<sup>14</sup> this has the same direction as 50b, but is presumably the reverse of the original Brussels tapestry. The scene is cut off immediately to the right of the seated woman and above the birds on the roof; the whole of the right section of 50b, including the third man in the group under the roof, the boy with the watering can, the tree with the creeper, and the two figures by the fence, are eighteenth-century French additions. A figure in the center of the tapestry, standing between the child and the man with the rake, has been omitted. The Mentmore example is similar to the one at Pau, but reversed; it has more sky.

None of the additions appear on the cartoon in the Château of Fontainebleau.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Besides the Pau and Mentmore tapestries, the *March* woven by Lefebvre, 1732–33, in the set bought by the king of Poland, survives and is in the Louvre.<sup>15</sup> The composition is upright and ends to the right of the three men under the raised roof; it has been enlarged at the top to show more sky and there is more grass in the foreground. The central figure by the child seen in the Pau example is missing. *March* from Audran's set of 1737–40 was in Dresden; this is also upright, resembling the Louvre piece.<sup>16</sup>

## 50c *April*

### DESCRIPTION

On the right, under a tall brown tree with green leaves, stands a fair-haired girl playing a yellow and white lute with brown strings. She wears a blue and yellow hairnet, a red and yellow cap with a yellow plume, a white bodice, yellow sleeves, red necklace, and a red dress with a square-cut neck edged in dark blue and yellow. Below her sits a woman holding a wreath of flowers; she has a red and yellow cap with a yellow plume. Her underskirt is pale orange-brown with red bands, her sleeves pink and red, ornamented in yellow; a full, blue cloak with a yellow pattern covers most of her body. She wears a yellow necklace and belt. Beside her, a seated woman in a pink dress, shading to purple-gray, plays on a pale yellow and brown dulcimer; she has a blue and yellow cap and sleeves. Between the two women, a fair-haired boy in blue and pink is partly visible. A fair-haired woman in bright red kneels in front of the group, holding flowers. Her sleeves are blue, puffed through an openwork of red lozenges edged with yellow and studded with white gems; she has a pink cap, held by a braid of her hair, and a yellow belt. On the left behind her is a fair-haired boy supporting a shepherd's crook over his shoulder with his right hand and holding a pale brown dog on a rope with his left. He has a red hat, blue jacket, red leg coverings, pale brown stockings, and brown shoes. A woman in red and blue with a yellow hat and brown basket follows him. Behind them are a flock of sheep and, in the distance, several cows, with a woman milking one of them.

A pale blue body of water is seen in the center. On it is a pale yellow boat poled by a man in red and blue at the stern. Next to him are a seated couple in yellow, the man with a dark blue hat. A recorder player in pink and yellow stands in the center of the boat and another figure in gray with a blue cap is seated in the bow. On the other side of the water is a castle in gray and pale yellow with a brown bridge leading to the entrance; two figures stand in the doorway. In the background on the left is a wattle fence with a gate and beyond it a well, with a tall apparatus for raising the water, and two figures. Beyond this are thatched half-timber buildings and a wide landscape of pale yellow and green fields and woods. The sky is pale blue above, pale gray below.

In the foreground are plants with leaves in shades of green, yellow, and blue, with red, pink, and white flowers. In the center is a yellow and brown openwork basket holding blue, pink, and white flowers, including pinks and honeysuckle. The ground is in shades of green, brown, and tan. In the lower right corner in dark red-brown is the name AUDRAN. The zodiacal sign is a bull (Taurus). The dark blue guard is inscribed in yellow at the lower right: AUDRAN.

### CONDITION

A narrow horizontal band just above the castle is a replacement, as are a vertical one on the far right including the misdrawn end of the lute, and the upper guard. An adjustment was apparently made at the lower left corner during the course of weaving.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The original composition is known from a Flemish tapestry formerly in the Ffoulke collection<sup>17</sup> and now in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. This is reversed compared to 50c, so that the girl plays the lute with her left hand. It has a horizontal format, ending immediately above the roof of the castle in the background and below the dress of the seated woman in the foreground; all the figures are more widely spaced. The building in the background and the shepherd's dog are both completely visible, the man between the two women has a beard, the man in the boat plays a transverse flute, and there are more flowers in the foreground. The shepherd carries a *houlette* instead of a crook and there are pollarded willows at the water's edge. There are thus no substantial eighteenth-century alterations or additions in 50c.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore example is like the Flemish *April*, but is reversed. The piece at Pau, woven by de La Croix, 1688–89, has been cut on both sides and a border from another tapestry has replaced the original;<sup>18</sup> it is in the same direction as 50c. The man in the group has a beard and the end of the lute is correctly shaped. A piece with the added Toulouse-Noailles arms was sold at Christie's, July 2, 1981 (no. 11, illus.), and is now in Vaux-le-Vicomte,



owned by the comte de Vogüé; it has the wide spacing and variations in detail of the Flemish original and the composition is reversed from that of 50c. Also at Pau is *April* from a set of three pieces woven, 1731–35, for the princesse de Conti, with a simplified version of the original border.<sup>19</sup> This has a horizontal format and preserves the wide spacing of the original, with all details previously mentioned as occurring in the Flemish version; extra width has been obtained by adding, beyond the lute player and the tree, some figures with sheep from *June*. It is in the reverse direction from 50c. Lefebvre's weaving of 1732–33, with the royal Polish arms, is in the Mobilier National and Audran's of 1737–40 is in the Louvre;<sup>20</sup> the latter is in the same direction but not as high as 50c. It is slightly wider, showing another tree on the right of the lute player and all the skirt of the seated woman with a wreath in her hand.

An *April* from a set made for a private purchaser was formerly in the Joseph Widener collection;<sup>21</sup> it was sold at Samuel T. Freeman, Philadelphia, June 20–24, 1944 (no. 489), and at Sotheby's, July 24, 1959 (no. 205). It has the same border as the Masselin *January* and is signed "L.F." (Lefebvre); it is very close to Audran's piece of 1737–40 in the Louvre, except that the extra tree to the right of the lute player is larger. Another example, in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, is in the reverse direction to 50c; it preserves the early features, but has an eighteenth-century type of border with children in medallions, very similar to the Martin Le Roy *May*, except that there is no sign of the zodiac.<sup>22</sup>

## 50d *May*

### DESCRIPTION

Under a tall tree with brown trunk, dark green leaves, and red fruit on the right are a white-bearded man on a white horse and a fair-haired woman on a dark brown one. Each holds a spray of green and yellow leaves. The man has a gray-pink cap over a pink and yellow head covering and a blue jacket. His horse has pink and yellow harness. The woman has a yellow and pink hat, yellow and white sleeves, and a very full dress in red with a pink pattern, held at the shoulders by red jewels, and a blue

belt. Her horse has pink harness with a dull yellow pattern; the saddlecloth has a blue center, decorated with dull yellow medallions containing two-headed eagles. Behind this pair are a fair-haired young couple both riding a horse that has a pale yellow head and black mane, legs, and tail. The boy has a pink cap, white shirt, blue and red breeches, pale blue leg covering, and a pale yellow cloak; the girl has a pale yellow hat, pink and white costume, and a wide blue cloak ornamented in yellow. The saddlecloth is gray-pink with a pale gray pattern. A couple are sitting on the ground in front of the riders. The girl has a white kerchief, a blue hat with pink and yellow feathers, and a blue dress; the fair-haired boy has a red hat with a blue plume, a pink slashed costume with blue appearing in the openings, blue stockings, tied with red below the knee, and brown shoes. He has a brown and yellow short sword slung at his side and leans on a brown and white drum, holding a drumstick.

On the far left is a stone fountain in shades of gray and brown under a brown tree with dark green foliage; white water gushes from a fantastic carved head and falls into a rectangular basin full of blue and white water. A jester with white hair and beard sits on the rim. He has a red and pink costume with a blue belt, decorated in dull yellow, from which hang yellow bells. His red garters also have yellow bells. His shoes are brown. He leans on a cream-colored tambourine with a blue band around it as he turns toward a fair-haired seated woman in red-purple and a pink hat with a white plume. On the ground beside her sits a woman with fair, elaborately dressed hair, in blue, with pink appearing at the shoulders and through the slits of her sleeves. She has a red belt. A fair-haired child in red with a blue and yellow sash, holding a yellow ball in his left hand, embraces her. Next to them is a white dog with black and brown markings. In the lower center of the tapestry, running to the right, is a fair-haired child in pale blue with a yellow belt and red boots, who holds yellow arrows with dark blue and red feathers and dark gray points. Behind him is a man in pink and blue with a red cap, bending a yellow bow; he has a brown quiver full of red, blue, and yellow arrows at his back.

In the middle distance is a tall maypole, with a hanging circlet and foliage halfway up it and a bird at the top. At the foot of the pole, two men in pale pink, blue, and yellow are about to loose arrows at the bird. Around them is a crowd of men in similar colors, some carrying bows. On





50d

the right are a man beating a drum and another playing a fife; on the left is a young woman.

In the distance on the left is a low wall with many people sitting or leaning on it; behind this are substantial buildings, trees, and bushes. More people, some dancing, are visible in the center, with a castle and low hills in the background. On the right is a wood in very pale greens and yellows with people and a dog emerging from it, some carrying bows or branches; a man and a woman, both riding on a white horse, lead the way. On the far right is a glade between dark blue, green, and yellow trees. The sky has some pale blue patches at the top, but is largely in shades of gray. The foreground is in shades of brown,

gray, green, and tan, with many plants in dark blue-green; some have red, pink, blue, and white flowers. On the lower right, in dark brown, is the name AUDRAN. The zodiacal sign is a pair of nude children (Gemini) on clouds.

#### CONDITION

Small areas of repair are visible throughout, especially in the sky and lower left corner. An irregular strip along the lower edge indicates an alteration made at the time of weaving to increase the height. The horizontal guards are replacements.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The original composition is known from a Flemish tapestry formerly in the Ffoulke collection and now in the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. This is in the reverse direction from that of 50d and includes only the central part of the design, from the group of three people sitting by the fountain to the hindquarters of the black horse, omitting its tail. Only the heads and shoulders of the second couple on horseback are visible; they are standing, not riding, immediately under the large tree. The woman who turns to look at the jester is replaced by a seated young man, looking toward the center of the tapestry. Between the running child and the seated woman and child is a jester, stooping to roll a spoked hoop. There is no dog. The large building in the background is clearly a church and a fair, with booths, is being held in the churchyard.

The cartoon in the Château of Fontainebleau shows the jester at the side, not in the middle, but does not include the fountain.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore example repeats the Flemish composition. The *May* with the added Toulouse-Noailles arms was in the Norton Simon Foundation sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 7, 8, 1971 (no. 230, illus.); it was owned by the Paris dealer Dario Boccara in 1976. It has the same composition in the same direction as the Flemish original except that it is square; the design is cut on the right and the figures are more crowded.

The example woven by Souet in 1712 was in the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 24, 1936 (no. 107, illus.); it is a narrow upright in the opposite direction from 50d, showing only the riders in a compact group under the tree, the seated couple in front of them, and the drum and fife players behind. The distant man and woman embracing each other are seen between the white horse and the drummer. The *May* of the three pieces made for the princesse de Conti, 1731–35, is at Pau;<sup>23</sup> it is also in the opposite direction, and is horizontal, but the extra width has been gained by adding trees and plants on either side instead of new figures. The distant embracing couple and the jester rolling a hoop are present, the dog in the foreground is missing. The same early features are seen on a *May* formerly in the Martin Le Roy

collection, sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 23, 1983 (no. 137, illus.), which has the zodiac sign of the scales (September) and side borders of an eighteenth-century type with small cupids in medallions. These also appear on a *May* in the United States Embassy, Brussels.

Lefebvre's *May* of 1732 in the Mobilier National is horizontal and includes the jester by the fountain and the extra couple on the right; it has been further enlarged on this side by the addition of a standing young man and two dogs. Audran's *May* of 1737–40 was in Dresden and the *May* of 1747–51 in the set woven by Monmerqué and Cozette, given to the cardinal des Lances in 1771, is in the Palazzo Doria, Rome.<sup>24</sup> The latter is narrower than 50d, the left border cutting off part of the fountain and the tree above it; the couple on a single horse on the far right are missing. The *May* by Cozette of 1767–70 belongs to the Mobilier National.

Examples from sets commissioned by private purchasers are also known. One without borders, signed "Audran," is recorded as having been in the Reitlinger collection, Paris.<sup>25</sup> A wider composition, with the young man and two dogs behind the riders, was used for the *May* in the Paul Meurice sale, Hôtel Drouot, May 25, 1906 (no. 61, illus.), sold again at the Hôtel Georges V, Paris, March 19, 1981 (no. 385, illus.), and at the Hôtel Drouot, June 17, 1982 (no. 148, illus.); the border is that of the four Widener *Months*. A simpler border, without any medallions or zodiacal signs, was used on a *May* by Audran in the Cleveland Museum of Art;<sup>26</sup> it shows the four riders, but not the jester at the fountain, though including the woman turning toward him.

## 50e July

#### DESCRIPTION

Under a tree with a brown trunk, dark green leaves, and reddish fruit are a woman on a white and pale brown horse and a man on a pale brown one with dark mane and legs. She wears a blue hat with red, pink, and white feathers, a blue petticoat, and a yellow sleeveless dress with a blue pattern; her upper sleeves are lavender and pink, her under ones dull yellow. A hooded hawk perches on her gloved right hand; the horse's harness is pink. Her companion has a red hat with pink plumes, a pink coat, and red sleeves; he tosses up a gray lure with a red center. His



horse has a blue harness. To the left is a young fair-haired man on foot, wearing a red cap with a pink feather. He has a white shirt, a red, blue, and yellow jacket, red breeches, and leg coverings, tied below the knee with blue and yellow garters, and blue openwork sandals; he holds a dead white bird in his right hand and a yellow stick in his left. A sword in a brown scabbard hangs at his left side, and he is accompanied by two white dogs, one with brown spots.

A prickly bush with dark green leaves and red fruit is seen behind the spotted dog. Above are two men, both with long sticks over their shoulders. The foremost is in pale pinks and yellows with gray shoes; he has a sword at his right side. The bald, bearded man behind him is in dull pale red, pink, and blue. At the right of the tapestry is a tree stump with a few green leaves and a dark green vine twisted around it. Behind this is a blue pond; on the near bank, a boy in pink and red sits on a blue cloth. Two nude boys are swimming in the pond and two others are on the far bank, one in the process of taking off a white garment. Their pink and white clothes lie behind them.

In the distance, two men in red, white, yellow, and blue are cutting green grass with scythes. On the far left is an open shed in dull pale yellow with a bridge in front of it and a man in blue and yellow standing under it. Another man in dull red, yellow, and white approaches. In the center, above the hooded hawk, is a loaded yellow hay wain drawn by two pale brown horses; a man rides one of them. In the sky, at the upper right, a pale gray hawk swoops on its prey. The distant landscape, with buildings, trees, fields, and low hills, is in very pale tones of yellow and gray. The sky is blue in the upper right, white and pale gray elsewhere, except in the upper left, where it is in a colorless, neutral tone, with no variations. The foreground is in shades of brown, green, tan, and yellow; at the lower left it has a marked reddish yellow tone. There are a number of dark green plants and brown pebbles. At the lower right, in black, is the name AUDRAN. The zodiacal sign is a lion (Leo).

#### CONDITION

The left side is modern. The new section starts at the top to the left of the central tree, includes part of the landscape, most of the bearded man and prickly bush, and the

rear end of the spotted dog; it continues through the lower border about midway between the central and corner medallions. The colors in this section, which includes the whole left vertical border, are much faded and have a yellowish tinge. An irregular horizontal strip at the lower right indicates an adjustment made at the time of weaving to increase the height. The background is faded. The horizontal guards are replacements.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The original composition can be inferred from the example at Pau,<sup>27</sup> which is in the same direction as 50e and certainly a reverse of the Brussels original; the walking man in the foreground of the tapestry at Pau wears his sword at his right side, an error that has been corrected in 50e. The chief difference is the position of the two dogs, which are shown nuzzling each other immediately under the horses; there are also more children swimming and more figures harvesting. The hawk attacking its prey is absent and the trees in the center and on the right rise to the upper border which cuts them off.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore *July* and the one woven by Souet in 1714 that was in the Gaston Menier sale (no. 109, illus.) are in the reverse direction from 50e and preserve the early composition with the dogs below the horses and more swimming and harvesting figures. A *July* signed "Audran" in the Spanish National Collection may be from his set of 1733–43; that from the set of 1737–40, by Audran and Monmerqué was in Dresden. A *July*, without borders, signed "Audran," is recorded as showing a vintage scene, and so presumably is actually *October*.<sup>28</sup> Another, lent to San Francisco in 1922,<sup>29</sup> was owned by the New York dealer Vojtech Blau in 1980; it has the same border as the four pieces formerly in the Widener collection. It is very close to 50e, but is slightly reduced on the left and at the bottom. An example in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, is in the reverse direction to 50e. It preserves the early features, but has a border with children in medallions, very similar to the *May* formerly in the Martin Le Roy collection, except that there is no sign of the zodiac.<sup>30</sup>

## 50f *August*

### DESCRIPTION

Under a tree with a brown trunk and green foliage, an elderly woman, paying her farm laborers, sits on a dark gray-brown rock. She wears a pink cap over a white kerchief, a pink dress with blue stripes around the hem, a red belt, green petticoat, and yellow and brown shoes. She has a red bag in her right hand and presents a white coin to a young man in a red jacket, blue breeches, and gray stockings and shoes; he has a yellow bag and what is possibly a knife container slung from a yellow belt. Between the two people is a pale brown dog with a red spiked collar. Behind it, a man with a white beard leans on a yellow stick. He is dressed in blue, with a pink cap and yellow and brown shoes. To the left of the old woman are two seated boys. The foremost has a dull blue coat, red cap, red stockings with blue garters, and gray and yellow shoes; he holds a pale yellow board on which he is making a tally with a piece of chalk. The boy partly visible behind him is in pale brown. Farther to the left, a young man holding a stick sits on the same rock. He has a pale blue cap, a fringed yellow sleeveless jacket over a pink shirt, gray-pink stockings with pink garters, and pale yellow shoes. A blue belt supports a pale gray object at his side. Facing him, a young girl places some white coins on a pale brown block. She has a white kerchief and a blue dress with a pale pink collar, belt, and cuffs; she holds a pale yellow bag in her left hand. On the far left are two dead tree trunks in pinkish brown with a green vine twisting around them. To the right of the central group is a seated woman wearing a red and white cap, a gray-pink dress with detached red sleeves over a white blouse, a brown petticoat, and a yellow apron; she has her left hand on the handle of a yellow and brown basket containing a white substance. She sits under two tree trunks with scanty green foliage. In the foreground on the right is a brown and white dog with two links of a chain hanging from its collar.

In the middle distance on the left, on the other side of a pale blue pond with green reeds, is a farm wagon laden with sheaves of grain, in shades of pale yellow, gray, and brown. A man in pale pink and yellow, holding a pitchfork, walks beside it. It is drawn by two pale brown horses, one ridden by a boy in pale blue-gray, flourishing a whip. They are approaching a gate tower, stone below and

wood above; in the doorway are a man in blue-gray holding a pitchfork and a woman in pale dull pink. A stone wall is seen behind the wagon, with a farmyard on the other side. Here is a well, with a woman lowering or raising a bucket, a farm cart, and thatched buildings; on the left and in the distance are green trees and bushes.

Behind the central figures of the tapestry is a field of grain. To the left, it has been cut and laid in sheaves; in the center two women are stooping to bundle it, and on the right two men are reaping, their short scythes raised in their left hands. Another wagon drawn by two horses is being loaded. Farther to the right are a man holding a long scythe and two bending women in pale pink and blue. On the far right, nearer the foreground, are a man in a red cap and red-brown costume, with a gray pouch at his side, holding a stick, and a girl with a pink cap and a blue and pink dress. Fields, trees, and low hills in pale yellows and grays are seen in the distance. The sky is pale blue on the upper right, abruptly changing to a colorless neutral tone near the corner; on the left, it is covered by gray and white clouds. The foreground is in shades of gray, brown, pale yellow, tan, and green, with many dark green plants; a few pink flowers are visible. At the far right, it has a marked reddish yellow tone. The zodiacal sign is a woman with floating drapery, holding a branch (Virgo).

### CONDITION

A vertical section on the far right, including the side border, is modern. This area starts to the right of the large right-hand tree, continues through the fields and trees in the middle distance, and includes the girl and all the foliage below her that conceals half the lying dog. The colors in this section are much faded and have a yellowish tinge. An irregular horizontal strip at the bottom indicates an adjustment to increase the height made at the time of weaving. The guards are all replacements, except on the left side.

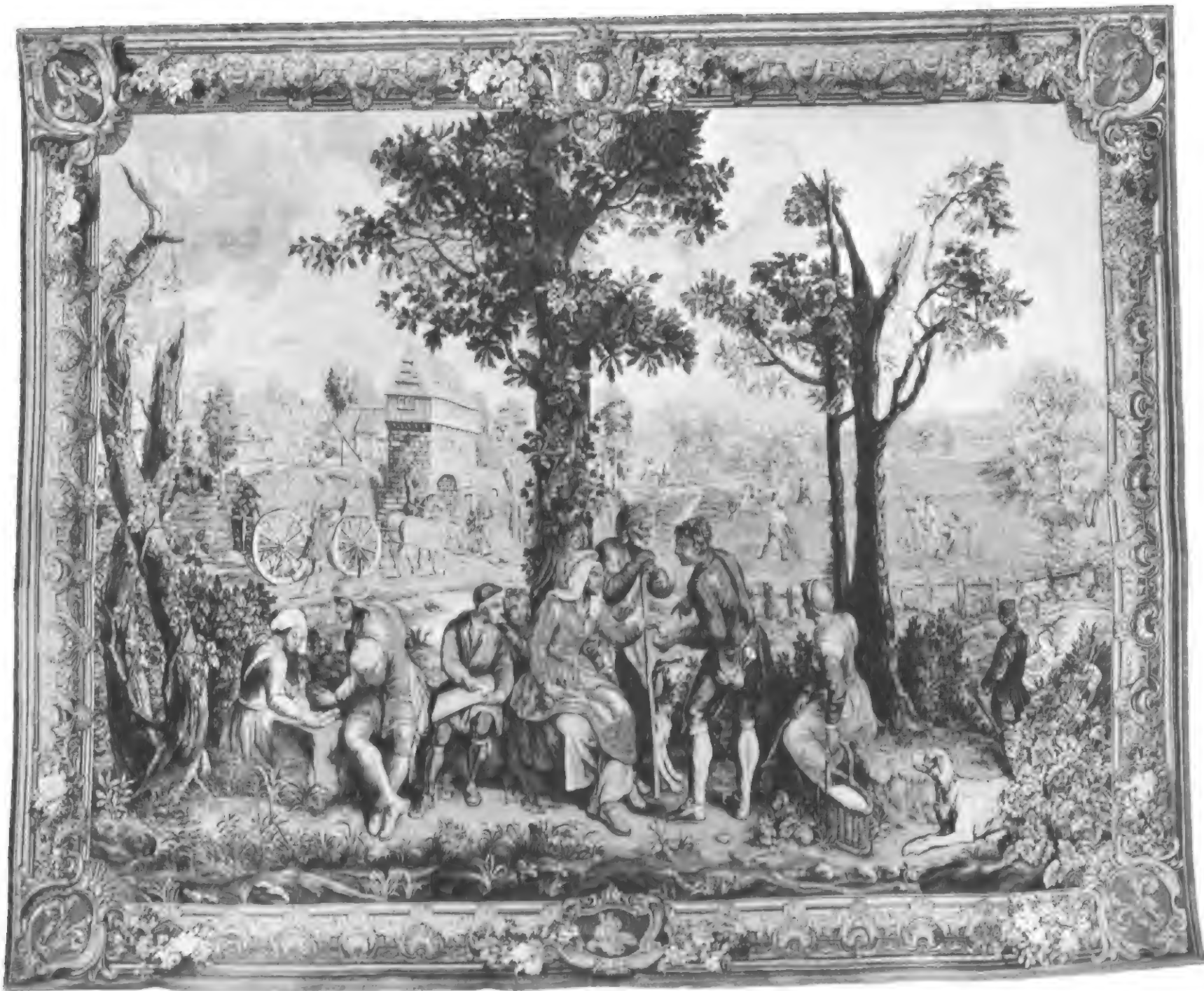
### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The original composition is shown in the Mentmore example, which is reversed from 50f. It is narrower; the areas between the loaded wagon and the border and between the seated woman holding a basket and the border are missing. It also shows a man attempting to embrace



the woman with a basket and being repulsed by her; he does not appear in 5of. The reaping in the background is being done in the characteristic Flemish way (see 49a), which was not reproduced accurately in the later French versions. The same composition was used for the *August*,

woven by Souet, 1714–15, in the Gaston Menier sale (no. 110, illus.), and a replica, signed “I.S.,” in the Kunstindustrimuseet, Oslo.<sup>31</sup> Chastelain and Yvart made a widened copy (9 *pieds*) of the original *August* in 1721;<sup>32</sup> this was presumably the basis of the design of 5of.



#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

In addition to the Mentmore and Souet versions, an example with added Toulouse-Noailles arms, sold at Christie's, July 2, 1981 (no. 12, illus.), and now in Vaux-le-Vicomte, owned by the comte de Vogüé, shows the original Flemish composition and is in reverse from 5of. The Mozin piece of 1688–89 is in the Louvre, the Lefebvre of 1731–33 is at Pau;<sup>33</sup> the latter is in the same direction as 5of. It has the narrower composition of the Flemish original and includes the man trying to embrace the woman with the basket. Audran's *August* of 1737–40 was in Dresden;<sup>34</sup> it is an upright tapestry and has the narrow scene of the original, but the enterprising man is omitted. A square *August* with the same characteristics was in the Palais de San Donato sale, Florence, March 15, 1880 (no. 1936, illus.); it has the border of the four Widener pieces. An *entrefenêtre* with an eighteenth-century border was in the Jan Sucheki sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, January 2–4, 1948 (no. 374, illus.); it shows only the two figures on the far left, with the wagon and building above them, reversed from 5of.

### 50g September

#### DESCRIPTION

A fair-haired woman on a white horse with red and yellow harness approaches from the left. She wears a yellow head covering with a jeweled band and a white plume. Her white bodice shows through the openings of her striped red and yellow sleeves. She has a red underskirt, largely covered by a full gray dress, ornamented in yellow, with a blue and yellow border adorned with gems. At her left is a man in red with a white plume in his cap, riding a pale brown horse with gray, yellow, and red harness. Partly seen behind the pair is a young woman in blue and yellow and a feathered cap, riding a pale brown horse with gray harness. Immediately below her is a white-bearded man on foot, holding a spear; he has a red cap, yellow jacket, lavender-pink shirt, blue breeches with red stripes, pink stockings with red ties, and brown shoes.

In the center of the tapestry stands a man seen from behind, holding a short stick; his hair is brown, his cap red, with a dark gray feather. He wears a pink and yellow coat, red breeches with pale blue showing through the

slashes, pink leggings tied with gray-blue, and brown shoes. A yellow hunting horn hangs from a blue strap over his shoulder and he has a covered box at his left side and a knife in a yellow sheath at his right. Between him and the horses is a white and brown dog and, above it, a man in red and yellow, with a knife at his right side, holding a short stick.

On the far left are three men with spears. The foremost, sitting on a grass-covered pale brown rock, has a red cap, sleeves, and leg coverings, pale yellow jacket, dull lavender breeches, and brown shoes; his spear has a red tassel below the point. The man seen from the back has brown hair, a pale blue jacket, gray-pink sleeves and breeches, bright blue garters, and brown shoes. The third spearman, partly visible, is in pale gray-pink with a red cap.

On the right of the tapestry is a fair-haired young man seen from the back, sounding a gray and yellow horn, held in his left hand. With his right, he holds on a rope a white hound with pale yellow ears and collar. He wears a pale gray-pink jacket over a yellow-striped blue shirt, red breeches with blue in the slashes, red leg coverings with blue garters, and pale brown shoes. The strap of his horn across his back is dull yellow. Between him and the central figure is a man in pink and red with blue leggings tied with yellow, holding two white, gray, and brown dogs on a rope. On the far right is a clump of trees with brown trunks and green and yellow leaves. Between them, a boy in dull pink and another in gray are partly visible.

Behind the main figures is a blue and gray lake, fringed with dark green rushes. A man in pale dull pink, holding a stick, runs alongside it. The head of a pale brown stag rises from the water, with a man grasping its antlers; three dogs are swimming toward it. On the left and right banks are men with dogs and, farther away in the lake, a rowboat with several people in it. There are pollarded trees with dark green leaves on the right bank and in the distance a large castle with pale gray roofs, approached by a bridge. The background on the left consists of trees with green, yellow, and brown leaves; in the center are woods, fields, and high hills in pale tones, with trees and fields on the right. The sky is blue on the right, with gray and white clouds on the left and in the center. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, and tan, with a number of dark green plants. On the right, in brown, is the name AUDRAN. The zodiacal sign is a pair of scales, seen above clouds (Libra).



## CONDITION

An irregular horizontal section immediately above the lower border appears to be an addition made at the time of weaving; inconsistencies in the upright borders may also be related to an error in height in the original weaving. There are a number of small areas of repair, especially in the upright borders. The horizontal guards are replacements.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designer was influenced by *September* in the *Hunts of Maximilian* series (see 47), which also shows a lake with a castle in the distance, a man in the water grasping the antlers of a stag, and huntsmen and ladies on horseback and on foot, with hounds, in the foreground. Some figures, such as the man seen from behind and the mounted woman who turns her head sharply, are very much alike.

The original composition can be inferred from the example at Pau, woven in 1688 by de La Croix.<sup>35</sup> It is in the same direction as 50g, presumably reversing the original; the man in the center has his knife slung at his right side in both. The Pau tapestry is narrower, the composition ending at the tail of the white horse on the left and close to the man blowing a horn on the right. The four men on foot to the left of the horses and the dog on the extreme right in 50g are thus eighteenth-century French additions; there are no marked differences in the center of the composition.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore *September* is like the Pau example, but reversed. The one woven in 1731–32 by Lefebvre is in the Mobilier National;<sup>36</sup> it is narrow, but includes the bearded man immediately behind the horses. Monmerqué's *September* of 1737–40 was in Dresden.

## 50h October

### DESCRIPTION

In the lower left corner, a man and a woman are seated on the ground. She wears a red hat with a white plume

over a red and blue hairnet, studded with pearls, a blue sleeveless dress with a red and yellow band at the hem, pink hanging sleeves, and a white bodice with pink stripes. She holds a shallow white cup with red wine. The man has a red hat and collar, green and dull yellow jacket, red leg coverings tied with yellow, and brown shoes with blue laces. He supports a gray jug on his knee. Behind the couple, an elderly woman holds out a white dish with red and blue fruit in it with her left hand and gathers up other fruit in her pale gray-pink apron with her right. She has a white head covering and a yellow scarf with blue stripes; her dress is orange with pale gray-pink sleeves. She stands under a brown tree with dark green leaves and dull yellow fruit.

To the right of the group is a small pale brown table supporting a brown and yellow basket containing blue and purple bunches of grapes on their branches and other fruit. A fair-haired child sits on the ground beside it; he has a blue coat over a white shirt and sandals with blue straps and yellow soles. In the middle distance sits a young man in a red hat, red cloak with blue stripes, blue shirt with yellow stripes, pink stockings, and yellow shoes with blue laces. He embraces a standing girl in a white kerchief, gray-white blouse, pale brown-pink dress, and dull red shoes. She holds a yellow-brown basket containing red and yellow fruit with green leaves. Behind the couple is a pale yellow-brown and blue arbor covered with a grapevine; the bunches of grapes are dull blue and purple, the leaves dark green and pale yellow.

Farther away, on the right, is a low, pale brown winepress, with two men, in white, blue, and brown, treading the red grapes; a girl, in white and dull red, empties a basket of grapes into it, and a man, in white and dull red, approaches with a basket on his shoulder. There are a tall, pale brown tree and some blue-green bushes behind the group. Seven people, dressed in very pale tones of pink, blue, yellow, and white, dance in a ring and, behind them, three musicians playing a pipe, a bagpipe, and a drum stand under a tree.

In the distance, on the left, seen through the arbor, is a white portico and pale yellow fields; on the right are fields, trees, and hills. The sky has a pale blue area at the top, but is mostly covered with gray and white clouds. The foreground is in shades of brown, green, and gray, with some large dark green plants. On the right, in red-brown, is the name AUDRAN. The zodiacal sign is a scorpion (Scorpio).







#### CONDITION

A small area in the old woman's apron has lost its wefts and is held together by coarse stitching. The guards are missing; a dull red one at the top is a replacement.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The sixteenth-century composition is known from a Flemish example in the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, formerly in the Ffoulke collection. This is the reverse of 50h and presumably represents the direction of the original weaving, as the serving woman carries the dish in her right hand. It is wider, showing a child holding up a bunch of grapes standing between the seated boy and the table with the basket of fruit. The serving woman leans forward from behind an upright of the arbor and a woman's face is visible between the heads of the seated couple. There are many more people in the distance, especially in the group treading the grapes. The large tree on the left and the trees and shrubs behind the grape-pressing scene have been added to 50h.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The example with added Toulouse-Noailles arms was sold at Christie's, July 2, 1981 (no. 133, illus.), and at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 25, 1984 (no. 3250, illus.). It is reversed from 50h and shows all the features of the Flemish original. Another close copy, except for some changes in the borders, was owned by the New York dealer Vojtech Blau in 1982.<sup>37</sup> The Mentmore piece is also like the Flemish but there is no figure between the seated couple, and the serving woman is seen in full length, in front of the arbor. The *October* by Mozin, 1688–89, is in borderless fragments at Pau;<sup>38</sup> it is in the same direction as 50h. It contains the standing boy and the woman with the seated couple, but not the large tree. So does the *October* of 1712 by Souet, though this is in the reverse direction; it was in the Carl Robert Lamm sale, American Art Association, February 21–24, 1923 (no. 996, illus.). Monmerqué's *October* of 1737–40, formerly in Dresden, has the standing boy, but not the woman; it is in the same direction as 50h and includes the large tree and the trees by the winepress.<sup>39</sup> A borderless *Vendanges*, signed "Audran," is recorded as in the Reitlinger collection, Paris,<sup>40</sup> and an *October* by the same weaver, with the same border as the

Cleveland *May*, was in the Ffoulke collection;<sup>41</sup> the latter is in the same direction as 52h and contains both children. It is signed "Audran." A wide example with the standing boy, but without the large tree and the woman with the seated couple, was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, February 21, 1975 (no. 147, illus.). It has a simple frame border and was owned by the Hamburg dealers Sameyah in June 1975.

### 50i *November*

#### DESCRIPTION

A fair-haired woman with a pink cap, green dress, green-lavender sleeves, and red apron sits under a brown-gray oak with a dark green creeper growing up it; she empties dull yellow grain from a gray sack with blue stripes into the white apron of a young man standing beside her, using a small yellow scoop in each hand. The man has a red hat with a blue earflap, a blue shirt, dull red leg coverings, gray stockings, and dark brown shoes. Below, a fair-haired child, in pink, sprawling on the ground, buries his hands in another sack. To the right of the tree sits a man in a red cap, dull pink jacket with blue studs and dangling laces, slashed red breeches, and pink stockings. He gestures toward an approaching woman who carries a brown and pale yellow basket, an open round vessel, and a brown and pale gray covered cooking pot. She wears a white kerchief, blue dress, red-pink sleeves, pale yellow and white apron, and pale brown shoes. Behind her, a man in dull yellow with a gray cap is partly seen conducting a white horse with a pale gray sack over its back. Beyond them are a couple sitting on the bank of a stream. The man, in pale dull lavender, yellow, and white, raises a fishing rod with a fish on the hook; the woman is in white, pale pink, and blue, and places one hand on the handle of a basket holding fish. On the far left foreground of the tapestry is a woman sitting on a grassy ledge under an oak with a creeper growing up it. She has a gray headdress, white blouse, red dress, pink sleeves and apron, and pale brown shoes. A fair-haired child in dull yellow-pink with gray boots sits beside her. She turns towards a bearded man wearing a gray hat over a yellow head covering, a white falling collar and shirt, pale yellow coat, blue cloak, gray-green leg coverings, and pale brown shoes. Beside

him, a girl with a white kerchief and blouse, pale yellow jacket, and pale pink sleeves and dress, holds a pale brown saucer as she kneels behind a pale gray sack with blue stripes. A pale brown and gray container marked with a two-headed eagle in dark brown rests beside it. Farther away on the right are two women, one, in a white kerchief, pink and white sleeves, and white apron, sitting beside a pale yellow-brown basket; the other, in white, dull yellow, and brown, kneeling, has her hand on a dull yellow container. A pale brown bowl with a gray spoon in it stands beside her.

Farther away, to the right, is a man sowing grain with his left hand; he is in pink, with darker breeches, pale yellow leg coverings, and a white apron that holds the seed. Behind him is a plow drawn by a white and a gray horse and guided by a plowman in pink and white. Other figures in the distance include, on the left, a sower in pink and white and a seated woman with a sack on the ground beside her. Some large trees with green and yellow leaves stand on grassy patches in the pale yellow and brown plowed fields. In the center, above the plow, is a swineherd holding out his hat to catch the acorns that another man is







Detail of 50i



attempting to bring down for the pigs at their feet. On the right is another horse-drawn plow and, on the other side of the tree, a farm wagon with a pale brown horse, being loaded by a man and a woman in pale pink and blue. Another couple approaches from the right. The background shows distant hills, fields, woods, and a fence and farm buildings on the left and in the center, in very pale tones of gray, yellow and brown; on the right is a village behind a wall, with, in the foreground, an open-sided lean-to. The sky has some pale blue areas at the top, but is mostly covered with gray and white clouds. The foreground is in shades of brown and green, with a number of dark green plants. The zodiacal sign is a centaur with a bow and arrow (Sagittarius).

#### CONDITION

The background is greatly faded, especially on the right, where much of the design is no longer legible. The slits, which were lavishly used for areas such as the plowed fields, have frequently opened. The horizontal guards are replacements.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The original composition can be inferred from the Mozin tapestry of 1688–89 at Pau.<sup>42</sup> It is in the same direction as 50, presumably the reverse of the original. It is much narrower, ending on the left with the seated woman with a basket and on the right with the woman carrying a pot. The area with the seated woman with a child, the standing man, and the kneeling girl beside her, and the kneeling woman with a bowl, all on the left, is an eighteenth-century French addition, as is the portion on the right with the man with a horse, the man fishing, and the woman beside him. Some of the trees in the middle distance in the center are also eighteenth-century additions.

The cartoon in the Château of Fontainebleau does not show the additions.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore *November* is like the Pau example, but reversed. A piece with added Toulouse-Noailles arms, sold at Christie's, July 2, 1981 (no. 14, illus.), resembles it; it is in Vaux-le-Vicomte, owned by the comte de Vogüé. Souet's *November* of 1712 is recorded as having been

owned by the Paris dealer Achille Leclercq;<sup>43</sup> Lefebvre's of 1732 is at Pau, Audran's of 1733 in the Mobilier National, and Monmerqué's of 1737–40 in the Hermitage, Leningrad.<sup>44</sup> Cozette's of 1767–70 was formerly in the Schlossmuseum, Gotha,<sup>45</sup> and was sold at the Galerie Koller, Zürich, May 25, 1974 (no. 4871, illus.), and at Sotheby's, Monaco, December 4, 1983 (no. 119, illus.); it is a narrow upright in the same direction as 50i, extending only from the foot of the sprawling child on the left to the woman with a pot on the right. An example with borders like those of the seventh and eighth sets, but with no coats of arms or royal initials and with the zodiac signs in the upper borders, was in the Joseph Widener collection,<sup>46</sup> and was sold in Philadelphia, June 20–24, 1944 (no. 489). Another, sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, March 25, 1972, was acquired by the Paris dealer Dario Boccara. It is similar to the Widener piece, but not as tall.

## 50j *December*

#### DESCRIPTION

Under an almost bare tree, with green ivy growing up its brown double trunk, stands a young man wearing a blue cap decorated in yellow with a red and yellow edge, a blue coat with brown stripes and a yellow collar, a pink shirt, dark green skirt with red stripes, red-brown leg coverings with blue garters, and brown slippers. He has a sword with a yellow hilt and yellow-tipped brown scabbard at his left. Beside him stands a woman with a pink cap and mantle, fastened with blue ties and decorated in pale yellow. Around her neck is a brown fur piece, ending in long green ribbons with tassels. Her dangling oversleeves are edged with fur and her hands are hidden in a fur-edged muff. In front of the pair, to the right, kneels a young man in lavender-pink, with a red collar and leg coverings, tied with blue bows. His sleeves are dull yellow and a gray and yellow sword hangs from green ribbons at his left. He fastens a skate to his right foot with blue laces. His other skate and a lavender-pink cap with blue and dull yellow-brown plumes lie on the ground beside him.

In the center foreground are a seated couple; the man wears a red cap with a yellow feather, a blue costume with yellow stripes at the hem, dull red sleeves, pink stockings,



50j

and brown shoes. A sword with a yellow hilt and gray scabbard is slung by red straps from his pink belt. The woman, who turns toward him, has a white kerchief, blue hat with red and yellow plumes, and a red dress. Beside her, a child in yellow warms his hands at a dull pink pot with red embers. Farther to the left is a seated woman in a

white kerchief, pink blouse with blue collar, green skirt, and yellow apron. By her side is a yellow-brown basket holding pink and brown skates; another pair, pink with blue straps, leans against it. A fair-haired child in blue with red stockings and yellow shoes reaches across her lap to take a yellow fruit from an elderly bearded man, who



wears a red cap decorated in yellow, a purple-pink coat with an ermine collar and lining, a blue shirt with a red and yellow band, dark pink breeches, red stockings, and yellow shoes. Behind him is a standing woman with a white kerchief, blue dress, pale pink oversleeves, and yellow shoes, holding a child in pink with red hat and stockings. A square blue and yellow bag hangs at the child's side. A young man in dull pink with a blue hat and yellow sleeves stands beside them. On the far left, between two pink-brown, almost bare trees, encircled by blue-green vines, is a man in a dull pink cap and collar, dull lavender coat, dull yellow sleeves, dull pink breeches and stockings, and yellow-brown shoes, holding yellow-brown skates with dull red straps.

In the middle distance, behind the central figures, is an expanse of ice in tones of pale gray, blue, and white, with many figures. Farthest to the left, a boy in pale yellow pushes a sled on which sits a boy in pale gray, holding two sticks. A young man in pale blue with pink hat and stockings pushes a girl in pale pink with a pale yellow-green skirt. A skater in dull yellow turns to look behind him. A man in pale lavender and blue pushes a woman in pink with a blue hat, while a woman in pink and white hangs onto his coat. A skater in pale yellow has fallen on the ice, and several others, in pale tones of blue, yellow, and pink, are seen in the distance. In the background on the left are bare trees, fields, and hills in very pale shades of gray and yellow. Beyond the water is a castle in pale brown and yellow with pale blue roofs; it is partly covered by a dark green creeper. Many buildings, with bare trees and pale blue hills rising behind them, are seen on the right. The sky has small blue patches at the top, but is mostly covered with gray clouds. The foreground is in tones of brown, green, and pale dull yellow, with some dark green plants; the largest of these, a prickly bush, has brown and green leaves. The zodiacal sign is a goat with forelegs only, ending in a scaly, barbed tail (Capricorn).

#### CONDITION

The background is much faded. The horizontal guards are replacements.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The composition of the sixteenth-century original is known from a Flemish tapestry formerly in the Ffoulke

collection and now at the Denver Art Museum. This is in the reverse of 50j and presumably represents the direction of the original. The scene extends only from the richly dressed standing couple to the woman holding a child in the middle distance. Thus, the areas to the left and right of 50j, including the man seen from the back and the man kneeling to fasten his skate, with the large trees and the landscapes behind them, are the work of the eighteenth-century designer. In the center, the boy holds his brazier instead of warming his hands over it and there is another figure beside him. The man bending over the woman places a finger inside her bodice, a gesture noted in a 1789 inventory as a "petite gaité."<sup>47</sup> He and the seated man in the center have swords at their left sides, as does the standing man on the right. A skater immediately behind the figure being pushed in a sled has been omitted in 50j, as well as a burning building behind the richly dressed couple. There are fewer figures in the background and fewer plants in the foreground.

The cartoon in the Château of Fontainebleau does not include the additions.

The seated woman with a child beside her and a man bending over them are close to three similar figures on the extreme left of the *Separation of Abraham and Lot* in the sixteenth-century *History of Abraham* series.<sup>48</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Mentmore *December* is close to the Flemish example in Denver, though nearly square. The *December* of 1688 by Mozin at Pau<sup>49</sup> also has the original composition, but, being in the same direction as 50j, shows swords being worn on the right. The *December* by Souet of 1712 was exhibited at San Francisco in 1922;<sup>50</sup> it was then owned by Wildenstein & Co. Lefebvre's *December* of 1733 is at Pau, Audran's of 1741 in the Mobilier National, and Monmerqué's of 1737–40 was at Dresden. These are all upright or square panels. Monmerqué and Cozette's *December* of 1748–50 is in the Palazzo Doria, Rome.<sup>51</sup> This is the same direction as 50j; it is a narrow upright and omits the addition at the sides except for two of the trees behind the richly dressed couple. The composition is the same as the center of 50j. Cozette's *December* of 1767–70 belongs to the Mobilier National. The same narrow composition was used for the Widener *December*,<sup>52</sup> sold in Philadelphia, June 20–24, 1944 (no. 489, illus.). A narrow upright panel showing only the "petite gaité"







group and the figures behind them, reversed from 50j, was owned by the Vigo-Sternberg Galleries, London, in 1976; it was described as mid-seventeenth century Bruges. Another *December* in the Mentmore sale (no. 814, illus.) shows the scene only from the standing couple to behind the man pushing the woman on the ice. It is in the reverse direction from 50j and includes the burning building.

#### NOTES

1. Standen, "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas,'" pp. 3-14. The Hermitage drawing for *July* is closely connected with the same *Lucas Month*, but an *October* by the same hand in the same museum shows only the landscape and background figures of the *Lucas October*.
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 339-43, 351.
3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 252, 257, pls. facing pp. 258, 260.
4. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pp. 305, 365; Gustave Macon, *Chantilly et le Musée Condé* (Paris, 1910) pl. facing p. 264.
5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 355. Fenaille attributed the delay to the weaving by Audran of a *May* for a private purchaser and another in 1737-40 for the set that was given to Count Brühl.
6. Information from the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.
7. No titles are given in the sale catalogue, but the borders are described as "du temps du Louis XIV" and the widths are compatible with nine pieces of 50, *October* being absent. The costumes of *January* are described as "rehaussés d'or," which is not accurate, and the coats of arms are not mentioned, but the set is said to be signed by Audran, so that, in all probability, it is nine pieces of 50.
8. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," p. 8, illus. (line engraving).
9. A. G. Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (New York, 1977) pl. 43. The miniatures are attributed to Gerard Horenbout.
10. John Bottiger, *Tapisseries à figures des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, appartenant à des collections privées de la Suède*, trans. Alfred Mohn (Stockholm, 1928) no. 97, pl. 93. The design of the original tapestries is attributed to an artist of the southern Netherlands or northern France. The figures on either side of Janus are identified as Bacchus and Ceres.
11. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 362.
12. Eugene Müntz, *La Tapisserie* (Paris, n.d.) illus. (engravings), p. 221.
13. Information from the Hearst Art Archive, Long Island University, Greenvale, New York.
14. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," illus. (engraving), p. 10.
15. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 115.
16. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 356.
17. *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries* (New York, 1913) p. 54, illus.
18. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," illus., detail (engraving), p. 11.
19. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 350.
20. *Exposition, Les Gobelins*, Château de Coppet (Geneva, 1962) no. 47, illus.
21. George Henry McCall, *The Joseph Widener Collection, Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1932) p. 76, pl. facing p. 74.
22. Percy Macquoid, *English Furniture, Tapestry and Needlework of the XVIth-XIXth Centuries*, vol. 3 of *A Record of the Collection in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight* (London, 1928) pl. 103.
23. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 252.
24. Giorgio Torselli, *La Galleria Doria* (Rome, 1969) fig. 42.
25. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 145.
26. *Catalogue of the Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection*, Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1944), pl. xxiii. Formerly in the Charles M. Ffoulke collection; a *Gobelins June* from this collection is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
27. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," p. 13, illus. (engraving).
28. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 368.
29. Phyllis Ackerman, *Catalogue of the Retrospective Loan Exhibition of European Tapestries*, San Francisco Museum of Art (San Francisco, 1922) no. 57.
30. Macquoid, *English Furniture*, pl. 105.
31. *Fransk Kunstindustri og Kunst i norsk eie*, exh. cat., Kunstindustrimuseet (Oslo, 1952) illus. p. 49.
32. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 339.
33. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," p. 14, illus. (engraving).
34. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 358.
35. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," p. 15, illus. (engraving).
36. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 354.
37. Advertisement in *Apollo* 124 (September 1983) p. 366.
38. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," pp. 7, 16, illus. (engravings).
39. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, pl. facing p. 360.
40. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 368. Called *July*.
41. *Ffoulke Collection*, pp. 242, 243.
42. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," illus. p. 16 (engraving).
43. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 349.
44. N. Birioukova, *Les Tapisseries françaises de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les Collections de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1974) no. 27, illus.
45. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 117.
46. McCall, *Widener Collection*, p. 77, pl. facing p. 76.
47. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 343, n. 1.
48. H. C. Marillier, *The Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace* (London, 1962) pl. 2.
49. Lafond, "Tapisseries du Château de Pau," illus. p. 17 (engraving).
50. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 144. Ackerman, *Catalogue*, San Francisco Museum of Art, no. 58, not illus. Described as incomplete and probably from one of the two weavings finished in 1695 (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 2, p. 347).
51. Alessandro M. Frattini, *Memoria artistica sul palazzo Doria* ([Rome, 1928?]) illus. unnumbered pl.
52. McCall, *Widener Collection*, pp. 77, 78, pl. facing p. 78. The fourth Widener piece is an *April*.

## 51 Portiere with the Chauvelin arms

From a set of tapestries called a *Chancellerie*

French (Paris); designed 1679 and 1700, and the borders about 1720, by Claude Audran III (1658–1734), woven in the Gobelins basse-lisse workshop of Etienne Claude Le Blond (c. 1700–1751), 1728–30, as a gift from Louis XV to Germain Louis Chauvelin (1685–1762), Garde des Sceaux.

Manufactory initial and weaver's name.

Wool and silk.

11 ft. 7½ in. x 9 ft. 2 in. (3.54 m x 2.79 m).

21–23 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.91).

### DESCRIPTION

In the center are the arms of France and Navarre encircled by the collars of Saint Michel and the Saint Esprit, all carried out in tones of red, blue, yellow, tan, and red-brown. A dull yellow cherub head rises above the arms, which are contained in a cartouche, flanked by green branches of palm and olive. Above the cherub is a closed dull yellow and red royal crown with fleurs-de-lis. The cartouche rests on a yellow chest, ornamented with fleurs-de-lis and crowned L's (for Louis). The yellow and brown head of a ceremonial mace, surmounted by a royal crown, is seen on either side of the chest. An ermine-lined purple mantling, decorated with fleurs-de-lis, forms a background, falling from a dull yellow and red canopy with a bow of red ribbon at the top and fleurs-de-lis and tassels at the bottom. The chest rests on a support with scrolls on either side and a central panel of a yellow eye with rays; this stands on a molded gray and brown horizontal shelf simulating stone. The background is blue, decorated with dull yellow fleurs-de-lis.

The borders have a dark pink ground. The upper and lower borders have central panels framed in blue, ending in elaborate pale yellow scrollwork. In the center of the lower border is a cartouche in pale blues and yellows with a coronet around a gray and yellow legal cap and two yellow mace heads above, surrounding a medallion with a monogram of two blue C's (for Chauvelin) on a yellow ground. The side borders are alike, except for the figures in the center. The motifs are framed by blue metallike bands. They show crossed yellow maces with crowns and fleurs-de-lis, tied with red ribbons, and, at the bottom, the

Chauvelin arms ("D'argent à un chou sauvage, pommé et arraché de sinople, la tige accolée d'un serpent ondoyant d'or, la tête vers le haut"),<sup>1</sup> shown as a yellow snake with a red tongue around a green and blue tree on a white ground. The arms are surmounted by a coronet and a legal cap and two yellow maces are crossed behind the ermine-lined red and brown mantling; they are flanked by yellow-green palm branches. In the center of the left border is a nude child holding a sword in one hand and a pair of scales in the other (Justice); a child holding a palm branch (presumably Mercy) stands behind him. Both are in shades of blue. The equivalent group on the right shows a nude winged child wearing a helmet with a plume and holding what may be a weapon; his companion has a branch. The borders are contained in a simulated frame in brown and cream, shown as if lit from the upper left. The guards are dark blue; in the lower right corner in pale yellow is a fleur-de-lis and G [for Gobelins] LE-BLOND.

### CONDITION

Small areas of repair are visible in the guards.

### SUBJECT

As the sets of the *Chancelleries* were always presents from the king to high legal officials, chiefly the Chancellor or the Keeper of the Seals, all the symbolism is concerned with their offices. The chest, with the king's initials, is to hold the royal seals, the all-seeing eye is that of Justice, the children in the borders are Justice and Mercy and (possibly) Punishment and Reward.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design of the set woven for Chancellor Michel Le Tellier in 1679 is known from the piece in the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris, though the arms in the lower corners were replaced by those of d'Argenson about 1737.<sup>2</sup> The basic composition was used for all later *Chancelleries*; the crowned royal arms (here France only) are under a canopy, flanked by branches, and placed on an

ermine-lined mantling against a background of scattered fleurs-de-lis. But the chest and crossed maces are in the lower border and all the borders show marked differences from those of the later tapestries.

In 1700/01, payments are recorded to Guy Vernansal (1648–1729), Pavillon (known as a painter of coats of arms from 1690 to 1712), and Claude Audran for work on this series. The list of cartoons at the Gobelins made in 1736 shows that these contributions included one very wide panel with figures by Vernansal and the rest by Audran, and another, also very wide, by Audran, with angels holding the mantling of the royal arms. New borders by Audran painted in 1720 are also listed. The borders of the wide tapestries of the Chauvelin set are the same as those of 51 and may be presumed to be the new Audran designs of 1720.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The date, 1728–October 1730, is established by the records of the manufactory. Etienne Claude Le Blond succeeded his father, Etienne Le Blond, as head of the fifth basse-lisse workshop in 1727.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The Chauvelin set is recorded as consisting of five wide pieces, one nearly square, two portieres, both by Le Blond, and two very narrow *trumeaux*.<sup>3</sup> A portiere signed by Le Blond is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (acquired in 1938).<sup>4</sup> It is exactly like 51, except for the side borders; the scallop shells and leaves at each end of the central panel are flanked by curved terminals to the framing bands, like those of the horizontal borders, instead of by abruptly cut-off projections.<sup>5</sup>

Of the large pieces with angels above and seated figures below, one was stolen from Georges Wildenstein during the German occupation of Paris in World War II,<sup>6</sup> one is in the collection of François de Menthon, Château de Menthon,<sup>7</sup> and one from the Bensimon collection was sold at the Nouveau Drouot, Paris, November 18, 19, 1981 (no. 164, illus.).

The set of nine pieces given in 1679 to Chancellor Le Tellier is represented by the altered piece in the Nissim de Camondo Museum and by one still retaining his arms that was sold in Paris, May 25, 1892 (no. 8, illus.). Comte

Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac owned two more pieces in 1949.<sup>8</sup> Two pieces of the set made at Beauvais in 1686 for the Chancellor Boucherat are in the Mobilier National and one was in the Francis Guérault sale, Paris, March 21, 22, 1935 (no. 39, illus.). One of the Gobelins set of 1700 for the Chancellor Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, is recorded as still in the family in 1900, but possibly it is the piece now in the Wernher collection, Luton Hoo,<sup>9</sup> or that from the collection of the earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, sold by Christie's, May 22, 1984 (no. 1777, illus.). The location of the Gobelins set of six for the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, 1714–16, is not known, but several pieces of the 1719–22 set for the Garde des Sceaux d'Argenson belonged to the marquis d'Argenson in 1904; one is at Vaux-le-Vicomte, owned by the comte de Vogüé.<sup>10</sup> The set of 1722–25 for the Garde des Sceaux Fleuriau d'Armenonville is not known to have survived, but some pieces of the set made for the Paris Parlement in 1722 are recorded; the latter was after a design by Jean Restout II. None of the set made in 1759–60 for Chancellor de Lamoignon is known; this had new framelike borders designed by Maurice Jacques.<sup>11</sup> A piece with these borders was bought by the Garde des Sceaux Feydeau de Brou in 1765 and is in the Louvre.<sup>12</sup> Another piece of the set, lacking most of its border, is in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.<sup>13</sup> None of the pieces made for Chancellor de Maupeau, 1773, are known to exist.

#### HISTORY

Acquired for the MMA through the Rogers Fund, 1962. Said to have come from a Berlin collection.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 139. Account of Chauvelin set without identification of any extant pieces.

Niclausse, Juliette. "'Chasses nouvelles' de Monsieur Oudry." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 49 (1957) pp. 319, 320. Set mentioned, as intended for use in the Chambre du Sceau of the Grande Chancellerie, Hôtel Poisson de Bourvalais, Place Vendôme, Paris.

MMA *Annual Report* 1961–1962. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 21 (1962–63) p. 90. Listed.

#### NOTES

1. Henri Jouglas de Morenas, *Grand Amorial de France* (Paris, 1934–





- 49) vol. 2, p. 421, no. 8873, "Chauvelin de Grosbois et de Beauregard."
2. *Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1973) p. 16, no. 45, illus. (part) p. 14. A drawing by Audran in the National Museum, Stockholm, shows this design, including the two angels holding up the mantling who appear in the Nissim de Camondo and other wide *Chancelleries*.
3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 139. The set is listed as made by de La Croix, de La Fraye, Le Blond, and Monmerqué for Chauvelin between 1728 and October 1730.
4. Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1977) no. 30. It had been in the Mortimer L. Schiff sale, Christie's, London, June 22, 1938, no. 74.
5. A piece like the Getty example is said to have been stolen from Georges Wildenstein during the German occupation of Paris in World War II (Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la Guerre 1939–1945*, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1947] p. 367, no. 391, illus.).
6. Commandement en chef français, *Biens spoliés*, p. 367, no. 390.
7. *Merveilles des châteaux de Savoie et du Dauphiné* (Paris, 1972) p. 60, illus. (on wall of salon).
8. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Inventaire des tapisseries de Charles-Maurice Le Tellier, Archevêque de Reims (1710)," *Archives de l'Art Français*, new period, 21 (1949) p. 24, n. 1. An armorial tapestry made for the archbishop (pl. facing p. 22) does not have the same design as two others with the same arms sold at the Palais Galliera, March 26, 1963, no. 131, illus.
9. M. Urwick Smith, *Luton Hoo, the Wernher Collection* (n.p., 1966) p. 7, illus. It is described as having the arms of Louis Phélypeaux, duc de La Vrillière, and as made about 1770. The duc de La Vrillière was foreign minister, not a legal officer, and would not have used the symbols of this series. By 1770, a new border by Maurice Jacques was being used for *Chancelleries* (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 143–47, pl. facing p. 146); this does not appear on the Luton Hoo tapestry.
10. Thomas Hoving, "Magnificent Obsession," *Connoisseur* 211 (September 1982) p. 106, illus. (on wall of room in château).
11. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 134, 135, 137–39, 145.
12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 147, pl. facing p. 146 (as in the Schutz collection).
13. W. G. Thomson, "Tapestries in the Bowes Museum," *Country Life* 52 (September 2, 1922) pp. xlviii–l, fig. 4.

## 52 The Vintage

The fourth tapestry from a set of seven with the story of Daphnis and Chloe

French (Paris); designed by Etienne Jaurat (1699–1789), 1741; woven in the haute-lisse workshop of Michel Audran (1701–1771) at the Gobelins, 1741–54, as a private commission or for private sale.

Weaver's name.

Wool and silk.

10 ft. 1 in. x 13 ft. 2 in. (3.07 m x 4.02 m).

18–20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of Roland L. Redmond, Mrs. William H. Osborn, and Mrs. Norman K. Toerge, 1941 (41.62).

### DESCRIPTION

Daphnis and Chloe sit side by side on an overturned pale dull yellow and brown barrel. She wears a pale yellow bodice and a pale blue skirt; he has a dull dark pink jacket with a pale blue and red striped sash, pale yellow leggings tied with blue ribbons, and sandals with pale blue straps. Both have yellow hair. A dull yellow and brown basket with carrying straps for harvesting grapes lies under his legs. Behind the couple is a yellow and brown barrel with pale purple grapes and yellow leaves on its lid.

Behind it stand three young fair-haired women in dull red, blue, and yellow; the foremost has over her arm a basket with pale purple grapes. A large tree with pale brown trunk and dark green and yellow leaves rises behind the group. On the far right is a tree trunk with grapevines twisted around it. Two children in brown and dull yellow sit on the ground at its foot, eating grapes.

A seated young woman in the foreground turns to admire Daphnis; she has a yellow bodice and red skirt and holds a small yellow and brown basket on her knee. To the left is a large empty basket and a small one filled with grapes and green and yellow vine leaves. Behind these are a seated child in gray and brown, a stooping man in gray and dull red, and a standing girl in pale yellow, with a red petticoat, holding a yellow basket and putting her finger to her mouth as she gazes at Daphnis. In the middle distance on the right a boy in pale gray and a girl in pale yellow are gathering pale purple grapes amid a profusion of green and pale yellow vine leaves. Behind them, a man in very pale yellow is in the yellow winepress. A man in very pale pink and a woman in pale yellow lean on its

brim. Pale blue, gray, and yellow buildings are seen in the distance. The sky is pale blue above, pale yellow below. The foreground is in tones of brown, gray, and yellow, with some pale yellow and green leaves. On the lower right in red-brown is the name AUDRAN (see detail).

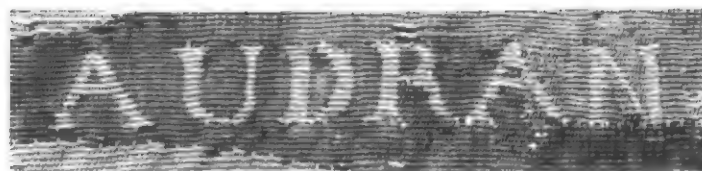
The border is in shades of red-brown, gray, and dull yellow, with oak leaves and acorns in spiral twists around a central core and palmettes at the corners. The guards are replacements.

### CONDITION

The colors are very badly faded, except in the border. There are areas of repair throughout, especially in the sky and distant landscape.

### SUBJECT

The story of Daphnis and Chloe of Lesbos is a late classical Greek romance by Longus.<sup>1</sup> They were foundlings, Daphnis being discovered suckling a goat by Lamo, a goatherd, and Chloe suckling a ewe by Dryas, a shepherd. Some thirteen years later, both foster-fathers dreamed that they saw the Nymphs present the children to Eros, who touched them with an arrow, and told Daphnis to herd goats and Chloe, sheep; this is the subject of the first tapestry in the series. The second tapestry shows Daphnis watching Chloe asleep, as a grasshopper, fleeing a bird, takes refuge in her bosom. In the third, Daphnis has been captured by Tyrian pirates, together with the cattle tended by Dorco, a cowherd; Chloe, playing the slain Dorco's pipe, causes the cattle to leap overboard and wreck the boat, while Daphnis comes safely to shore, clinging to the horns of two cows. The vintage, subject of 52, was an occasion when Daphnis was excessively admired by all the



Detail of 52

local women and Chloe by the men, but the only wish of the young couple was to return to their flocks. The fifth tapestry shows an old man, Philetas, telling Daphnis and Chloe that Eros had appeared in his garden and told him that he had them in his special care. Chloe was later carried away by invaders, but was saved by Pan, to whose statue a sacrifice was then offered, the subject of the sixth tapestry. After many other adventures and the discovery

of their parentage, Daphnis and Chloe were married; the wedding feast is shown in the final tapestry of the series.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Six paintings for the series were commissioned by Audran from Jeurat, as the weaver stated in a letter of August 1754 to the marquis de Marigny and in an agree-



ment between the Gobelins weavers of the same year.<sup>2</sup> The remaining tapestry, the third of the series, *Chloe Saving Daphnis by Playing a Pipe*, was adapted from the design of the same subject by Philippe, duc d'Orléans (or Antoine Coypel), which had been used for part of a tapestry early in the century.<sup>3</sup> Jeurat exhibited what was presumably the painting for the *Vintage* at the Salon of 1741.<sup>4</sup> A sketch for the *Marriage* was exhibited at the Galerie Joseph Hahn, Paris, in 1975.<sup>5</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Jeurat exhibited two paintings, neither of them very large, at the Salon of 1737, *La Noce de Daphnis & Cloé* and *Les Nymphes tutélaires du Païs présentent Daphnis & Cloé à l'Amour*.<sup>6</sup> Two small ovals with these subjects, signed by Jeurat and dated 1736, were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, July 8, 1949 (nos. 82, 83, not illus.). As four tapestries of one set are dated 1738, it seems highly probable that Audran saw the 1737 Salon paintings and commissioned large versions of them and enough other scenes from the same story to make a tapestry series. The *Vintage* shown at the 1741 Salon was a large painting, presumably one of the commissioned cartoons; it seems somewhat unlikely that a tapestry would have been woven from it before it was exhibited. By 1754, Audran stated that he had woven "plusieurs tentures pour les particuliers" of the series. A date of 1741–54 for the weaving of 52 thus seems most probable.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A *Marriage Feast* from the same set was with 52 in the Roux collection<sup>7</sup> and was sold at Christie's, London, May 30, 1968 (no. 146, illus.). It is signed by Audran, as are the *Chloe Asleep* and the *Philetas* of the same set formerly in the collection of the earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, sold by Christie's, May 22, 1984 (nos. 1769, 1770, illus.).

The set was woven at least seven times. A complete set was in the French royal collection, of which three pieces, the *Dream of Lamo*, *Chloe Asleep*, and *Sacrifice to Pan*, were in the Velghes collection, Paris, in 1903; the borders have cherub heads in the corners and two pieces are signed by Audran.<sup>8</sup> A set of four pieces, the *Dream of Lamo*, *Chloe Saving Daphnis*, *Philetas*, and the *Marriage Feast*, were in the Comte de La Ferrière sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris,

December 2–4, 1912 (nos. 262–65, all illus.). All are signed by Audran and dated 1738; the borders are simple and very narrow. The *Dream of Lamo* from this set was later in the H. de M. sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 8, 1933 (no. 72, illus.), was sold again at the Pavillon Gabriel, Paris, June 17, 1977 (no. 198, illus.), and at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 25, 1984 (no. 3253, illus.). The *Marriage Feast* was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1966 (no. 16, illus.), and is at Little Durnford Manor, Wiltshire, owned by the earl of Chichester.<sup>9</sup> The *Dream of Lamo*, *Sacrifice to Pan*, and the *Marriage Feast* (signed "Audran"), with borders of another type, were in the Emilie de L. Havemeyer sale, American Art Association, November 16–23, 1914 (nos. 460, 460 A, 460 B); the *Dream of Lamo* was later in the Edgar F. Luckenbach sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 6, 1943 (no. 210, illus.). A *Vintage* in the Vaile collection in 1903 is recorded as having the same border as the Velghes set, to which it may belong, but three pieces, the *Dream of Lamo*, *Chloe Asleep* (signed "Audran"), and *Philetas* in a private collection at the same date, do not seem to be identical with any of the examples already listed.<sup>10</sup> The *Dream of Lamo*, *Sacrifice to Pan*, and *Marriage Feast* are in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.<sup>11</sup> The *Dream of Lamo* and the *Vintage* are in the collection of the marquis de Breteuil; the borders have monograms at the corners. Both are signed "Audran."<sup>12</sup>

A coarse version of the *Vintage*, reversed and substantially altered, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where it is described as most probably woven at Aubusson.<sup>13</sup> A set of six reversed compositions, not including the *Vintage*, from the Château de Vaulserre, Dauphiné, was sold at the Hôtel Georges V, Paris, March 18, 19, 1981 (nos. 82–87, all illus.).

#### HISTORY

In the Roux collection before 1907.

In the collection of the Redmond family, New York, before 1921.

Given to the MMA by Roland L. Redmond, Mrs. William H. Osborn, and Mrs. Norman K. Toerge, 1941.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 83, pl. facing p. 80, as in Roux collection.



MMA Bulletin 17 (1922) p. 95. Listed as lent by the Redmond family.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 181. Mentioned as in the Roux collection.

MMA Annual Report 1941, p. 22. Mentioned.

#### NOTES

1. Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. George Thornley, revised by J. M. Edmonds (London, 1916).
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 76–78. The letter speaks of seven paintings, the agreement of “six grands Tableaux que le Sr. Audran a cy-devant fait faire pour la haute lisse et qui représentant des sujets du Roman de Daphnis et Cloé. . . .”
3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 283–92, pl. facing p. 288, lower right corner of *Les Naissances*. The artist who is supposed to have helped the duc d’Orléans is named as Charles Coypel, but a drawing in the Metropolitan Museum for a seated shepherd in the painting of *Daphnis and the Goats* is signed “A. Coypel” (Antoine Coypel) (*European Drawings Recently Acquired, 1972–1975*, exh. cat., MMA [New York, 1975] no. 39). The only known set of tapestries after these designs was sold at Sotheby’s, London, November 12, 1965, no. 24. The scene of the vintage is shown with more fidelity to the text than in Jeaurat’s version; Daphnis, carrying grapes, is embraced by an admiring girl, and Chloe is pestered by importunate youths.
4. *Collection des Livrets des anciennes Expositions: Exposition de 1741*, Académie Royale (Paris, 1869) p. 14, no. 15, “Un grand Tableau en largeur de 14. pieds sur 7. & demy de haut, représentant les vendanges de Daphnis & Cloée.”
5. *Leurs Esquisses*, exh. cat., Galerie Joseph Hahn (Paris, 1975) no. 18, illus. Called *Les noces de Cana* by Charles Joseph Natoire.
6. *Collection des Livrets . . . Exposition de 1737*, pp. 14, 19.
7. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 83, pl. facing p. 82.
8. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 75, 76, 82, pl. facing p. 76 (*Sacrifice to Pan*).
9. Gervase Jackson-Stops, “Little Durnford Manor, Wiltshire: The Home of the Earl of Chichester,” *Country Life* 158 (July 3, 1975) p. 20, fig. 6 (on wall of dining room).
10. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 83, pl. preceding p. 65 (*Chloe Asleep, Philetas*).
11. William Moir Bryce, *Holyrood, Its Palace and Its Abbey* (Edinburgh, [1914]) pl. XXIV (*Marriage Feast* seen in state apartment adjoining morning drawing room); Andrew Lang, “Holyrood Palace—I,” *Country Life* 30 (July 15, 1911) p. 97 (*Dream of Lamo* seen in state room); L. W. “Holyrood Palace—II,” *Country Life* 30 (July 22, 1911) p. 132 (*Marriage Feast* seen in Middle State Room). The *Sacrifice to Pan* at Holyrood is listed in the Marillier Archive, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
12. René Briat, “Le miracle de Breteuil,” *Plaisir de France* 40 (September 1973) p. 15 (*Vintage* seen on wall of dining room).
13. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1924) p. 53, no. 48, illus.; Madeleine Jarry, *World Tapestry* (New York, 1969) p. 248, illus., detail. Called Aubusson, mid-eighteenth century.

## 53 The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza

Number 24 in a series of twenty-eight tapestries with scenes from *Don Quixote*

French (Paris); central pictorial panel designed by Charles Antoine Coypel (1694–1752) in 1727, and *alentour*, or decorative surround, designed, 1714–51, by Jean Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), Claude Audran III (1658–1734), J. B. Belin de Fontenay the Younger (1688–1730), François Desportes (1661–1743), and Valade; woven in the haute-lisse workshop of Michel Audran (1701–1771) at the Gobelins manufactory, April 1752–December 24, 1754.

Manufactory mark.

Wool and silk.

12 ft. 3 in. x 15 ft. 9 in. (3.73 m x 4.8 m).

18–21 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Nanaline H. Duke and Miss Doris Duke, 1952 (52.215).

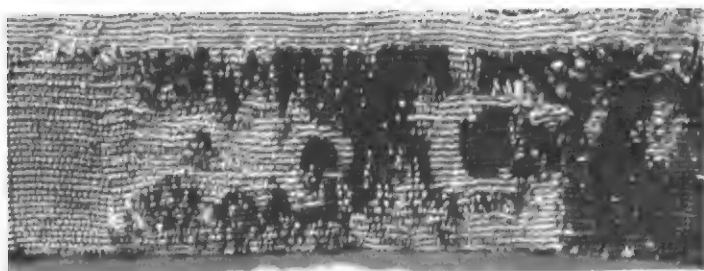
### DESCRIPTION

The central panel shows Sancho Panza wearing a white ruff, yellow robe, gray hat with a yellow plume, and a purple cloak lined with blue, as he sits in the seat of judgment with his feet on a tasseled yellow and brown cushion. His chair rests on a round elevation, which is covered with a yellow-fringed blue cloth. Two men in dull yellow, gray, and pale brown stand behind the chair between two large pale gray columns, with a voluminous blue drapery lined with gray behind them.

On the dull yellow and pale brown floor are the parties to the dispute. On the left, a young man in a blue jacket, a red and yellow striped sash, pale yellow breeches, and gray stockings and shoes holds a broken pale yellow cane and stares at the fallen gold coins; these are being gathered up by an old man in very pale pink. A girl behind him wears a yellow dress, and a man at the back has a brown hat and a red cloak. On the right, a bearded man in a white shirt, dull yellow cloak, and brown and gray leg coverings also looks at the coins, and a woman leans on a stick in the foreground; she wears a gray hat, white collar, dark dull purple dress, and a blue petticoat with purple stripes. Two men, one with a brown hat and one in a dull red costume, are partly seen behind them. Above walls rising in the background are a building and trees on the left, and on the right, trees—all in dull pale tones of blue, yellow, gray, brown, and green.

A simulated yellow and brown frame surrounds the scene. Garlands of leaves and flowers in shades of green, blue, red, pink, lavender, yellow, and white hang from the upper center and drape over the corners on either side. Each corner shows a profile head with a ram's horn supporting a lamp held by a bird. Above the frame stands a blue, green, and yellow peacock with a yellow torch and under its feet a red quiver. Garlands of leaves, flowers, and fruit hang on either side; the blue ribbon on the left is missing on the right. The garlands are caught up by blue ribbons fastened to the borders on either side and fall again, with two gray birds with red legs and beaks perched on the curve; these on the right are exactly alike, the two on the left have different postures. Blue ribbons attach the garlands to the corners of the borders, whence other garlands fall parallel to the side borders. A pale brown monkey is seen in the upper part of each; the one on the right holds on to a red lance, the one on the left, a leafy rose spray. Each garland at its lowest point supports smaller loops of leaves and flowers, which extend across the width of the tapestry below the central scene, before it rises to become part of the garland that falls from the picture frame. Roses, tulips, and poppies are seen among the flowers. The background of the *alentours* is pale yellow with a small all-over pattern. The lower center of the central frame rests on the upper half of an animal head grasping a yellow and gray shieldlike form which has a ram's head on either side and is decorated with the figure of a man with a buckler. On both sides are yellow cornucopia-like forms from which pour bunches of fruit and leaves; red and blue grapes, yellow pears, pink peaches, and red and yellow pomegranates can be distinguished. They fall over a yellow ledge and its support with a blue area in the center inscribed in yellow: MEMORABLE JUGEMENT DE SANCHE. On either side are blue, pink, gray, and red flags and pieces of gray armor and weapons. At the bottom, on the left, are a number of books in brown, yellow, and red and a brown and white dog; on the right, a yellow-gray ram and two sheep are seen emerging from behind the armor and flags.

The blue and yellow border simulates a picture frame. The yellow letters LL (for Louis) are on blue medallions in the ornamented corners; larger yellow medallions on the



Detail of 53

sides are blank. The middle section of the lower border shows a yellow Greek fret pattern. The guards are dark blue. The orange fleur-de-lis and G of the manufactory mark are visible in the lower right corner (see detail).

#### CONDITION

The tapestry has been cut on both sides to make it narrower. One cut followed the inner line of the border; on the right, a small piece of the hindquarters of a sheep that appears on complete examples of the design can be made out above the helmet, of which the back has been cut off. Two irregular cuts, following the lines of the design, were made on each side of the central scene, eliminating a garland loop on each side and a flower-framed medallion with a helmeted head that appears on complete wide examples. On the right, the cut can be seen on the inner side of the lance. The spray held by the monkey on the left was originally attached to the left medallion.

There are a number of areas of repair and bare warps, especially in the floor of the central scene and on the guards. The upper guard and much of the lower are replacements.

#### SUBJECT

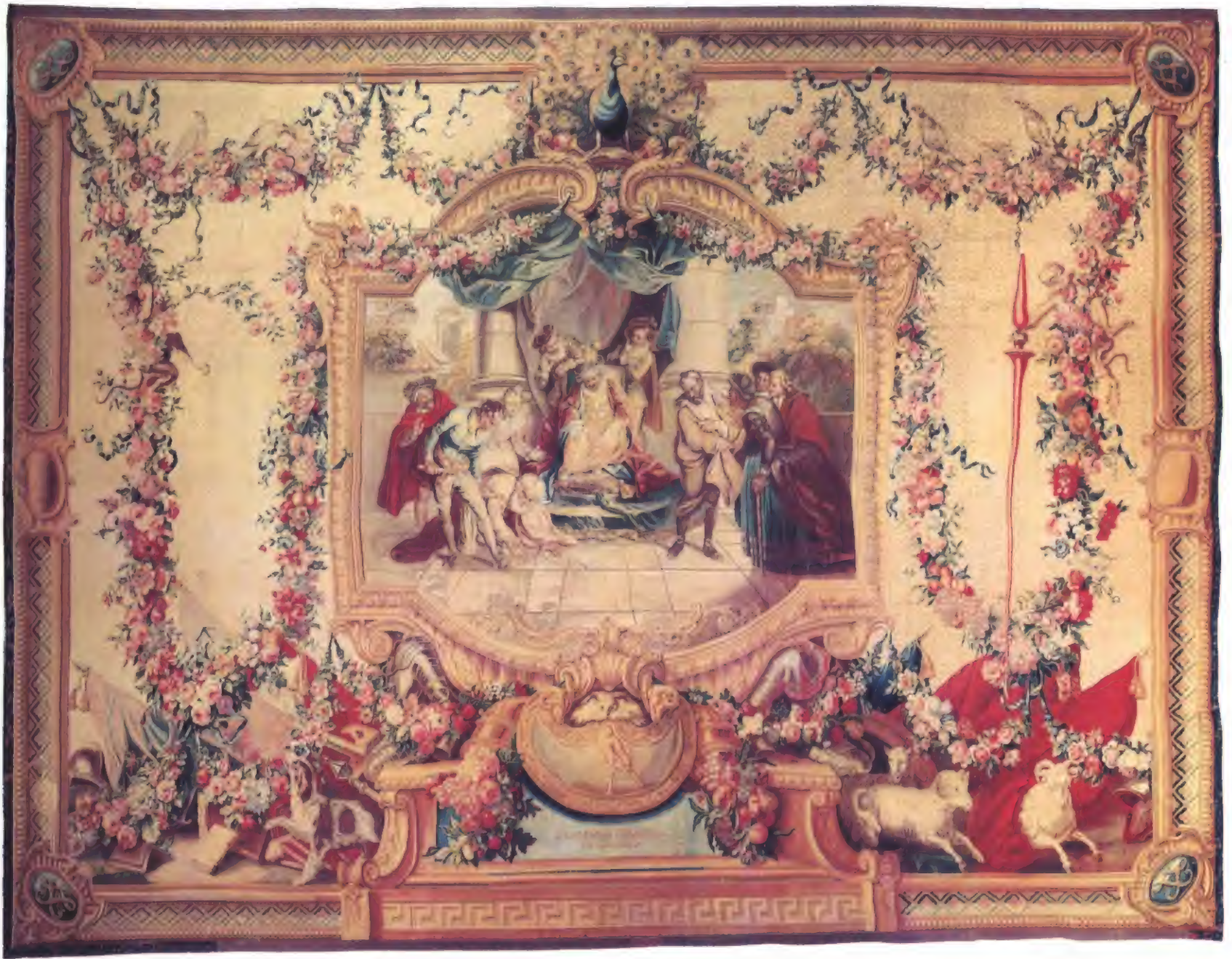
The incident shown in the central picture is related in part 2, chapter 45, of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. Sancho Panza, having been received as governor of the supposed island of Barataria, was enthroned on the judgment seat. The first case that came before him concerned two old men, a debtor who claimed he had repaid ten gold crowns, and a lender who said he had not received them. While the debtor swore to this repayment on the crosspiece of Sancho's staff, he handed a cane he carried to the lender, taking it back when he had finished. Sancho asked for the cane and handed it to the lender, saying "Go, and God be

with you; for now you are paid.' 'I, señor!' returned the old man; 'why, is this cane worth ten gold-crowns?' 'Yes', said the governor, 'or if not I am the greatest dolt in the world; now you will see whether I have got the head-piece to govern a whole kingdom'; and he ordered the cane to be broken in two, there, in the presence of all. It was done, and in the middle of it they found ten gold-crowns. All were filled with amazement, and looked upon their governor as another Solomon. They asked him how he had come to the conclusion that the ten crowns were in the cane; he replied that, observing how the old man who swore gave the stick to his opponent while he was taking the oath, and swore that he had really and truly given him the crowns, and how as as soon as he had done swearing he asked for the stick again, it came into his head that the sum demanded must be inside it. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The twenty-seven other tapestries of the series show Don Quixote setting out, led by Folly and Love; given drink through a reed by girls at an inn; knighted by the innkeeper; mistaking a barber's basin for the helmet of Mambrino; the theft of Sancho's ass; Dorothy, disguised as a shepherd, found by the curate and the barber while searching for Don Quixote; Don Quixote fighting wine-skins; the false princess Micomicona begging Don Quixote to replace her on her throne; Don Quixote fastened to the window bars at an inn; Don Quixote misled by Sancho into taking a peasant girl for Dulcinea; the Bachelor Samson Carrasco defeated by Don Quixote; shepherds dancing at Camacho's wedding; personifications of Love and Riches at Camacho's wedding; Don Quixote protecting Basilio, who marries Quiteria; Don Quixote attacking the puppets; Don Quixote sending Sancho to the duchess, asking permission to see her; Don Quixote attended by the duchess's women; Sancho's cowardice during the boar hunt; the Distressed Duenna begging Don Quixote to avenge her; Don Quixote and Sancho, mounted on a wooden horse, believing they are flying to avenge the Duenna; Sancho leaving for the island of Barataria; Sancho's entry into Barataria; Sancho's meal on Barataria; Doña Rodriguez visiting Don Quixote by night; Don Quixote dancing at the ball in Barcelona; Don Quixote consulting the enchanted head; and Don Quixote cured of his folly by wisdom. The series was never woven as a whole.

The books on the lower left side of the *alentours* are the ancient romances that fired Don Quixote's imagination,





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and the old-fashioned arms and armor are those of his great-grandfather that he found “lying forgotten in a corner”; the flags presumably represent his victories and the sheep recall the flocks that he mistook for two armies. No significance can be established for the dog, which has a companion in wider versions of the tapestries, unless it represents a sheep dog, or symbolizes Sancho’s fidelity; the monkeys also are not related to anything in the novel,

but may stand for Don Quixote’s “aping” of old-time heroes.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The central picture was painted by Charles Antoine Coypel in 1727; he received 1200 *livres* on January 18, 1728, for “un grand tableau représentant le *Jugement des*



*deux vieillards par Sancho*, qu'il a peint pour être exécuté en tapisserie à la Manufacture des Gobelins, pendant l'année dernière."<sup>2</sup> The painting was number 24 in the twenty-eight designs made by Coypel for this purpose and is in the Palace of Compiègne, with all but one of the others.<sup>3</sup> A drawing for it is in the National Museum, Stockholm (fig. 36).<sup>4</sup> It was engraved by F. Joullain as number 23 in the series of twenty-four prints in the *Don Quixote* series, published between 1723 and 1734.<sup>5</sup> A copy of the cartoon was made by the painter Valade (of

plaques at the base, which are flanked by piles of armor, weapons, and flags. The *alentour* used on this set was designed by Belin de Fontenay, with the assistance of Claude Audran; these artists produced full-scale cartoons.<sup>8</sup>

A second *alentour* was designed under the supervision of Charles Antoine Coypel about 1720. The general scheme was probably Audran's, with the assistance of the younger Fontenay and François Desportes; the latter, as an animal painter, presumably contributed the peacock, monkeys, dogs, and sheep. Two winged children after Charles Coypel were placed on either side of the peacock.<sup>9</sup>

In 1751, Valade made a copy of this *alentour* "sous les yeux de M. Coypel," which was used in Michel Audran's workshop; another was made for Cozette's.<sup>10</sup> In these, the two winged children were omitted. Valade also copied in 1752 the shield with the armed man, which had been used in the second weaving of 1723–35.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The identification of this tapestry as the piece given to Count Vorontsov establishes Audran as the weaver and the date as 1752–54.<sup>11</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Don Quixote* tapestries were on the Gobelins looms almost continuously from 1717 to 1794, over two hundred individual pieces being woven. The first four weavings, of fifteen, twelve, five, and twelve pieces, can properly be called sets, but the fifth of thirty pieces, the sixth of twenty-three, the seventh of fourteen, the eighth of sixty-seven, and the ninth of thirteen, in which subjects were repeated and which often included narrow panels (*trumeaux* or *portieres*), *alentours* without central pictures, and pictures without *alentours*, were evidently produced to be a stock from which suitable sets could be extracted to be used as gifts or sold. The self-patterned yellow ground in a geometric design (*mosaïque jaune ton sur ton*) of 53 shows that it comes from one of the first six weavings (later ones have imitation damask grounds in red or yellow) and the *alentour* without the winged boys, but with the sheep, places it in the sixth;<sup>12</sup> this is confirmed by the fact that the tapestry has been cut and joined, an



FIG. 36. *The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza*, by Charles Antoine Coypel. Drawing, National Museum, Stockholm.

whom nothing is known) in 1752, and was presumably used in weaving this tapestry.<sup>6</sup> The Compiègne painting was damaged in World War II; the engraving follows it closely, in reverse. A number of substantial changes, however, were made between the drawing and the painting, all tending to open up the composition and make it less crowded. Several figures on both sides were removed and the scene was placed out-of-doors.

The basic idea for the *alentours* goes back to the first set of fifteen pieces, woven 1717–19.<sup>7</sup> These have central medallions after Coypel's paintings and *alentours* with yellow grounds and garlands; the titles are inscribed on

operation that is known to have been performed on the only *Memorable Judgment* of this weaving.

The sixth weaving included thirteen pieces that had been completed by Audran and Cozette on January 1, 1758; from these, four pieces were chosen as part of a gift to Count Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov (or Woronzoff), who became imperial chancellor of Russia in that year. Besides 53, these were *Sancho's Cowardice*, *Don Quixote and Sancho on the Wooden Horse* (these two were joined to make a single very wide piece), and *Don Quixote Given Drink through a Reed*; the panel of two joined pieces was lost at sea, the present location of the other is not known. Six pieces, the *Theft of Sancho's Ass*, the *Ball at Barcelona*, *Don Quixote Attacking the Puppets*, *Don Quixote Sending Sancho to the Duchess*, *Sancho's Entry into Barataria*, and *Don Quixote Mistaking a Barber's Basin for the Helmet of Mambrino*, were sold to a French Treasury official, Jean Paris de Marmon- tel, on April 30, 1763; of these, *Don Quixote Attacking the Puppets* belonged to Wildenstein & Co. in 1923,<sup>13</sup> the *Theft of Sancho's Ass* was in the Katherine Deere Butterworth sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 21–23, 1954 (no. 505, illus.), the *Ball at Barcelona* was in the MM. X . . . sale, 19 avenue d'Iéna, Paris, December 16, 1933 (no. L, illus.), and *Don Quixote Mistaking a Barber's Basin* was in the Ean F. Cecil sale, Sotheby's, London, May 14, 1943 (no. 134, illus.). Four pieces, another *Sancho's Entry*, the *False Princess Micomicona*, another *Sancho's Cowardice*, and *Don Quixote Knighted*, were sold to Mme Véron in 1763; they were in the marquess of Hertford's collection in 1865; the Richard Wallace sale, Christie's, London, April 20, 1876 (no. 210);<sup>14</sup> the Baron de Gunzburg sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, January 30, 1884 (nos. 3–6); the Clarence Mackay collection in 1926<sup>15</sup> and that of his daughter, Mrs. Robert Z. Hawkins, in 1958.<sup>16</sup> *Don Quixote Knighted* and the *False Princess* belonged to the London dealer S. Franses in 1974; the other two were sold at Parke-Bernet, November 29, 1975 (nos. 170, 171, illus.). They were later in the Timken Art Gallery, San Diego,<sup>17</sup> but are now privately owned. Eight pieces, *Dorothy Disguised as a Shepherd*, *Don Quixote and the Enchanted Head*, *Don Quixote Taking a Peasant Girl for Dulcinea*, *Sancho's Meal*, another *Don Quixote and Sancho on the Wooden Horse*, another *Don Quixote Given Drink through a Reed*, *Don Quixote Cured of his Folly*, and *Don Quixote Setting Out*, were given as pay-

ment to an upholsterer (*marchand tapissier*), Charles Henri Poussin, in 1773; of these, *Don Quixote and the Enchanted Head* is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.<sup>18</sup>

The *Memorable Judgment* is recorded as having been woven eight times. It was not included among the fifteen tapestries of the first set which was completed in 1719 before this subject had been designed. It was, however, one of the twelve pieces of the second set, woven by Jans between 1727 and 1730. This set was given to the Spanish ambassador, Prince Luigi Bianciforte di Colonna di Campo Fiorito, in 1745, and acquired from him by Charles III of Naples before 1758 for use as models in the manufactory the king had recently founded.<sup>19</sup> It is now Italian state property, divided between the Capodimonte Palace, Naples, the Palazzo Reale, Naples, and the Quirinale Palace, Rome. The *Memorable Judgment* is in Rome; it has an upright format, showing the center of the design only, from just to the left of the dog to just to the right of the foreground sheep. The garlands falling down alongside the frame of the central picture are omitted and those with the monkeys moved closer to the central picture. The winged boys flank the peacock and the inscription reads "Memorable Jugement de Sancho. Ch. XLV."

A *Memorable Judgment* in the third set of 1733–35, which was ordered by the duc d'Orléans for the comte d'Argenson, is in the Louvre. It is a narrow upright, signed by Lefebvre, with the *alentour* that was especially designed for this set. The arms of Argenson appear in the side borders and those of Orléans replace the shield with the armed man. There is a narrow violet-pink band between the yellow ground of the *alentour* and the border. There are no sheep, piles of armor, winged boys, or inscription.<sup>20</sup>

The fourth set, woven by Audran, includes a *Memorable Judgment* made between 1747 and 1749. The set was sold in 1748/49 to the duke of Parma, whose initials, I.D.P., replace the LL's of the corners; it is in the Palazzo Reale at Turin.<sup>21</sup> The *alentour* is similar to that of 53, except for the presence of the winged boys on either side of the peacock and the framed heads of warriors that were removed when 53 was made narrower.

The *Memorable Judgment* was one of four tapestries ordered in 1749 for the king's room at Marly, with two others for the Council Chamber there. This set has what is known as the Marly *alentour*, very like that of the Argen-

son pieces. The *Memorable Judgment* was woven by Cozette in 1750–51 and is in the Mobilier National, Paris. The inscription reads “Memorable Jugement de Sancho dans l’île de Barataria.”<sup>22</sup> Twenty-four more pieces were woven with this *alentour*, but the *Memorable Judgment* was not repeated.<sup>23</sup>

The seventh weaving, of fourteen pieces, was carried out in the basse-lisse workshop of Neilson between 1760 and 1783. The ground is red, imitating damask. The *Memorable Judgment* was included twice in this group, being woven in 1772–75 and in 1775–77; one was sold to the duc de Penthièvre in 1787 and is now in the Mobilier National, the other was given, with another piece from this weaving and two from the eighth, to the English painter Richard Cosway in 1788.<sup>24</sup> He gave them to George IV and they are now in Buckingham Palace.<sup>25</sup>

The huge weaving of sixty-seven tapestries between 1763 and 1787 was accomplished in the haute-lisse workshops of Audran and Cozette, and the red damask ground was used. There is only one *Memorable Judgment*, woven by Audran between 1768 and 1770; it was given in 1782, with three other pieces, to the Grand Duke and Duchess of Russia, then visiting in Paris. In 1900, the tapestries were in the Anichkov Palace in Saint Petersburg, and they are now at Pavlovsk.<sup>26</sup> The subject is not known to have been included in the three sets that make up the ninth weaving, carried out by Audran and Cozette between 1778 and 1794, using a simulated yellow damask ground.<sup>27</sup> No Gobelins tapestries with this subject made as private commissions have been identified.

A large, rectangular version of the central picture, without *alentour* or border, was in the Louis Touzain sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, October 23, 24 1935 (no. 142, illus.), where it was described as Aubusson; it belonged to the Paris dealer Dario Boccara in 1971.<sup>29</sup> A similar but wider piece with a narrow floral border was sold at Lempertz, Cologne, April 15, 1964 (no. 442, illus.; called Beauvais).

The furniture covers made to go with this series are known from documents, small designs in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, two full-scale *modèles* in the Mobilier National and one in the Metropolitan Museum, a sofa back and seat formerly on the New York art market,<sup>30</sup> and a sofa back owned by Mr. and Mrs. Milton Schaeffer, Germantown, Tennessee. The last piece shows a nude boy trying on the barber’s basin that Don Quixote mistook for a helmet; it was presumably woven from the

painting for which Coypel was paid in 1719: “Un tableau représentant un *Amour ayant en tête l’Armet de Membrin*, suite de la même histoire de Don Quichotte.”<sup>31</sup> Two large and two small sofas, six bergères, six armchairs, twelve side chairs, and two threefold screens have been noted as formerly in the castle of Slangenburgh, Gelderland, the Netherlands, with a set of the wall hangings owned by Count von der Goltz. All are said to have been sold to the dealer Joel Duveen about 1868.<sup>32</sup>

## HISTORY

Woven between April 1752 and December 1754 by Michel Audran. Early in 1759, the tapestry repairer Vavoque reduced the width from 18 feet, 9 inches to 15 feet, 9 inches; his bill for the work was submitted on April 15. On July 28 of that year, 53 and other tapestries were turned over to the representatives of Count Vorontsov to be shipped to his palace in Saint Petersburg. The count died in 1767, and the interior of the palace was destroyed by fire at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

Benjamin Duke collection, said to have been acquired in 1912. Given to the MMA by Mrs. Nanaline H. Duke (Mrs. James Buchanan Duke) and her daughter Doris Duke, 1952.

## PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 220–23. Account of *Don Quixote* set given to Count Vorontsov (called Woronzow). *MMA Annual Report* 1952. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 12 (1953–54) p. 19. Listed.

Remington, Preston. “The Galleries of Decorative Art and Period Rooms, Chiefly XVII and XVIII Century.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 98, illus.

Standen, Edith A. “The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza: A Gobelins Tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum.” *MMA Journal* 10 (1975) pp. 97–106. Identified as example from the sixth set, given to Count Vorontsov.

Standen, Edith A. “Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: V. Rococo and Neo-Classicism.” *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 37, 39, pl. v (color).

## NOTES

1. Miguel de Cervantes, *The History of Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Great Books of the Western World, vol. 29, trans. John Ormsby (Chicago, 1952) p. 341.
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 163.
3. A sketch for this twenty-eighth painting, *Don Quixote Given Drink Through a Reed by Girls at an Inn*, is in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (*Catalogue itinéraire* [Paris, n.d.] no. 242; Jean Seznec, “Don Quixote and His French Illustrators,” *Gazette des*

- Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 34 [1948] p. 175, fig. 3).
4. Standen, "Memorable Judgment," fig. 1.
  5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 166–68; Standen, "Memorable Judgment," fig. 2.
  6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 219. Valade was paid for "deux tableaux pour les Gobelins . . . savoir une copie du *Jugement de Sancho*, d'après M. Coypel. . ."
  7. Marquis de Veneville sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 8, 1953, nos. A–O, all illus.; Antenor Patiño sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 9, 1976, no. 229, illus.
  8. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 171, 172. Audran drawings in the National Museum, Stockholm, are very free sketches, only loosely connected with the general layout of the tapestries (*Claude Audran*, exh. cat., Bibliothèque Nationale [Paris, 1950] nos. 143–45).
  9. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 172, 173. A tapestry with this (the second) *alentour* is illustrated, pl. facing p. 208.
  10. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 174, 219. This is the fifth *alentour*, a modification of the second, used for the fifth, sixth, and ninth weavings (with a yellow ground), and for the seventh and eighth (with a crimson ground). Three strips of a cartoon for this *alentour* are in the Mobilier National (Jules Guiffrey, *Les Modèles et le Musée des Gobelins* [Paris, n.d.] pls. 45, 46, attributed to Louis Tessier). They have yellow grounds and may well be part of Valade's copy of 1751.
  11. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 220; Standen, "Memorable Judgment," pp. 100–03, 106.
  12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 219–29.
  13. Phyllis Ackermann, "Tapestries of Five Centuries: VII. The Weavers of the Louis Periods," *International Studio* 77 (1923) p. 61, illus.
  14. Robert Cecil, "The Hertford-Wallace Collection of Tapestry," *Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956) p. 117.
  15. George Leland Hunter, "Mr. Mackay's Gobelin [*sic*]—Beauvais Tapestries," *International Studio* 85 (October 1926) pp. 31–35.
  16. Robert Cecil, letter, *Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958) p. 101.
  17. *European Paintings in the Collection of the Putnam Foundation*, Timkin Art Gallery (San Diego, n.d.) p. 2, figs. C,D.
  18. "The Recent Acquisitions: A Gobelin [*sic*] Tapestry in the Wadsworth Atheneum," *Art Quarterly* 10 (1947) pp. 220, 223, illus. Previously sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 23, 1906, no. 9, and in the Isabel van Wie Willys sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 26, 27, 1945, no. 336, illus.
  19. Chiara Briganti, *Cuiroso itinerario delle collezioni ducali parmensi* (Parma, 1969) p. 45, *Sancho's Entry* in Quirinale, Rome, illus.
  20. *Merveilles des châteaux de Bretagne et de Vendée* (Paris, 1970) pp. 226, 227, illus.; Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pl. facing p. 198 (*Ball in Barcelona*). A sketch for the *alentour* is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, attributed to P. J. Perrot.
  21. Standen, "Memorable Judgment," fig. 3.
  22. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 206–08, 218.
  23. Six pieces of this weaving were allotted to the empress Eugénie in 1871; they were in her sale at Christie's, London, July 7, 1927, no. 76, illus., and are now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (*European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts: A Catalogue* [Richmond, 1966] nos. 242–47, illus.). Others are in the duke of Richmond's collection at Goodwood (Christopher Hussey, "Goodwood House, Sussex," *Country Life* 72 [July 9, 1932] p. 43, fig. 7; dated 1763, including overdoor panels) and the Mobilier National (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 217).
  24. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 234–36.
  25. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "The Works of Art," in *Buckingham Palace and Its Treasures* (New York, 1968) p. 179.
  26. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 252, 253. Other pieces from this weaving are in the Mobilier National and the Swedish National Collection. Of the nine pieces given to the marquis de La Vrillière in 1770–72 and sold after his death in 1777, eight were bought by the duke of Rutland in 1814 (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 247, 248), and six are in Belvoir Castle (Christopher Hussey, "Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire, the Seat of the Duke of Rutland," *Country Life* 120 [December 26, 1956] pp. 1286, 1289). Four pieces were given to Cardinal de La Roche-Aymon in 1774, sold after his death in 1777, bought in London about 1883 by King Francis of Assisi of Spain (husband of Isabella II), and kept in his Château of Epinay with a piece from the Neilson weaving (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 249, 250). After his death in 1902, all five pieces were acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan; they later belonged to Mrs. Widener Dixon, who gave them to the Philadelphia Museum of Art (D.F., "Gobelin [*sic*] Tapestries," *MMA Bulletin* 7 [1912] pp. 1–3, illus. [one] as loans from J. Pierpont Morgan; Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Annual Report*, 1944, p. 26, illus; 1946, p. 19, illus. facing p. 24; 1948, p. 17). The *Ball at Barcelona* from the six pieces given to M. de Machault in 1783 is in the collection of the comte de La Panouse at the Château de Thoiry, Seine-et-Oise (J.V., "Pour attirer plus de visiteurs au Château de Thoiry: un zoo," *Connaissance des Arts* 191 [January 1968] p. 82, fig. 13). The four pieces given to the duke and duchess of Saxe-Teschen in 1786 are in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (C.B.-D. [Charissa Bremer-David], "Set of Four Tapestries," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 [1983] pp. 60–66), and the two given to the English artist Richard Cosway in 1788 are in Buckingham Palace (de Bellaigue, in *Buckingham Palace and Its Treasures*, p. 179). Portieres made without pictures for the marquis de Marigny in 1775 are in the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris (three pieces from the Breadalbane collection; the fourth piece of the set is said to be in the collection of Michel Goudchaux; *Musée Nissim de Camondo* [Paris, 1960] p. 54, no. 232).
  27. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 267–80. Two pieces were in the Ernest Cronier sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 4, 5, 1905, nos. 169, 170.
  28. Other subjects are known that were certainly woven as private commissions. One in the Jacques Louis Stern sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 3, 4, 1950, no. 217, illus., has a simplified *alentour* and is signed "Audran aux Gobelins"; another, with a modified Argenson *alentour* was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 13, 1904, no. 2, and at Parke-Bernet, March 9, 10, 1945, no. 396, illus.
  29. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 195, illus. Called Gobelins, about 1780.
  30. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 378, 391; Standen, "Memorable Judgment," figs. 6–9.
  31. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 378.
  32. James Henry Duveen, *The Rise of the House of Duveen* (New York, 1957) pp. 170–80.
  33. Standen, "Memorable Judgment," pp. 100–03, 106.



## 54 Young Woman Holding a Mask

French (Paris); probably copied from an engraving by Nicolas Chasteau (c. 1680–c. 1750) after a painting by Jean Baptiste Santerre (1651–1717), and woven in 1725 by Jean Jacques Jans (c. 1671–1731) in his haute-lisse workshop at the Gobelins manufactory, as a private commission or for private sale or gift.

Weaver's name and date.

Wool and silk.

3 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 6 1/2 in (97 cm x 77 cm).

22–26 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1929 (29.132).



### DESCRIPTION

The young woman with fair hair, pink cheeks, and blue eyes wears a dark blue cap with one red and one white plume at the back, and a white aigrette fastened to a gray brooch with a pear-shaped pearl at the side. Her bodice and skirt are black, ornamented in brown and tan, with a white undergarment visible at the wrists and neckline. Dark and pale pink material shows as puffs through the slits in the sleeves. The bodice is lined with pink and her braid of hair is fastened with a pale pink bow. She holds a black mask. The background is pale brown and tan around the upper part of the figure and dark brown near the edges.

The tapestry is inscribed in dark blue in the lower right corner: *Jans fecit, anno 1725*. The light background is almost entirely silk.

### CONDITION

The slits that constituted the modeling in the hair over the forehead and the right shoulder have been sewn up.

### SUBJECT

The woman has been identified as Christine Antoine Charlotte Desmares (1682–1753), a Comédie Française actress, the mask indicating that she is posing as Thalia.<sup>1</sup> This identification is based on the resemblance between this and another tapestry figure, the half-length of a seated woman holding a letter, signed “Jans fecit, anno 1726,” that at one time belonged, with 54, to the dealer Jacques Seligmann;<sup>2</sup> he claimed the two tapestries were a pair, gave the same provenance for both, and stated that they represented one of the actresses La Clairon (1723–1802), Marie Champmeslé (1642–1698),<sup>3</sup> or Mlle Demarets [*sic*]. The second tapestry, the *Woman Holding a Letter*, is after a print dated 1708 by Chasteau after Santerre; there are several versions of the related painting, those in the Comédie Française, Paris,<sup>4</sup> the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>5</sup> and the Francis Guérault sale, Paris, May 16, 1935 (no. 35, illus., attributed to Jean Raoux), being identified as Desmares. Another is said to belong to the actress's descendants at Bessinger, near Geneva.<sup>6</sup> A replica in the A.

Blanc sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 3, 4, 1906 (no. 121, illus.), however, was called *Le Billet Doux*.<sup>7</sup> In any case, there is no real evidence that the two tapestries form a pair, except that both were once owned by Jacques Seligmann. The facial resemblance is completely unconvincing, as Chasteau made at least five prints of young women after Santerre, all looking exactly alike, including the *Woman Holding a Letter*.<sup>8</sup> The authentic portrait of Desmares by Charles Coypel in the Comédie Française museum,<sup>9</sup> engraved by Lepicié, 1733, with her name,<sup>10</sup> shows her as very stout, with a round face; she holds a mask, but also a dagger, indicating her ability in both comedy and tragedy, stressed in the quatrain on the print.

There is in fact no reason to believe that 54 represents an actress or Thalia. The subject is in fancy dress, rather than theatrical costume. Santerre, in his later years, painted *têtes de fantaisie* instead of portraits; many of these show young women in fantastic costumes, frequently holding masks.<sup>11</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The tapestry is almost certainly copied from a Chasteau print after a Santerre painting. It is close to one in which the young woman holds her skirt with her right hand and has a dangling sleeve under the mask in her left (fig. 37).<sup>12</sup> Neither the print nor the painting has been located, but both may have been in existence in 1876, when Alfred Potiquet listed among Santerre's works "*Une femme debout en habits de bal, tenant un masque de la main gauche, le bras plié, vue à mi-corps; H. 0,67, L. 0,56. Gravé par Château, avec 4 vers au-dessous, 1708, petit in-folio.*"<sup>13</sup> The phrase "le bras plié," rather than a reference to the right hand holding the skirt, may indicate the original of 54 rather than the other very similar Santerre figure, and the fact that the dimensions are given suggests that the painting was known to Potiquet.

#### WEAVER

Jean Jacques Jans became head of the first haute-lisse workshop at the Gobelins in 1723.

#### HISTORY

Bought from Jacques Seligmann for the MMA by means of the Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1929.<sup>14</sup>



FIG. 37. *Young Woman Holding a Mask*, by Nicolas Chasteau, after Jean Baptiste Santerre. Engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Breck, Joseph. "A Tapestry Portrait." *MMA Bulletin* 24 (1929) p. 381, illus. p. 313. Said to be, traditionally, a portrait of Charlotte Desmares as Thalia.
- Mainella, William E. "The Art of Tapestry Weaving." *Dye-stuffs* 41 (1955) p. 56, illus.
- Standen, Edith. "Three Ladies in Tapestry." *Studies in Textile History, in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*. Veronika Gervers, ed. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1977, p. 332, fig. 1. Described as a woman in fancy dress, woven by Jean Jacques Jans from a print by Nicolas Chasteau after Jean Baptiste Santerre.

# NOTES

1. Breck, "Tapestry Portrait," p. 381.
2. Exhibited, *Three French Reigns*, 25 Park Lane (London, 1933) cat. no. 433, as Mlle Desmarets, after a painting by Santerre. *Illustrated London News*, April 8, 1933, p. 499, illus., as Marie Champmeslé. Typewritten document supplied by the dealer Germain Seligmann to the MMA in 1929, as La Clairon. Another version of this tapestry, signed "Lanie 1724," is in the Palazzo Reale, Naples (Mercedes Viale and Vittorio Viale, *Arazzi e tappeti antichi* [Turin, 1952] no. 117, pl. 101a, called *Portrait of a Lady*). "Lanie" is probably the Gobelins weaver Etienne Lanier (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 349).
3. Marie Desmares (La Champmeslé), as shown in a portrait of the Mignard School in the Ed. Couvet collection, Rouen, is entirely unlike either of these tapestries (Emile Dacier, *Le Musée de la Comédie-Française, 1680-1905* [Paris, 1905] pl. facing p. 30).
4. *La Comédie-Française, 1680-1962*, exh. cat., Château de Versailles (Versailles, 1962) no. 129 (as French eighteenth century, *Portrait of Desmares*). But Dacier (*Musée de la Comédie-Française*, p. 163) says that it is a fancy picture by J. Raoux. A tapestry copy of this picture, called Charlotte Desmares, was in the Albert Lehmann sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4, 5, 1925, no. 133, not illus.
5. From the Baletta sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 8-11, 1912, no. 65, illus. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 47.245.
6. Information from Frick Art Reference Library photographs.
7. Probably the picture advertised in *Art News*, May 16, 1931, section one, by Lindpainter Galleries, Berlin and Lucerne. Examples in Dresden and in other sales are noted in Gunnar W. Lundberg, "Jean Baptiste Santerre," *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 17 (1933) p. 42, n. 5, as portraits of Desmares.
8. Marcel Roux, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs de XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, vol. 4 (Paris, 1940) pp. 230-32, nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, and 13, all dated 1708, without names of sitters, the same size, with quatrains.
9. Dacier, *Musée de la Comédie-Française*, p. 133.
10. Lillian Arvilla Hall, *Catalogue of the Dramatic Portraits in the Theatre Collection of the Harvard College Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930-34) vol. 1, p. 361.
11. Lundberg, "Jean Baptiste Santerre," p. 46, n. 3, quoting the *Mercur de France*, September 1718, p. 72; fig. 8, illus. four prints of young women in fancy dress by Chasteau after Santerre, three holding masks. Of these prints, a is Roux, *Inventaire*, no. 6, b is Roux no. 13, c is Roux no. 8, and d is Roux no. 10.
12. Lundberg, "Jean Baptiste Santerre," fig. 8, c.
13. Alfred Potiquet, *Jean Baptiste Santerre* (Paris, 1876) p. 10.
14. The typewritten document received with the tapestry states that it and a companion panel showing the same person, but dated 1726, came from the collection of the comte de Kersaint, whose father had inherited them from a cousin, the comte Saint Yon, director of the Gobelins, to whom they had been given by the French government on his golden anniversary. Cartoons for the tapestries, signed Santerre, belonged to the duc de Marnier, whose wife was a Kersaint, and engravings giving the history of the tapestries to the comte de Durfort. No confirmation of these statements has been found. No Saint Yon is recorded as connected with the Gobelins.

## 55 Young Woman, called the Spanish Girl

French (Paris); after a painting by Alexis Grimou (1678–1733), 1729, woven 1730–39 by Pierre François Cozette (1714–1801) probably in a basse-lisse workshop at the Gobelins manufactory, as a private commission, or for private sale, or as a gift or practice piece.

Designer's and weaver's names and dates.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. x 1 ft. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (61 cm x 51 cm).

24 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.9).

### DESCRIPTION

The young girl has pale yellow and brown hair and pale brown eyes. She wears a blue cap and a pearl earring. Her dress is brown, with what is apparently a red sleeveless coat, trimmed with brown fur at the neck and over the shoulder. A white undergarment is visible at the neck. The background is greenish brown, darker at the edges, with a dull pale cream section behind the head. Inscribed in black on the left: *Grimou f. / 1729*; in cream in the lower right: COZETTE. ex/173 [the last figure missing].

### CONDITION

Worn around the edges. Small areas of repair and a hole are visible at the base.

An inscription formerly on the now removed lining reads: "Maillard félix le 13 mai 1879 artiste aux Gobelins réparateur de tapisserie." Some words are doubtful, but the inscription suggests that 55 was repaired or lined in 1879.

### SUBJECT

One of the versions of the painting from which the tapestry is derived was described in 1763 as a woman "habillée en Espagnolette"; *L'Espagnolette* is the title of a closely related print (fig. 38). The girl is shown wearing a feather in her cap, a ruff, a small, tight roll of material at the shoulder, and slashed sleeves.<sup>1</sup> This sixteenth-century style was thought of as Spanish in eighteenth-century France. A Boucher drawing in the Louvre of a young woman wearing a ruff and full, puffed sleeves was de-



scribed in 1781 as "Jeune femme vêtue à l'Espagnole."<sup>2</sup> A painting by Carle van Loo in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, shows men in ruffs and slashed sleeves with short cloaks and is called a concert "à l'Espagnole."<sup>3</sup> The term appears to correspond to the "Van Dyck" costume popular in England in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> There is no reason to believe that the girl of 55 is Spanish.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The tapestry is a simplified version of a painting signed by Grimou in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (fig.





FIG. 38. *L'Espagnolette*, by Lepicié, after Alexis Grimou. Engraving. Print Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

39).<sup>5</sup> The girl has a feather in her cap, no earring, a ruff, and a slashed sleeve, and holds a cloak with her left hand. This painting and its companion piece were in the Peilhon sale, Paris, May 16, 1763, no. 68; as Peilhon had been treasurer of the Bâtiments, it is possible that Cozette was allowed to copy the picture or have it copied, as a design for his tapestry.



FIG. 39. *L'Espagnolette*, by Alexis Grimou. Oil on canvas. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Cozette became head of a basse-lisse workshop at the Gobelins in 1735 when he was twenty-one. The last figure in the date of 55 is possibly three, suggesting that the piece was made as an exercise by the young weaver before his appointment as *entrepreneur*.

#### HISTORY

The inscription on the lining formerly attached to the wooden backing includes the date May 13, 1879, suggesting that 55 was in Paris at this time and possibly was repaired or remounted at the Gobelins manufactory. Bequeathed to the MMA by Julie Heidelbach (Mrs. Alfred S. Heidelbach) of Paris, 1932.

## EXHIBITION

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Baltimore Museum of Art, 1951–52. *2000 Years of Tapestry Weaving*, cat. no. 112, not illus.

## PUBLICATIONS

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelines, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 29. Described as "a portrait of a pretty French girl clothed in a romantic Spanish costume."

Standen, Edith. "Three Ladies in Tapestry." *Studies in Textile History, in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*. Veronika Gervers, ed. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1977, pp. 333, 335, 336, fig. 4. Described as a woman in a type of fancy dress called "Spanish," related to paintings by Alexis Grimou, woven by Pierre François Cozette.

## NOTES

1. Standen, "Three Ladies," fig. 6.
2. Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Oeuvre dessiné de François Boucher, catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1966) p. 72, no. 205, fig. 35.
3. A. P. de Mirimonde, "La musique orientale dans les oeuvres de l'Ecole française du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue du Louvre*, 1969, p. 245,

fig. 26. A drawing for this is in the Metropolitan Museum (*MMA Notable Acquisitions 1983–1984* [New York, 1984] p. 71).

4. The influence of sixteenth-century Spanish costume on later court dress is illustrated by Helene Dihle, "Nachklänge der spanischen Tracht," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 16 (1974) pp. 1–20, but this usage does not seem to be related to the "Spanish" costume worn by the girl in 55.
5. *Französischer Meister aus der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe, 1963) no. 22, illus. as *Junges Mädchen in spanischer Tracht* ("L'Espagnolette"). A companion piece is dated 1731 and shows a girl with a book ("La Liseuse"). A replica of *L'Espagnolette* is in the Calvet Museum, Avignon, with a companion piece of a young man drawing, and another is in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (*Peintures de l'Europe occidentale, Catalogue* [in Russian], vol. 1, 2nd ed., Hermitage [Leningrad, 1976] p. 198, no. 1125, fig. 44). A sketch in the Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, includes the ruff and the slashed sleeve of the Karlsruhe painting; this picture has been attributed to Fragonard (Pierre Rosenberg and Isabelle Compin, "Quatre nouveaux Fragonard au Louvre," *Revue du Louvre*, 1974, p. 191, fig. 9). There is a small version in the Prague National Gallery. An engraving of 1740 (fig. 38) shows the same figure with a bird on her finger; the companion print is a boy with a flute (Roger Portalis and Henri Bérardi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle* [Paris, 1880–82] vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 664, iv, 21). What is presumably another version of the Karlsruhe painting was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 30, 1965 (no. 3); this is described as showing a fur-trimmed red dress, so it may be closer to the tapestry than the other examples.



## 56 Boucher's Daughter, Jeanne Elisabeth Victoire Deshays

French (Paris); after a pastel by François Boucher (1703–1770), about 1757, woven in 1769 by Pierre François Cozette (1714–1801) or his son Michel Henri Cozette (1754–1822) in the Cozette haute-lisse workshop at the Gobelins manufactory, as a private commission, for private sale, or as a gift.

Designer's and weaver's names and date.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. x 1 ft. 3 in. (49 cm x 38 cm).

25 warps (vertical) per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.8).

### DESCRIPTION

The blue-eyed young woman has a pink, white, blue, and brown bow in her fair hair, with a blue band over the top of her head. She has a pale yellow and cream dress, with a pink strap over the shoulder, and a wrap of the same colors as the bow, pale pink and blue predominating. At her breast is a pink rose, with smaller pink, white, and blue blossoms, and dark blue and green leaves. The background is blue. Inscribed in black ink in the right center: *Boucher Pixt / Cozette Ex<sup>it</sup> / 1769*. The flesh and background are in wool, the costume and flowers in silk.

### CONDITION

The slits round the head and neck have been sewn up obtrusively.

### SUBJECT

The subject of this tapestry, with the corresponding pastel and print, and the companion pieces to the pastel and print, are identified by two later versions of the pastels; they are Boucher's daughters, Jeanne Elisabeth Victoire (1735–1770), wife of Jean Baptiste Henri Deshays, and Marie Emilie (1740–1774), wife of Pierre Antoine Baudouin.<sup>1</sup> One pastel of Mme Baudouin is dated 1756, but the print of the same subject (called *Tête de Flore*) indicates that the pastel was made in 1757; it is probable that the portrait of Mme Deshays was made about the same time, when she was twenty-one or -two.



FIG. 40. *Tête de femme*, by Louis Marin Bonnet, after François Boucher. Color engraving. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Collection E. de Rothschild, Paris (Arch. Phot. Paris / S.P.A.D.E.M.). Photo: Musées Nationaux.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Boucher's early pastel of Mme Deshays is known only from documents, from later versions, and from the color print made of it in 1769; the inscription on this states that the original pastel was owned by Jean Germain Soufflot.<sup>2</sup> In 1782, it was in the sale of the marquis de Marigny's collection, number 15, as "tête de femme charmante."<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the tapestry was copied from the color print by Louis Marin Bonnet after the pastel (fig. 40), but,



as Soufflot was director of the Gobelins and Marigny director of the Bâtiments, either of them might have lent the pastel to Cozette. As Marigny also owned an example of the tapestry, it seems quite probable that Soufflot gave or sold both the tapestry and the pastel to him. The differences between the tapestry and the print are minute alterations in the colors, flowers, hair, ribbon, and dress. The modeling of the features is, however, considerably more subtle in the print; hard lines, such as that dividing the light and dark areas of the neck, are nonexistent in the print. A painting derived from Boucher's design was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, April 21, 1971 (no. 275, attributed to the school of Claude Hoin); it shows the girl with small purple flowers and green leaves in her dark hair.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Though the inscription was added after the completion of the tapestry, it is probably contemporary and accurate, as it appears on other examples. The "Cozette" named may be Pierre François, who gave up his basse-lisse workshop in 1749 and took over Monmerqué's haute-lisse looms, or his son Michel Henri.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Two other examples are known. One was probably sold in Paris in 1794;<sup>4</sup> it was in the Lowengard sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 10, 1910 (no. 26, illus.). It has a similar inscription, but is very slightly larger and shows minute differences in the drapery, hair, flowers, and modeling of the features. The other omits Boucher's name and the date; it is signed "Cozette fils exit [Michel Henri Cozette]." It is slightly smaller, but shows only very small differences from the other two examples. It was in the Félix Doisteau sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 18, 19, 1928 (no. 211, illus.). All three tapestries have vertical warps.

A variant, known only from a photograph, was in a Swiss collection in 1912; there are no ribbons in the hair, no flowers, and no inscription. The hair falls down the back of the neck and there is a white space in the background on the right.

Another small tapestry with an inscription in ink is the *Boy with a Portfolio* in the Tours Museum;<sup>5</sup> it is inscribed

"Drouais fils / 1760 / Cozette exit 1763." The companion piece has a woven inscription. Another example of the *Boy with a Portfolio*, in the Louvre, also has a written inscription, with the weaver's name given as "Cozette fils exdit en 1764 agé de 10 ans."

#### HISTORY

Possibly owned by the marquis de Marigny and sold with his collection in 1782.<sup>6</sup>

Bequeathed to the MMA by Julie Heidelbach (Mrs. Alfred S. Heidelbach) of Paris, 1932.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 29, illus. "Rare Tapestries Go to Metropolitan Museum." *Art News* 34 (February 22, 1936) p. 12, illus.

Standen, Edith. "Three Ladies in Tapestry." *Studies in Textile History, in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*. Veronika Gervers, ed. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1977, pp. 335-37, fig. 7. Described as Boucher's daughter, Mme Deshays, after his pastel or the engraving of it by Louis Marin Bonnet, woven by Pierre François or Michel Henri Cozette.

#### NOTES

1. The later panels belonged to Prosper de Baudicour and are mentioned in his *Le Peintre-graveur français continué*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1861) p. 38, as in his collection. That of Mme Deshays is signed by Boucher and dated 1766. Both were in the A. Danlos sale, Hôtel Drouot, June 6, 1928 (nos. 48, 49, illus.), when it was stated that Prosper de Baudicour had bought them on the advice of his drawing master, Pierre Lélou, a pupil of Boucher, who told him the names of the subjects. What is apparently another pair, with the portrait of Mme Deshays also signed and dated 1766, was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 19, 1970 (nos. 11, 12, illus.). There are two pastels of Mme Baudouin in the Louvre; one is signed by Boucher and dated 1756, the other is a copy (Geneviève Monnier, *Pastels, XVII<sup>ème</sup> et XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècles*, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inventaire des Collections Publiques Françaises, 18 [Paris, 1972] nos. 26, 27).
2. Jacques Hérold, *Louis-Marin Bonnet (1736-1793), Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé* (Paris, 1935) p. 88, no. 59, pl. XII.
3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 345. Marigny's title of the marquis de Menars was used at this sale.
4. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 345.
5. Paul Vitry, *Le Musée de Tours: Peintres, dessins, sculptures, meubles, etc.* (Paris, 1911) p. LXVI, no. 540, pl. 95.
6. The dimensions of Marigny's example are given as 16 *pouces* high, 13 *pouces* wide (15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. by 13 in.), smaller than 56, but the catalogue says that it was "sous glace," so that these are probably sight measurements and the piece may have been larger.

## 57 Croome Court tapestries

Set of wall coverings (12 pieces) and furniture upholstery (33 pieces)

- a Allegories of Air (*Cephalus and Aurora*) and Earth (*Vertumnus and Pomona*)
- b Allegory of Water (*Neptune Rescuing Amymone*)
- c Allegory of Fire (*Venus Visiting Vulcan*)
- d Mirror surround with vases
- e, f Overdoors with vases
- g, h Vertical panels with garlands
- i, j Vertical panels with cherry sprays
- k, l Over-window panels
- m, n Upholstery for two sofas: backs, seats, and armrests with flowers
- o–t Upholstery for six chairs: backs, seats, and armrests with flowers
- u Unmounted chair back with flowers

French (Paris); designed, 1758–67: general conception by Jean Germain Soufflot (1713–1780), pictorial medallions by François Boucher (1703–1770), decorative surrounds (*alentours*) and some of the furniture covers by Maurice Jacques (1712–1784), the rest of the furniture covers by Louis Tessier (1719/20–1781). Woven, 1764–71, in the

basse-lisse workshop of Jacques Neilson (1714–1788) at the Gobelins manufactory, for George William, sixth earl of Coventry, for use in his house, Croome Court, Worcestershire, England.

Designer's name on 57a and b; weaver's name on 57b and c. Wool and silk.

57a 10 ft. x 27 ft. 3 in. (3.05 m x 8.31 m);

57b 10 ft. x 17 ft. (3.05 m x 5.18 m);

57c 10 ft. x 17 ft. (3.05 m x 5.18 m);

57d 10 ft. x 10 ft. 5 in. (3.05 m x 3.18 m), portions with vases each 2 ft. 6½ in. (77 cm) wide;

57e, f 5 ft. 1½ in. x 4 ft. 4 in. (1.56 m x 1.32 m);

57g, h 10 ft. x 1 ft. 5 in. (3.05 m x 43 cm);

57i, j 9 ft. 11 in. x 2 ft. 9½ in. (3.02 m x 85 cm);

57k, l 8¾ in. x 5 ft. 10 in. (22 cm x 1.78 m);

57m, n backs approx. 2 ft. 2 in. x 5 ft. 8 in. (66 cm x 1.73 m),

seats approx. 2 ft. 5 in. x 6 ft. 4 in. (74 cm x 1.93 m),

armrests approx. 11 in. x 8 in. (28 cm x 20 cm);

57o–t backs approx. 2 ft. x 1 ft. 10 in. (61 cm x 56 cm), seats

approx. 2 ft. 4 in. x 2 ft. 7 in. (71 cm x 79 cm), armrests

approx. 10 in. x 5 in. (25 cm x 13 cm);

57u 2 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 2½ in. (69 cm x 67 cm).

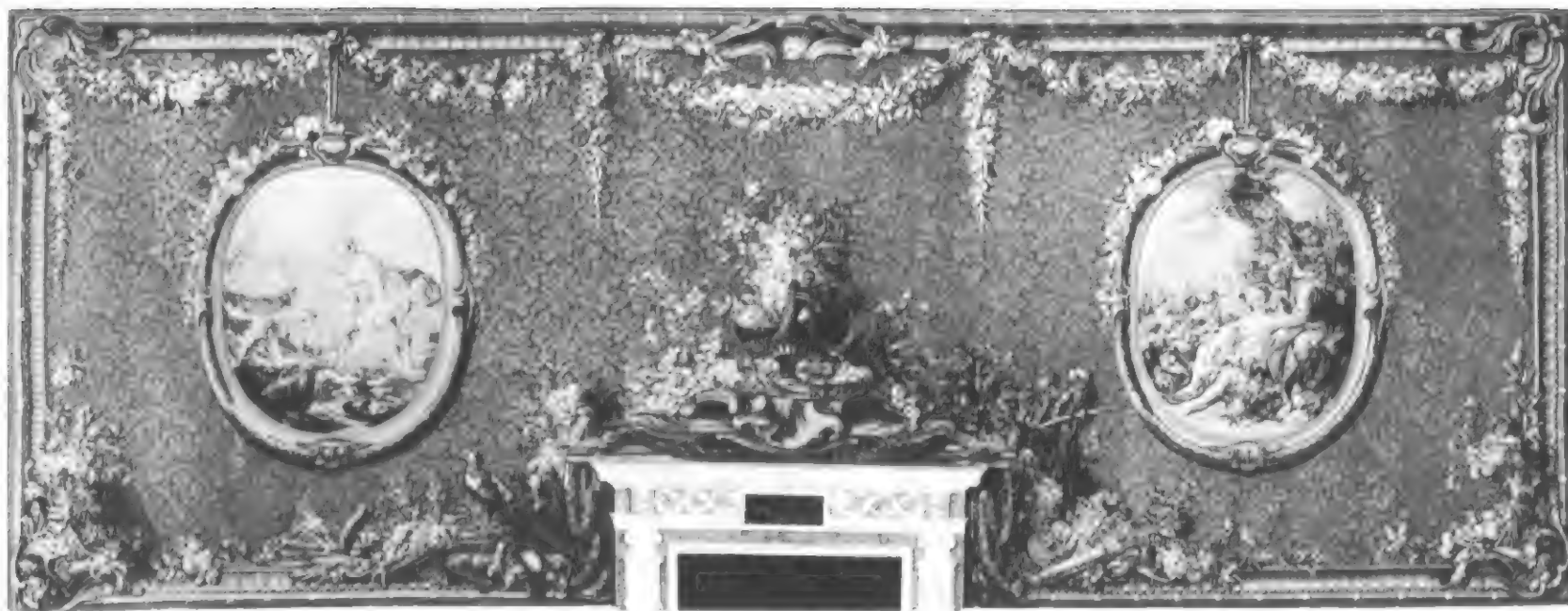
22–24 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958 (58.75.2–5

[57a–d]; 58.75.6, 7 [57e, f]; 58.75.8, 9 [57i, j]; 58.75.10,

11 [57g, h]; 58.75.12, 13 [57k, l]; 58.75.15–20 [57o–t];

58.75.21, 22 [57m, n]; 58.75.23 [57u]).



57a



#### DESCRIPTION

The three large panels (57a–c) cover the fireplace wall and the end walls of a room; two panels (57d) flank a mirror, with a band running under it, on the fourth (window) wall; two panels (57e, f) are over the doors; four vertical panels, two on the end walls (57g, h), two on the window wall (57i, j), fill the spaces between the doors and the windows; two horizontal, very narrow panels (57k, l) are placed above the windows. These are concealed behind wooden pelmets and are probably of later date. All the panels except the last two have grounds in crimson and dark pink with a pattern of flowers and leaves, simulating a silk damask, and have elaborate framelike borders in dull yellow and brown, resembling carved and gilded wood. The three large panels (57a–c) have festoons of flowers above and oval medallions with simulated gilt frames hanging by pink cords from large dull yellow nails on the upper frame. The medallions cast shadows on the damask ground (the light supposedly coming from the upper left) and have sprays of flowers and foliage around the upper parts of their frames; they were woven separately and inserted into the *alentours*. The lower corners of these panels have leaves and flowers, some tied in bunches with blue ribbons; the flowers include red, pink, yellow, and white roses, pink and purple striped tulips, yellow hollyhocks and lilies, poppies, crown imperials, peonies, lavender and white lilacs, carnations, and many others.

The fireplace-wall panel (57a) is shaped to leave a blank rectangle in the center of the lower border for the chimney piece. There are two upright oval medallions; that on the left shows Aurora, in a white robe and pink drapery with the morning star in her hair, reclining on white clouds (see detail). She gazes at the sleeping Cephalus, who wears dull yellow and lavender robes and red drapery and holds gray ribbons attached to a pale yellow quiver. A small black-and-white dog lies at his feet. Two cupids are seen between the couple; the lower one holds a garland of red, white, and pink roses. The background is gray above, blue at the lower right. The branch of a tree in dull yellow, gray, and brown extends above Cephalus. The right medallion shows Pomona in a white dress with blue drapery, holding a red and white rose in her left hand (see detail). She reclines beside Vertumnus, who, disguised as an old woman, wears a pink and white head covering, a lavender-pink dress with a purple sash, and red drapery. A gray



Details of 57a







and dull green fountain in the shape of a large urn decorated with putti rises behind the pair; water falls from a horned mask at the left into a boatlike basin below and onto a branch with bunches of pale purple grapes and three pink and pale yellow peaches lying on a shelf. Below this is a pale brown watering can and a green and yellow melon. A basket with red, white, and blue flowers and leaves lies at the feet of the couple, and flowering plants and trees are seen in the background. The sky is white and gray. In the lower right is the inscription: *f. Bouché. P.* In the center of the tapestry, above the fireplace opening, is a large dark blue vase, gadrooned in pale blue and pink, filled with leaves and flowers; three dull yellow gilt bronze figures of boys, holding yellow leafy garlands, play on its sides. A bird is perched on a twig to the left and another flies above. A large green and yellow parrot is half-seen at the foot of the vase on the right, and flowers are banked on either side above the large central scroll of the frame. On

the right is a red and blue scarlet macaw; on the left, a pale brown basket of flowers with a blue bow tied to the handle. Under the macaw are massed flowers and a trophy of love, including a gray target, with an arrow piercing its pink central boss, a blue and dull pale yellow quiver with blue-feathered arrows and a blue ribbon attached to it, a bunch of arrowheads, a smoking torch, a yellow bow, and two coronals. On the right are two small birds perched on a twig. On the left of the fireplace opening, below the basket, are massed flowers and leaves, with a large red, blue, white, and brown golden pheasant standing above a trophy of the hunt. This includes a dull yellow hunting horn, a dead gray duck with a brown head and some blue feathers, two other dead birds, a red net, and a brown and gray hunting gun with a dark red strap. Farther to the left is a brown squirrel and a small gray, yellow, and brown bird with a red head.

In 57b the horizontal oval medallion shows Neptune,





with white hair and beard and flying pink drapery, striding through the white waves grasping a pale yellow trident. Amymone lies at the lower left; she has a white dress with blue drapery. A brown and white leopard skin falls across her thigh and half conceals a pale yellow bow with a pink handgrip under her knee. A red and yellow quiver with arrows, one blue-feathered, and pink straps lies in its folds. Above her, a dark-haired satyr seizes her hair and her arm. He wears a pale yellow and white undergarment and a dull dark pink robe; one of his pale brown goat legs is visible and a bundle of sticks is tied at his back. Above Neptune's outstretched arm flies a cupid holding an arrow and a pale pink flaming torch; another floats behind Neptune's back, holding the blue and yellow reins of three white and gray horses with pink and red lips and nostrils. White spume falls from their mouths. Two more cupids lie in the foaming waves below the horses. The sky is white and pale yellowish gray, with a gray rock visible in the

distance on the left. The foreground is whitish yellow, with some light blue in the waves on the right. The inscription on the lower right reads: *F Boucher. Pix.* Immediately below the medallion is a bagpipe with a blue bag, red and pink bellows, and white (probably representing ivory) chanter, partly concealing a pale brown straw hat with a red brim and bow. A red and brown recorder and a transverse flute are partly seen behind the hat and a tambourine to the left of the bagpipe. On the right is a blue and pale brown bird perched on a twig, and farther to the right, a flying pink and white bird. To the left of the central group of the bagpipe and massed flowers and leaves is a billing pair of white, pink, gray, and brown pigeons, with another bird farther left. A dark blue purple gallinule, with a red spot on its head and red legs, stands on a flowered grassy turf that projects over the frame, casting a shadow. Three blue, gray, red, pink, and pale yellow birds are flying in the space to the left of the central medallion and two





57d

blue and pale yellow swallows on the right. There is an inscription in black on the damask ground immediately above the frame at the lower right: *Neilson. ex.*

The horizontal oval medallion in 57c shows Venus in a white dress with pink and pale yellow drapery stepping onto a white cloud. Vulcan, who has yellow and brown hair, holds a pale yellow sword, with pale pink and blue straps, in his left hand. It has a small dragon head on the hilt. He has a red cloak and lavender drapery over his right thigh, on which rests a gray helmet lined with dark blue, with a pale yellow winged dragon as a crest. He grasps a gray hammer in his right hand; a gray and blue anvil is seen below his left arm. Underneath this is blue drapery, partly covering a piece of gray and brown classical armor, lined with dark red. Between the two figures is a cupid, holding a small white-feathered arrow, and in the back-



57e

ground on the right are two one-eyed Cyclopes, one holding a hammer with a long handle over his shoulder. They are partly concealed by a gray and brown vise, with a long pair of pincers behind it. Behind them, pink flames are visible, with brown and gray rocks dimly seen amid swirls of gray and white smoke or steam. A white dove is perched on the anvil, two more flutter in the clouds below Venus, and another pair fly above her pale yellow and brown chariot on the left. A lavender-gray cushion with a pale yellow tassel lies in the chariot, which is partly covered by white clouds. Below Vulcan is a blue shield and a red quiver with pink arrows and strap, tufts of a white fur lining falling over its mouth, and a pale yellow tip. The sky is very pale blue and white, the foreground gray, with dull pink passages on the left under the chariot. The *alentour* is the same as 57b, with slight variations in color. The piece



57g



57i

is inscribed in dark brown immediately above the frame on the lower right: *Neilson. ex.*

In 57d, the two panels that flank the mirror are joined by the section of the simulated frame that lies beneath it, which was woven separately. Each has a large pink, gray, and blue vase with dull yellow handles, filled with flowers and leaves, which stands on a yellow and brown pedestal with rams' heads holding drapery swags at the upper corners. Except for minor differences in color the panels are alike, and each vase and pedestal casts a red shadow on the damask ground to its right.

The overdoor panels (57e, f) are identical, each showing a blue urn with a yellow Greek-fret patterned band, filled with flowers and leaves. Other flowers fall on either side of a raised section of the frame.

Two vertical panels between the windows and the end walls (57g, h) have cascades of large flowers and leaves hanging from yellow rings.

Two narrow vertical panels between the doors and the window wall (57i, j) have thin dangling sprays of leaves and red cherries.

The two narrow horizontal panels above the windows (57k, l) have architectural moldings in tan and brown.

The two sofa backs are the same, except for differences of coloring, and show a bunch of flowers tied with a white and gray ribbon, flanked by horizontal sprays of leaves and flowers, including roses, honeysuckle, blue convolvulus, and dull yellow lilies. The sofa seats also have the same



57n



Seat of 57m

design, with a central mass of flowers, including poppies and hollyhocks, with a detached branch of pink roses on the left and of white daisy-like flowers on the right, and a small stem of blue flowers isolated on the damask ground to the left. The two armrests on each sofa are mirror images of each other; each pair has a different design of flowers and leaves.

The six mounted chair backs have each a different design of a bunch of flowers tied with a striped ribbon. All the seats show a large spray of leaves and flowers with two stalks lying isolated on the red damask ground above them, but there are only five designs, two of the chairs (58.75.15 and .17) having the same composition. The two armrests to each chair are mirror images; six different designs of leaves and flowers have been used. The unmounted chair back resembles the others, but does not duplicate any of them.

#### CONDITION

Narrow strips in neutral tones have been added to the sides of the two end-wall panels. The space above the mirror of 57d has been filled with an imitation of the damask background of the tapestries. The narrow vertical panels (57i, j) each show a break in the damask background below the bottom leaf, and a badly damaged piece has been inserted underneath. A few minor repairs are



57u

visible elsewhere. Some fading has taken place, including probably some pale blues in the skies of the medallions.

The chair backs may have been made in the cartouche shapes of the extant cartoons and cut into ovals when they were mounted. A subsequent remounting caused slight damage around the edges of both backs and seats, which was repaired when the tapestries were replaced on the original frames in 1959. Similar small repairs were made to the corners of the sofa covers. Some pieces are slightly worn. The unmounted chair back is also slightly worn and repaired.

#### SUBJECT

The four medallion pictures are allegories of the Elements, but were also called *Metamorphoses* in contemporary documents;<sup>2</sup> later versions of the tapestries with different subjects in the medallions lost sight of this overall meaning entirely. The trophies of love, hunting, and pastoral music are not connected with the subjects of the medallions.

The subjects of the medallions of 57a are Cephalus and Aurora and Vertumnus and Pomona. Aurora, goddess of the dawn, fell in love with Cephalus, a mortal, who is here shown asleep. Pomona, goddess of gardens, was courted by Vertumnus, god of orchards, in various disguises; he won her in the shape of an old woman.

The medallion of 57b tells the story of Amymone, who, while out hunting, was attacked by a satyr, but was rescued by Neptune.

In the medallion of 57c, Venus is visiting her husband, Vulcan, in his forge, to ask him to make arms for her son Aeneas.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The medallion designs are after paintings by Boucher. *Cephalus and Aurora*, of the same oval shape, is in the Louvre; it is signed and dated 1763. The first light of dawn is seen between the clouds on the left in the painting, but is not apparent in the tapestry. A drawing for Aurora was in the Irwin Laughlin collection, Washington.<sup>3</sup> *Vertumnus and Pomona*, also an oval, signed and dated 1763, is also in the Louvre; the children on the urn are much more clearly visible. The oval drawing for it is in the Hyde Col-

lection, Glens Falls, New York.<sup>4</sup> An upright drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, from Mrs. O'Donnell Hoover's collection, shows the two main figures in very similar positions (fig. 41),<sup>5</sup> as does an oblong drawing formerly in the Alphonse Trézel collection.<sup>6</sup> The treatment of the subject for a Beauvais tapestry in 1757 (79) is comparable to the design for the Gobelins. *Neptune Rescuing Amymone* is a horizontal oblong painting, signed and dated 1764, in the palace at Versailles; an oval sketch for it is in a private collection in Paris and there is a drawing for the cupid

FIG. 41. *Vertumnus and Pomona*, by François Boucher. Drawing. MMA, Gift of Mrs. O'Donnell Hoover, 1960 (60.176.2).





holding the reins of the horses.<sup>7</sup> *Venus Visiting Vulcan*, not signed, is also at Versailles; a grisaille sketch for it is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.<sup>8</sup> Four drawings by Boucher, in black and white chalk on blue paper, were in the marquis de Marigny sale, 1782, nos. 289, 290. They are described as “l’Aurore & Cephale,” “la Colere de Neptune,” “Vénus demandant à Vulcain des armes pour Énée,” and “Vertumne & Pomone”; they are presumably preparatory designs for the paintings.

The first mention of the general scheme of the wall hangings is in a bill submitted by Maurice Jacques in August 1758, for two oil sketches, each “composée d’une bordure d’ornemens, de trois médaillons en ornemens, avec des festons et groupes de fleurs épars dans toute l’étendue de l’esquisse, les sujets des milieux ont été faits chés M. Boucher . . . lesquelles esquisses ont été faites sur

l’idée de M. Soufflot.”<sup>9</sup> An oil sketch with three medallions by Boucher is in the Mobilier National; it has a pink damask ground.<sup>10</sup> There is a large oblong central medallion and musical trophies hanging from the side ones, but otherwise the arrangement is close to that of the tapestries; a bagpipe, similar to the one shown in 57b and c, rests on the lower center of the frame. The medallion pictures are not those that were eventually used.

In 1762, Jacques’s bill included a painting, described as “un tableau composé, colorié, représentant un Apartement tel qu’il doit être, avec les tentures de la tapisserie, le lit, le fauteuil et le canapé.” This has not survived and may well have been given to Lord Coventry in 1763 to take back to England;<sup>11</sup> his architect, Robert Adam, billed him in 1764 for “Altering the French Design of the Tapestry Room in Colours.” Adam’s own design for the Tapestry Room shows wall coverings based on the Gobelins scheme, but altered to conform to his classical style. Also from 1762 are two full-scale designs, both in the Mobilier National, by Jacques, one including a vase like that used on the overdoors (57e, f); both show frames very close to the final forms and bunches of flowers tied with ribbons very like those in the lower corners of the large panels.

On July 2, 1764, Jacques was paid for six large canvases of “la distribution et composition générale des alentours de deux tentures nouvelles des *Elemens* tableaux ovales de M. Boucher,” and later in the same year he submitted a bill for designs that can be identified with the gallinule and flying birds of 57b and c, and with the vase, the “enfants en bronze doré,” and “perroquets” in the lower center of 57a. Another design, judging from its dimensions, was for this panel in its entirety. Further bills of 1765 and 1766 include “un perroquet ou ara de proportion ou de grandeur naturelle,” and a “trophée d’Amour,” also for this panel, a vase “posé sur une gaine antique ornée de bronze” for 57d and “une chute de fleurs de 5 pieds de hauteur,” presumably for 57g and h.<sup>12</sup>

The pheasant on the left of 57a is the same bird seen in the *Elephant* of the *Nouvelles Indes* series of 1740 by Desportes, and the gallinule of 57b and c is from the *Monceaux* of the *Maisons royales* series of 1668, in which the birds were designed by Pieter Boel.<sup>13</sup> One page of his drawings of birds in the Louvre (inv. no. 19389) includes sketches for the gallinule (fig. 42).<sup>14</sup>

The first upholstery designs were for an armchair back and seat with flowers tied with a ribbon on a red damask





ground and a sofa back and seat ornamented “de group-  
pes et de différents jets de fleurs” by Jacques in 1760. In  
1761, 1763, and 1767, Tessier designed fifteen armchair  
backs and seats and two sofa sides; armrests are also men-  
tioned. The most complete description is his bill of 1767:  
“fonds de damas cramoisy, les dossiers composés d’un  
bouquet de fleurs nouées d’un ruban, sur les fonds des  
fleurs jetées négligement, le tout convenu avec M. Souf-

flot.” Two cartouche-shaped designs in the Mobilier Na-  
tional correspond exactly with two chair backs of 57; one  
shows the same pattern in reverse, and one corresponds to  
the unmounted chair back. Two designs for armrests in  
the same museum are also the same as two armrests of  
57.<sup>15</sup> The designs for chair backs and seats were num-  
bered in pairs, so that which back went with which seat  
was determined in advance.





FIG. 42. *Poules sultanes*, by Pieter Boel. Drawing, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris (inv. no. 19389). Photo: Musées Nationaux.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Jacques Neilson, whose name appears on 57b and c, was head of the basse-lisse workshop at the Gobelins from 1750 until his death in 1788. Weaving presumably began



on this set as soon after August 1763, when Lord Coventry was in Paris, "to pass his time in buying glasses and tapestry," as was practicable. The furniture covers could have been started at once, since some designs were made, as already mentioned, for damask ground upholstery in 1760 and 1761, but they were not mounted on their frames until 1769;<sup>16</sup> the wall panels would have had to wait for receipt of the dimensions of the earl's room. This may not have been until August 1764, when Lord Coventry was again in Paris "on the old tapestry account." By June 1771, all the tapestry was installed at Croome Court.<sup>17</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Sets of wall panels and furniture covers:

1. Three large panels, four overdoors, two narrow panels, and upholstery for twelve armchairs, two sofas, and a fire screen, made for William Weddell between 1766 and 1771, and still in the room for which they were commissioned at Newby Hall, Yorkshire, owned by Robin Compton.<sup>18</sup> The panels are set into gilded wood moldings instead of being treated like wallpaper; there are none on the window wall. The ground is pale pink-gray and there are other differences in color. The two-medallion piece is on an end wall; it has the same vase in the center, but lacks the large birds and the squirrel. The fireplace wall has *Venus Visiting Vulcan* in the medallion and the flying birds; there is a blue macaw below. The other end wall has another medallion design to represent *Water*; the bagpipe is seen below, but there are no birds. Another type of vase is used on the overdoors. There are many other small differences.

2. One very large panel (later cut into three), four narrow wall panels with cascades of flowers, two upright panels with vases, twelve small panels, ten armchairs, two sofas, two banquettes, two stools, and two fire screens, made for Sir Lawrence Dundas between 1766 and 1775 for his house, Moor Park, Hertfordshire.<sup>19</sup> The wall panels, except for ten of the twelve small pieces that have disappeared, are at Aske, Richmond, Yorkshire, owned by the marquis of Zetland. The fire screens, six armchairs, one sofa, and the banquettes are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. One sofa and four armchairs are at Temple Newsam House, near Leeds; some pieces of the tapestry have been used for loose cushions for the sofa.<sup>20</sup> The damask backgrounds are gray, the medallion pictures are

Detail of 57b



different, and there are other major alterations in the designs.

3. Four large wall panels, made between 1772 and 1776, two sofas, twelve armchairs, a fire screen, and a sixfold large screen, made between 1776 and 1779 for Louis XVI and given by him to his brother-in-law the emperor of Austria. They are now in the Austrian National Collection; the armrests of the chairs have not survived.<sup>21</sup> *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Cephalus and Aurora* appear in two of the medallions, but the others have different subjects. The *alentours* are of a more elaborate design, with a dark band inside the simulated frame. The chair backs are cartouche shaped.

4. Four wall panels, a set of bed hangings, twelve armchairs, two bergères, a tall screen, and a fire screen were made for the prince de Condé about 1770. The panels are in the Louvre;<sup>22</sup> the bed hangings and other upholstery belonged to the dukes of Cumberland in the nineteenth century, of which the bedspread, *fond de lit*, and a small piece are in the Louvre and upholstery for six armchairs is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>23</sup> The remainder of the upholstery, mounted on twenty-one modern furniture frames, was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, May 8, 1971 (no. 232, part illus.). The medallion pictures on the panels include *Cephalus and Aurora* and *Vertumnus and Pomona*, with two other subjects; the *alentours* are of a second, more elaborate type.

5. A large two-medallion panel, three single-medallion panels, eleven smaller panels, eight chair seats, and a sofa seat were made in 1775–76 for Robert Child and are now in the room for which they were made at Osterley Park, Middlesex, owned by the National Trust. The two-medallion piece shows *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Cephalus and Aurora*, and one of the single medallions has *Venus Visiting Vulcan*; the subjects of the other medallions are different. The *alentours* are of an extremely elaborate, third type. The chair backs and sofa back have designs of children.<sup>24</sup>

6. Three large panels, three overdoors, and upholstery for a settee, twelve armchairs, a large twofold screen, and a fire screen were made in 1783 for the duke of Portland for a room at Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire. The house is now an army school, but the tapestries are said to be still in situ. The medallions show scenes from the story of Sylvia and Amintus. The *alentours* are of another type, with simpler, classical simulated frames, but with a greater wealth of flowers and birds. The armchairs have

oval backs and the screen panels are also ovals.<sup>25</sup>

Sets without furniture upholstery:

1. Three large panels and three overdoors (all alike) were made for Sir Harry Bridgeman between 1766 and 1771 and are in another room in the house for which they were made, Weston Park, Shropshire, owned by the earl of Bradford.<sup>26</sup> The subject of the *Water* medallion is different, there are trophies hanging on either side of the *Venus Visiting Vulcan* medallion, and the overdoor vases are of another type. The two-medallion panel on the fireplace wall is very similar to the Croome Court example, though it is much shorter, so that the decoration around the mantelpiece is simpler; the gallinule from 57b and c appears on the left and a crane on the right.

2. Eight large panels were made between 1775 and 1776 for Louis XVI. Four, with medallions of *Venus Visiting Vulcan*, *Cephalus and Aurora*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, and two other subjects, were given by the king to the grand duke Paul Petrovitch of Russia (later czar) in 1782; they were in the Pavlovsk Palace, near Leningrad, until after 1918, and are in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.<sup>27</sup> The other four panels were given by the king to Prince Henry of Prussia in 1784. Two of these were in the Porgès sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 18, 1924 (nos. 243, 244, illus.); one has medallions with *Cephalus and Aurora* and another subject, the other, *Neptune and Amymone*. The latter was sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 28, 1954 (no. 145, illus.), and by Sotheby's at the Palazzo Capponi, Florence, May 22–24, 1973 (no. 79, illus.). The two remaining panels have medallions with subjects not in 57 and are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; the *alentours* are of the third type.<sup>28</sup> The grand duke also asked for a set of *Pastorals* on a yellow instead of a crimson ground; the king authorized this and ordered also a set of furniture in the same taste as that given to the Austrian emperor.<sup>29</sup>

3. Ten panels of the medallions only, without *alentours*, were made in 1778–79 for Roux and Lambert of Lyon. *Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Neptune Rescuing Amymone*, and *Venus and Vulcan*, with three others, belong to the Württemberg State Collection.<sup>30</sup> Two similar panels, one with *Vertumnus and Pomona*, inscribed “Neilson ex 1778,” are owned by Baron Guy de Rothschild and were formerly at the Château de Ferrières. They are upright oblongs.

4. Five large panels were made between 1783 and 1786

for Louis XVI. Three are in the Mobilier National; one has medallions of *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Cephalus and Aurora*, the other two have single medallions with other subjects. One was destroyed by a fire at the Gobelins in 1871. The ground is a simulated yellow damask; the *alentours* are of the third type.<sup>31</sup>

Several panels on a red damask ground were made between 1788 and 1792. One with *Vertumnus and Pomona* from the collection of Lord Iveagh and Sir Walter Guinness, London, was owned in New York in 1980; it is marked "Neilson ex. 1788" (the year of his death).<sup>32</sup> One with two medallions is in the Mobilier National<sup>33</sup> and three are in the Liria Palace, Madrid, owned by the duke of Alba; they have medallions of *Neptune and Amymone*, *Venus and Vulcan*, and *Cephalus and Aurora* (signed "Cozette fils 1791"). The *alentours* are of the third type.<sup>34</sup> Others are in the duke's house in Seville.

Boucher's medallions were adapted by Maurice Jacques in 1772 to form the centers of a series of four designs known as the *Nouvelle Tenture des Elémens*; they are not known to have been woven full-scale before the late nineteenth century, but a set after smaller versions of the designs was made in 1779. It was owned by C. Grout, Paris, in 1900. The nineteenth-century set of the *Nouvelle Tenture* included *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Cephalus and Aurora*, both woven 1894–96 and owned by Maurice Fenaille in 1912. *Neptune Rescuing Amymone*, woven 1900–04, was given to the empress of Russia in 1909.<sup>35</sup> The cartoons are in the Louvre.<sup>36</sup> Reversed versions of *Cephalus and Aurora* and *Vertumnus and Pomona* were in the J. R. De Lamar sale, American Art Association, New York, November 20–22, 1919 (nos. 438, 439, illus.), when they were described as having been especially woven at Aubusson for their late owner.

The red damask background was also used by the haute-lisse weaver Cozette for a set of the *Four Seasons* made in 1781 for the prince-bishop of Liège and now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.<sup>37</sup>

Furniture upholstery without wall panels:

1. Upholstery for two sofas and twelve armchairs was bought by the duchesse d'Enville in 1768/69 and was in the Château de la Roche-Guyon in 1924.<sup>38</sup> A sofa and six armchairs from this set were sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 16, 1967 (no. D, settee and two armchairs illus.), and are now in the Louvre.<sup>39</sup> The other sofa and six

armchairs were in the Roche-Guyon sale, Palais Galliera, June 8, 1971 (no. A, sofa and two armchairs illus.). The chair backs are cartouche shaped. The flowers throw shadows on the red damask ground, as they do in at least some of the painted designs,<sup>40</sup> suggesting that this may have been the first set woven, as none of the other examples have this feature. The frames are signed by Nicolas Heurtaut (master 1755).

2. Upholstery for two sofas and twelve armchairs, given to the king of Sweden in 1784 to accompany a set of *Don Quixote* tapestries on a red damask ground, in the Swedish Royal Collection.<sup>41</sup> The chair backs have oblong, much curved shapes.

3. Upholstery for a sofa and twelve armchairs made for the baron de Breteuil to accompany a set of *Don Quixote* tapestries on a yellow damask ground has not been identified,<sup>42</sup> unless the furniture covers sold in Paris in 1956 or 1968 belong to it.

4. Upholstery with a red damask ground for twelve armchairs was made in 1786–87 for the prince-archbishop of Salzburg and is in the Residenz of that city. It is now mounted on nine armchairs and a sofa. Both backs and seats are square; three of each have been used to cover the sofa.

5. Upholstery with a yellow damask ground for two sofas, twelve armchairs, and a screen was given to the archduke Ferdinand, governor of Austrian Italy, in 1785, to accompany a set of *Don Quixote* tapestries. It was in the royal villa of La Petraia, near Florence, in 1868.<sup>43</sup> Two armchairs and a sofa, tentatively identified as part of this set, were lent by a private collector to the exhibition *France in the Eighteenth Century* at the Royal Academy of Art, London, in 1968 (cat. nos. 838–40, figs. 374 [chair], 375 [sofa]). They had been owned previously by the duchesse d'Uzès, Château de Dampierre. The chair frames are horseshoe shaped; the damask ground is red, not yellow.

Three sets, two of two sofas and twelve armchairs on a red damask ground, the other of a sofa and six armchairs on a yellow damask ground, are recorded as stored at the Gobelins in 1788, 1789, and 1792.<sup>44</sup> One of the red sets may be identical with a sofa and eleven armchairs owned by Maurice Fenaille in 1907, with the twelfth armchair in the Louvre. The chairs have oval backs; the Louvre example is signed by Jean Baptiste III Le Large (1743–1802, master 1775).<sup>45</sup>



Several other sets and individual pieces of furniture have been recorded. The following have red damask grounds:

Armchair sold by the Seligmann family at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 14, 15, 1981 (no. 69, illus.). The back is nearly square, rounded at top and bottom.<sup>46</sup>

Confidante settee and six armchairs in the duke of Hamilton's sale, Christie's, July 18, 1882 (nos. 1902, 1903, settee illus.; the two lots had different purchasers). The settee covers are in the Gulbenkian Collection, Lisbon,<sup>47</sup> but not on their original frames.

Two sofa armrest covers are in a New York private collection; one repeats a design found in 57.

A chair back mounted as a fire screen was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1982 (no. 65, illus.).

Yellow damask grounds:<sup>48</sup>

Two sofas and twelve armchairs sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 12, 1956 (no. 98, two chairs and a sofa illus.). The chair backs have three straight sides and curved tops.

Four armchairs sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, October 22, 1968 (no. 166, two illus.). The frames are signed "Noël Baudin."

Blue damask grounds:

Two sofas, four bergères, eight armchairs, and four side chairs, in the Baron L. d'Ivry sale, Galerie Georges Petit, May 7–9, 1884 (no. 307, one sofa illus.). The frames are signed "L. C. Carpentier" and were made about 1770. Half of this set (one sofa, two bergères, four armchairs, and two side chairs) are now in the Louvre.<sup>49</sup>

Six armchairs were owned by the Munich dealer Bernheimer in 1981 and four with frames by J. J. Pothier (master 1750) were sold at Christie's, London, December 9, 1982 (no. 39, one illus.).

White damask ground:

Tessier submitted a bill for designs for two sofa armrests on a white damask ground in 1773.<sup>50</sup>

## HISTORY

At Croome Court in the collection of the earls of Coventry from 1771 until about 1900.

Maurice Fenaille collection, Paris, before 1901.<sup>51</sup>

Acquired by the dealer Wildenstein, Paris, before 1932.

Given to the MMA by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958.

## EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon des Industries du Mobilier, Grand Palais des Champs-Élysées, 1902. *Exposition Rétrospective de la Manufacture Nationale des Gobelins 1601–1901*, cat. nos. 101–04, pl. facing p. 68 (sofa in original frame and four armchairs, described as after Tessier, c. 1770). No ownership mentioned, but presumably from the Maurice Fenaille collection.

Paris and New York, Wildenstein & Co., 1932.

## PUBLICATIONS

Dean, William. *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Croome d'Abitot*. London, 1824, pp. 54, 55. Described as "Gobeline" manufacture, designed by Boucher and executed by Neilson.

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 226–304 (account of series of wall panels, describing all sets, reproducing early documents, listing all designs, etc.); pp. 266–68 [57a–l]; pp. 394–99 (account of upholstery series, describing all sets, etc.); p. 396 [57m–t]; pls. facing pp. 266 [57c], 268 [57e or f], 272 [57g or h, i or j], 394 (chair back and seat), 396 (sofa back and seat). All described as "Tenture du Cte. de Coventry," but without location.

Bolton, Arthur T. "Croome Court, Worcestershire, the Seat of the Earl of Coventry." *Country Life* 37 (April 10, 1915) p. 486. Tapestries said to have been sold for £50,000.

Fenaille, Maurice. *François Boucher*. Paris, 1925, p. 17. Titles of Boucher medallions mentioned as tapestries in Fenaille collection.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, pp. 118, 188; vol. 2, pls. 177 [57c], 182 [57e or f]. Described as at Croome Court.

Flint, Ralph. "New Wildenstein Building Opened on November 14." *Art News* 31 (November 19, 1932) p. 4. Described as on exhibition, having been previously shown at the Wildenstein Galleries, Paris.

"Wildenstein and Company Open a Palace of Art in New York." *Art Digest* 7 (December 1, 1932) p. 12, illus. View in gallery, showing 57a, b, e or f, sofas, and five chairs. Contemporary comments in the *New York Times* and *American* quoted.

MMA *Annual Report 1957–1958*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 17 (1958–59) p. 61. Mentioned as gift of the Kress Foundation. "French Furniture: An English Room." *Antiques* 74 (1958) p. 548. Mentioned.

*Antiques* 75 (January 1959) p. 83, illus. on cover, detail of 57b or c.

Standen, Edith A. "Croome Court: The Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 18 (1959–60) pp. 96–111, illus. pp. 76 (detail of 57a), 88 (chair), 89 [57d], 93 (room at Croome Court before

- 1880, showing 57c, detail of 57a, e or f, sofa, two chairs), 94, 95 (room at MMA, showing details of 57a and b, sofa, two chairs), 97 [57a], 98 (details of 57a and b), 99 [57c], 101 (medallion of 57c), 102 (medallion of 57a), 105 (medallion of 57b), 108 [57i or j].
- Standen, Edith A. "The Metropolitan's Room from Croome Court: The Tapestries." *Antiques* 77 (1960) pp. 82, 83, illus. pp. 81–83. Condensation of MMA *Bulletin* article.
- Parker, James. "The Tapestry Room from Croome Court." *Connoisseur* 147 (1961) pp. 109–13, illus. pp. 111, 112, 113.
- Packer, Charles. "French Tapestry Chair Coverings." *Connoisseur* 147 (1961) p. 144, fig. 5 (chair).
- Harris, John. "English Rooms in American Museums." *Country Life* 129 (June 8, 1961) p. 1329, fig. 7. Called "the most satisfactory room in an American collection."
- Harris, Eileen. "Robert Adam and the Gobelines." *Apollo* 76 (1962) pp. 100–06, fig. 1, 5.
- Dauterman, Carl Christian; Parker, James; and Standen, Edith Appleton. *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. [London], 1964, pp. 7–21, 42–57, pls. 1 (color, showing part of 57a, e, sofa, and four chairs); 9 (room in the nineteenth century), 10 (showing parts of 57a and b, sofa, and chair); 11 and 12 (chairs), 13 (sofa), 14 (chair), 17 [57a], 20 [57c], 22 [57b], 24 [57d], 25 [57e or f], 26 [57g or h], 27 [57i or j], 32–34 (chairs). With illustrations of related Boucher paintings, pls. 18, 19, 21, 23; Boucher and Jacques sketch, pl. 28; Jacques full-scale designs, pls. 29, 30; Jacques or Tessier designs for chair backs, pls. 35–38; Tessier designs for armrests, pls. 39, 49.
- Standen, Edith A. *Western European Arts: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to the Collections*. New York, 1964, pp. 29, 31, 32, fig. 37 (view of room).
- Musgrave, Clifford. *Adam and Hepplewhite and Other Neo-Classical Furniture*. New York, 1966, pp. 64–66, 194, pls. 63 (chair), 102 (room).
- Verlet, Pierre. *The Eighteenth Century in France*. Trans. George Savage. Rutland, Vt., 1967, pl. 39 [57e or f].
- Coleridge, Anthony. *Chippendale Furniture*. London, 1968, pp. 65, 66, fig. 117 (chair).
- Jarry, Madeleine. *World Tapestry*. New York, 1969, illus., pp. 232, 233 (medallion of 57c).
- Jarry, Madeleine. "The Wealth of Boucher Tapestries in American Museums." *Antiques* 102 (1972) p. 228, pl. 3 (room showing 57a, c, four chairs, and a sofa).
- The J. Paul Getty Collection*. Exh. cat., Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1972, nos. 57–60. Mentioned.
- Eriksen, Svend. *Early Neo-Classicism in France*. Trans. and ed. by Peter Thornton. London, 1974, p. 340. Mentioned.
- Ananoff, Alexandre. *François Boucher*. Lausanne and Paris, 1976, vol. 2, nos. 481/5, 482/10, 483/7, as in the former Kress collection.
- Gilbert, Christopher. *Furniture at Temple Newsam House and Lotherton Hall: A Catalogue of the Leeds Collection*. London, 1978, vol. 1, p. 67. Mentioned.
- François Boucher. Exh. cat., Wildenstein, New York, 1980, p. 41, no. 21. Mentioned.
- Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: I. Tapestries in Use: Indoors." *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 14, pl. 1 (color, view of room).
- McFadden, David Revere. "Robert Adam and His Style." *Connoisseur* 209 (1982) p. 32, illus. p. 30 (one chair).
- An Elegant Art*. Exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983, p. 134, fig. 52 [57e].
- MMA Guide*. New York, 1983, p. 214, no. 29, illus. view of room.
- In addition, most books on tapestry in general, French tapestry, and Gobelines tapestries mention the Croome Court tapestries.

#### NOTES

1. A French eighteenth-century bagpipe, or musette, of this type is in the Royal College of Music, London (Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* [New York, 1966] no. 497, illus). Others are illustrated in Richard D. Leppert, *Arcadia at Versailles: Noble Amateur Musicians and Their Musettes and Hurdy-Gurdies at the French Court (c. 1660–1789), A Visual Study* (Amsterdam and Lisse, 1978).
2. Document of 1763, *Metamorphoses*; of 1764, *Elemens* (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 229).
3. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 2, p. 157, no. 481/6, fig. 1348; as in the Coblenz collection and sold October 29, 1904, no. 18.
4. James K. Kettlewell, *The Hyde Collection Catalogue* (Glens Falls, N.Y., 1981) p. 139, no. 64.
5. Regina Shoolman Slatkin, *François Boucher in North American Collections, 100 Drawings*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art and Art Institute of Chicago (Washington, D.C., 1973) p. 110, fig. 44.
6. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 2, p. 89, no. 385/7; in the Alphonse Trézel sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 17, 1935, no. 21, illus.
7. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 2, pp. 161, 163, nos. 483, 484, figs. 1363, 1368.
8. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, figs. 18, 19, 21, 23. The Versailles pictures are recorded by Fenaille (*Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 234, 236) as ovals, but larger than the Louvre paintings.
9. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, p. 16, fig. 28; Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism*, p. 298, pl. 36.
10. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 255, pl. facing p. 228.
11. It may have been comparable to the uncolored drawing showing one wall of the Tapestry Room at Osterley Park, owned by Lord Jersey, which shows dimensions in *pieds* and was presumably sent by Neilson to Robert Child, who commissioned the tapestries.
12. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, pp. 17–19, 49, figs. 29, 30.
13. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 248, pl. facing p. 64; vol. 2, p. 129, pl. facing p. 160.

14. Frits Lugt, *Ecole flamande*, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1949) vol. 1, no. 222, pl. ix.
15. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, pp. 17, 54, 56, figs. 35–40; Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 394, 395.
16. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, p. 38.
17. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, pp. 9, 18, 19.
18. Christopher Hussey, "Newby Hall—III, Yorkshire," *Country Life* 81 (June 26, 1937) pp. 714, 716, figs. 2, 3 (views of drawing room showing hangings and furniture); Christopher Gilbert, "Chippendale of Denton and Newby," *Country Life* 149 (June 10, 1971) p. 1451, figs. 4, 5 (fire screen and chair), frames dated 1775; Karin M. Walton and Christopher Gilbert, "Chippendale's Upholstery Branch," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 74 (1974) p. 28, fig. 2 (sofa).
19. Eileen Harris, "The Moor Park Tapestries," *Apollo* 86 (1967) pp. 180, 189.
20. Gilbert, *Furniture at Temple Newsam*, pp. 63–67; *Leeds Arts Calendar* 78 (1976) p. 1, illus. (chair back of same design as 58.75.23).
21. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 277–78; Edmund Wilhelm Braun, "The Boucher Gobelins and the Meuble Rose in the Viennese Imperial Palace," in *The Tapestries of the Vienna Imperial Court* (Vienna, 1922) pp. 17–20, pls. xxxv–xxxviii.
22. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 278–80.
23. Pierre Verlet, "Le fond du lit de la Chambre rose du Palais Bourbon," in "La Vie des musées: Musée du Louvre, les nouvelles acquisitions du Département des Objets d'Art," *Revue des Arts*, 1953, pp. 243, 244; *Catalogus van Meubelen en Betimmeringen*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (The Hague, 1952) no. 462, fig. 78; the frames for three armchairs were made about 1750. An account of finding the Cumberland panels and upholstery pieces and their mounting on modern frames in 1922–23 is given in Edward Fowles, *Memories of Duveen Brothers* (London, 1976) pp. 164–69.
24. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 280–84, 405, 406, pl. facing p. 406.
25. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 292, 293, 396, 397, pls. facing pp. 290, 292; "Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, the Seat of the Duke of Portland," *Country Life* 19 (April 21, 1906) illus. pp. 559, 565, 566 (the "Red withdrawing room").
26. Two narrow upright panels with roses are not part of the original set, but were added when the tapestries were moved. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 271, 272; Christopher Hussey, "Weston Park, Staffordshire—II: The Home of the Earl of Bradford," *Country Life* 98 (November 16, 1945) p. 865, illus. (fireplace wall); Geoffrey W. Beard, "Weston Hall [sic]: Staffordshire Home of the Earl of Bradford," *Connoisseur Year Book* 1955, pp. 22–32, illus. (view of room).
27. Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1977) no. 109.
28. "Keuze uit de annuïsten," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 23 (1975) p. 180, pls. 4, 5.
29. Letter from the comte d'Angiviller, Directeur des Bâtiments, to Jean Baptiste Marie Pierre, Director of the Gobelins, June 12, 1782 (Marc Furcy-Raynaud, "Correspondance de M. d'Angiviller avec Pierre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd ser., 21 [1905] p. 347). If this furniture was made, some of the upholstery pieces of this series with yellow damask grounds may be part of it.
30. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 289, 291; Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, p. 52.
31. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 294, 295.
32. François Boucher, Wildenstein, 1980, p. 41, no. 21, fig. 21.
33. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 295, 296, illus. facing p. 296.
34. José Manuel Pita Andrade, *El Palacio de Liria* (Madrid, 1959) p. 60, pl. xxiii.
35. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 301–04, illus. facing p. 302; Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 54, 55, illus. facing p. 54; Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, p. 52.
36. Ananoff, François Boucher, vol. 2, nos. 483/8, 484/3, figs. 1364, 1366.
37. George Henry McCall, *The Joseph Widener Collection, Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1932) pp. 38, 39, 87–88, illus.
38. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 37, 396; Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, p. 56.
39. Serge Grandjean, "Vingt ans d'acquisitions au Musée du Louvre, 1947–1967: Département des Objets d'Art," *Revue du Louvre*, 1967, p. 326, fig. 4; Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism*, pp. 86, 87, 90, 337, 338, pls. 166, 167, color pl. E.
40. Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, fig. 37.
41. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 259; vol. 4, 397; John Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af Väfda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1898) vol. 3, pp. 59, 60, 68, pl. lxxx.
42. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 397.
43. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 397, 398.
44. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 397.
45. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 398, 399; E.S., "I. B. Le Large," *Connaissance des Arts* 168 (February 1966) p. 51, illus.
46. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 399; Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, pp. 56, 57.
47. Glória Nunes Riso Guerreiro, "Some European Tapestries in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection in Lisbon," *Connoisseur* 173 (1970) p. 237, fig. 8.
48. Sketches for wall panels with red, yellow, and blue damask grounds are in the Mobilier National (Madeleine Jarry, "Esquisses et maquettes de tapisseries du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle pour les Manufactures Royales [Gobelins et Beauvais]," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 53 [1969] pp. 114, 115, figs. 5–7).
49. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 413; Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism*, pp. 90, 339, pl. 174; *Revue du Louvre*, 1982, pp. 297, 298.
50. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 404.
51. Fenaille, François Boucher, p. 17.

## 58 Upholstery panels

### Pair of panels

French (Paris); designed probably by Maurice Jacques (1712–1784), and woven at the Gobelins manufactory, about 1760–80.

Silk and wool.

2 ft. 1½ in. x 1 ft. 10¼ in. (65 cm x 57 cm).

24–26 warps per inch, 9–11 per centimeter.

Gift of Ann Payne Blumenthal, 1943 (43.163.17 [58a];

43.163.18 [58b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both panels show bunches of flowers and leaves on a cream ground, surrounded by dark pink. The center field is outlined by scrolling leafy forms in shades of pale green, yellow, and brown; intertwined with these is a garland of

pale and dark blue flowers and pale green leaves. Both pieces are largely carried out in silk.

On 58a, the central bunch of flowers has large pink and red roses at the base, pink roses and rosebuds at either side, and a large wide-open tulip on the upper right in pink, browns, and dull yellow. Other yellow, pink, and multicolor flowers are seen. The stalks and leaves are in shades of blue, yellow, brown, and pale green.

On 58b, the flowers at the base of the bunch are scarlet poppies, those in the center, blue and pale lavender lilacs. Other flowers are in shades of blue, red, yellow, and pink. The stalks and leaves are in shades of green, brown, and yellow.

### CONDITION

Both pieces are faded, 58a to a greater extent than 58b, and the light ground has darkened. 58b has small areas of repair and small added triangles at three of its corners.

### USE

The dimensions of the panels are more consistent with those of chair-back covers woven at this period at the Gobelins than with those of screens, which are usually taller; the standard size of the latter seems to have been three by two *pieds* (about 3 ft. 2½ in. x 2 ft. 1½ in.; see 59).<sup>1</sup> Chair backs were only slightly taller than they were wide.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The set of furniture upholstery known from the records that corresponds most closely to 58 was designed by Jacques and woven by Neilson for the marquis de Marigny in 1757–59. Jacques described the covers for twelve chairs as having “différents jets de fleurs coloriés avec bordures d’ornemens, entrelassées de petites fleurs,” and Soufflot wrote to the marquis that he had ordered Neilson to make the backgrounds bluish white which “fera briller les fleurs et s’accordera avec la boiserie de la chambre dont le fonds sera blanc verni et les moulures dorées ainsi que le bois des fauteuils.”



58a



FIG. 43. *Bunch of Flowers*, by Maurice Jacques. Oil painting. Mobilier National, Paris.



Another set of ten chair covers designed by Jacques in 1760 is described as having “différents groupes de fleurs dans les milieux renfermés d’une petite bordure de fleurs,” suggesting that the borders were of flowers only, without scrolls. After this date, the furniture-cover designs have damask backgrounds (see 57), except for a group painted by Jacques in 1768, which included a screen of “différentes fantaisies, orné de fleurs,” the floral surround for various chair backs, described as “une bordure très orné en fleurs pour servir à différent dossiers de fauteuils,” and another screen with “fleurs et autres accessoires”; none of these descriptions seems close to 58. The furniture-cover designs by Louis Tessier from 1761 to 1777 appear to have all had damask grounds,<sup>2</sup> rather than the plain grounds of 58. A cartoon for a chair back in the Mobilier National, attributed, however, to Tessier (fig. 43), shows the design of 58b, not reversed;<sup>3</sup> two other cartoons for the chair backs and four for the seats of this series are also



in the Mobilier National, where they are attributed to Louis Tessier.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

So many closely related panels are signed by Jacques Neilson that 58a and b were probably woven in his workshop during the period when he was extremely active in producing upholstery material. The fact that 58b is not in the opposite direction from its cartoon indicates that it was woven by Neilson’s method, used after 1752, in which the cartoon is not reversed; several chair backs known to have been woven by Neilson, head of the basse-lisse workshop, are also in the same direction as their cartoons.<sup>4</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Two chair backs in a set of ten armchairs and two set-



tees in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Widener Collection), repeat the designs of 58. The design of the settee backs is the same as that of a settee in the Mme d'Yvon sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1892 (no. 668, illus.), so that the designs of 58 are very probably to be found on two of the ten chairs that were also in this sale.<sup>5</sup>

A piece for a fire screen with almost the same design as 58a was in the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal in 1930. On it the bouquet was lengthened by the addition of more flowers and leaves and the surrounding scrollwork has straight sides; it is signed "Neilson."<sup>6</sup> An unsigned piece in the Alfred Sussman sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 18, 19, 1922 (no. 113, illus.), though then mounted as a screen, may be another chair back from the same set as 58 or as the d'Yvon or the Washington furniture; the bouquet is different, but the border and the dimensions are the same.

A variation of the design is represented by screen panels in the Louvre, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino; the scrollwork is double at the base, extending downward at each side like the legs of a chair.<sup>7</sup> All are signed "Neilson," as are examples sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 1, 1947 (no. 103, illus.), and at Sotheby's, London, April 11, 1975 (no. 29, illus.), and January 21, 1977 (no. 6).<sup>8</sup> Another type shows the bouquet rising from a basket; an example is at Aske Hall, Yorkshire, owned by the marquis of Zetland,<sup>9</sup> and another was in the Baroness Burton sale, Christie's, London, November 22–24, 1950 (no. 319, illus.). Both are signed by Neilson. An unsigned version was in the George Blumenthal sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 1, 2, 1932 (no. 148, illus.), sold again at Parke-Bernet, February 20, 22, 1941 (no. 184, illus.). The screen panels made to accompany sets of damask-ground upholstery show bouquets tied with wide ribbons and have no surrounding scrolls and flowers; examples are on screens at Newby Hall, Yorkshire, owned by Robin Compton,<sup>10</sup> in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,<sup>11</sup> and in the Austrian National Collection.<sup>12</sup> The last is signed by Neilson. A very small bunch of flowers tied with a narrow ribbon was in the Blumenthal sale (no. 190, illus.) and is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art;<sup>13</sup> it is entirely of silk and signed by Neilson. A chair back with a bunch of flowers, but no ribbon, and a very simple border on a light ground is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.<sup>14</sup> Sets of furniture up-

holstery with flowers on white grounds are recorded at the Gobelins manufactory from 1781 to 1787.<sup>15</sup>

## HISTORY

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York. Probably acquired after 1930.

Given to the MMA by Ann Payne Blumenthal, 1943.

## EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1943. *Masterpieces in the Collection of George Blumenthal, a Special Exhibition*. Not in catalogue.

## NOTES

1. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 403.
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 389, 394, 403.
3. Jules Guiffrey, *Les Modèles et le Musée de Gobelins* (Paris, n.d.) pl. 50.
4. Carl Christian Dauterman, James Parker, and Edith Appleton Standen, *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* ([London], 1964) figs. 12, 33–37. For the Neilson method, which was not used at Beauvais, see Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 230.
5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 413. The cartoons by Maurice Jacques and Tessier for the settee and several of the armchairs are in the Mobilier National under the inventory number 249 (listed in Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 411).
6. Stella Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York: vol. 6, Furniture and Works of Art* (Paris, 1930) pl. 63.
7. *Catalogue de la Collection Isaac de Camondo*, Louvre (Paris, 1922) no. 84, pl. xiv; Oliver Brackett, *Catalogue of the Jones Collection: Part I—Furniture*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1930) no. 83, pl. 46; Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, Calif. 1961) p. 70, fig. 14. The design was also used at the Savonnerie manufactory (Madeleine Jarry, "Savonnerie Panels and Furnishing Materials of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Connoisseur* 170 [1969] p. 218, fig. 10).
8. Perhaps the piece owned by Maurice Fenaille in 1937 (*Les Belles Tentures de la Manufacture Royale des Gobelins 1662–1792*, exh. cat., Musée des Gobelins [Paris, 1937] no. 51, not illus.) or one owned by Earl Cadogan in 1930 (*Catalogue of the Jones Collection*, no. 83).
9. Eileen Harris, "The Moor Park Tapestries," *Apollo* 86 (1967) p. 186, fig. 4.
10. Christopher Hussey, "Newby Hall—III, Yorkshire," *Country Life* 81 (June 26, 1937) p. 715, illus. (seen in the drawing room).
11. Harris, "Moor Park," fig. 5.
12. H. Schmitz, "The Vienna Collection of Tapestries," in *The Tapestries of the Vienna Imperial Court* (Vienna, 1922) pl. 38.
13. *Catalogue of the Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection*, Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1944) p. 65, no. 47, pl. xxx.
14. *Van Gotiek tot Empire, Franse meesterwerken uit het Musée des Arts Décoratifs te Parijs*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1957) no. 68.
15. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 409.

## 59 Boy with a Bagpipe

French (Paris); the figure designed by François Boucher about 1750; woven in the basse-lisse workshop of Jacques Neilson at the Gobelins manufactory about 1750–88.

Weaver's name.

Silk and wool.

2 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. 1 in. (81 cm x 64 cm).

22–25 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958 (58.75.38).

### DESCRIPTION

A young boy wearing a pale yellow hat with a blue ribbon, a pale pink coat, red belt, pale yellow breeches, and blue leggings holds a red and blue bagpipe (a musette) as he leans on a stone pedestal. A vase of orange and blue flowers stands on the pedestal and a flowerpot on a pale brown table beside it. At the boy's feet is an overturned pale brown and yellow basket and a watering can in the same colors stands at the lower right. A landscape with a fence and trees, in tones of green, brown, and yellow, forms the background on the right. The foreground is in pale brown and yellow. The sky is pale blue above, pale yellow below. The scene is surrounded by a simulated carved frame in dull yellow, blue, lavender, and other pastel shades, partially wreathed with flowers and foliage in red, blue, yellow, and green. The ground is crimson, with a darker shade below. The panel is inscribed in dull yellow in the lower right: *Neilson ex.* It is woven almost entirely in silk.

### CONDITION

There are a number of small repairs, and the colors, except for the reds and blues and the dark tones of the face, are considerably faded.

### SUBJECT

The French title is *Petit Joueur de cornemuse*, but the instrument is more properly called a musette.<sup>1</sup>

The design, here adapted as a panel for a fire screen, is usually found as a chair back. Other single figures used in sets in which this design appears are a little girl with a basket of flowers (*Petite Fille portant une corbeille de*



*fleurs*), a little boy holding two birds (*Petit Oiseleur*), a little girl with a hanging birdcage (*Petite Fille à la cage*), a little boy in a vineyard (*Petit Vendangeur*), a little girl with a basket of fruit (*Jeune Fille portant des fruits*), a little girl gardener (*Petite Jardinière*), a little girl holding a birdcage (*Petite Fille à la cage* or *Petite Oiselière*), a shepherdess (*Petite Bergère*), a little boy with a bird's nest in his hat (*Petit Dénicheur des merles*), a little boy fishing (*Petit Pêcheur*), a little girl with a tambourine (*Petite Danseuse*), a boy playing a bagpipe to a dog, a young girl with a music book on her lap, a shepherdess making a wreath, a boy fishing, a little girl with an apron full of flowers about to cross a brook, and a girl feeding a cock, hen, and chickens. The group is known as the *Enfants de Boucher*.

Other Boucher designs with pairs of children are sometimes associated with this series.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The attribution of the design for the figure to François Boucher is supported by the existence of a Vincennes-Sèvres porcelain figure *Le Joueur de musette*; the model was created in 1752, attributed to Blondeau after a drawing by Boucher. The figure is reversed, the boy has no hat, there are no ribbons on the bagpipe, and the basket is almost covered with grapes, but the pose and costume are the same. The frame and flowers of the tapestry are presumably designed by a Gobelins artist such as Maurice Jacques or Louis Tessier.

In 1792, the Gobelins inventory listed “31 petit tableaux représentant des Jeux d’Enfants, tant originaux que copies” among its *modèles* by Boucher. Five of these exist: the *Petite Fille à la cage* (holding the birdcage), *Petite Jardinière*, *Petite Danseuse*, *Petit Pêcheur*, and *Petite Oiselière* (with the hanging birdcage).<sup>2</sup> A painting for the *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, attributed to Boucher,<sup>3</sup> and that for the *Girl Feeding Chickens*, signed and dated 1769, was owned by the dealer Wildenstein in 1977.<sup>4</sup> The *Petite Danseuse* and the girl with a music book were also used as figures in Boucher’s panels supposedly painted for Mme de Pompadour’s château at Crécy about 1750–53, now in the Frick Collection, New York.<sup>5</sup> Five chair backs (in a set of ten) in the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino, reproduce other figures from the Crécy panels.<sup>6</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

As the Boucher design was copied as a model for porcelain in 1752, it is probable that it was reproduced in tapestry at about the same date. Neilson’s name shows that 59 was made in his basse-lisse workshop at the Gobelins before his death in 1788.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design is usually found as a chair back, surrounded by a wreath of flowers only. One example is in a set of six armchair backs in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam;<sup>7</sup> they were once mounted on chairs made for the duke of Ancaster for Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, in 1751–52. Though they are not recorded as on these chairs until 1813, they were probably the original upholstery.<sup>8</sup> Another example is in the Residenz Museum, Munich, in a

set of coverings for ten chairs, a settee, and a fire screen; Neilson’s name is found on this set.<sup>9</sup> The version of a chair back formerly in the collection of Sir George Cooper,<sup>10</sup> sold at Christie’s, December 1, 1966 (no. 95, illus.), is shorter and wider than 59; there is another flowerpot on the table and the surrounding framework is replaced by a wreath of flowers, leaves, and fruit tied with blue ribbons. The set contains upholstery for six armchairs, two bergères, a settee, and a fire screen. One seat cushion for a bergère is signed “F. Boucher Px” and an inside panel of an arm is marked “Neilson.” A chair with the design of 59 on the back was in the Château de B . . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 26, 1900 (no. 1, illus.); three legs of the table are visible and there is a surrounding garland; the set consists of six armchair backs. Another was in the Lord Michelham sale, Hampton & Sons, London, November 23, 1926 (no. 198, illus.), in a set of coverings for six chairs, a settee, and a fire screen. An example with an extremely elaborate border, set into a modern fire screen frame and with another small tapestry panel below, that was in the Mary Adelaide Yerkes sale, American Art Galleries, New York, February 19–21, 1912 (no. 600, illus.), and the George A. Hearn sale, American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, May 5, 1932 (no. 163, illus.), is signed “Neilson.”

Of the companion figures, the *Girl with a Flower Basket*, the *Boy with Birds*, and the *Girl with a Birdcage* are at Amsterdam and were in the Château de B . . . and the Michelham sales; the *Boy in a Vineyard* is at Amsterdam and was in the Château de B . . . sale; the *Girl with Fruit* was in the Château de B . . . sale, and an example in an oblong wreath, signed “Neilson” and mounted as a fire screen, was owned by the London dealer Frank Partridge in 1948;<sup>11</sup> the *Girl with a Tambourine* is at Amsterdam. A *Shepherd Boy with a Crook* is recorded as part of the set in the Michelham sale. A Gobelins set at Osterley Park, owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum, does not include the *Boy with a Bagpipe*, but has chair backs with the *Girl Gardener*, *Girl Holding a Birdcage*, *Girl with Fruit*, *Little Shepherdess*, *Boy with a Bird’s Nest*, *Boy Holding Birds*, *Boy Fishing*, and *Boy in a Vineyard*. The crimson ground has a damask pattern.<sup>12</sup> The *Girl Feeding Chickens* is in the Cleveland Museum of Art; it is signed “Neilson.”<sup>13</sup> The *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* is on a screen in the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh;<sup>14</sup> the design was also used for a brocaded silk fabric<sup>15</sup> and on printed

cottons.<sup>16</sup> The Cooper set includes twelve subjects on the backs and seats of the six armchairs, with plain red backgrounds; the other furniture of the set has designs with two figures.

The Vincennes-Sèvres porcelain set of eight children by Blondeau after Boucher also includes figures of the *Boy with Birds* (first made 1753), the *Boy in a Vineyard* (1752), and the *Girl with Fruit* (1752).<sup>17</sup>

## HISTORY

In the collection of Sir Charles Mills (1792–1872). Inherited by his son, who became Baron Hillingdon in 1886, and by the second and third barons. Sold by the last in 1936 to an American dealer.

Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1947.<sup>18</sup>

Given to the MMA by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958.

## PUBLICATION

Dauterman, Carl Christian; Parker, James; and Standen, Edith Appleton. *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. [London], 1964, pp. 279–81, no. 70, fig. 237.

## NOTES

1. Carl Christian Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collection*: vol. 4, *Porcelain*, MMA (New York, 1970) p. 283, no. 115 (Vincennes-Sèvres statuette).
2. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 405–07.

3. *A Memorial Exhibition of the Collection of the Honorable Alvan T. Fuller*, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1959) no. 12.
4. Alexandre Ananoff, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1976) vol. 2, no. 672, fig. 1753.
5. *The Frick Collection, an Illustrated Catalogue*: vol. 2, *Paintings, French, Italian and Spanish* (New York, 1968) pp. 14, 15.
6. Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, Calif., 1961) pp. 71–73.
7. *Catalogus van Meubelen en Bettimmeringen*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (The Hague, 1952) p. 331, no. 477. Called Beauvais.
8. William Rieder, "Eighteenth-Century Chairs in the Untermyer Collection," *Apollo* 107 (1978) pp. 184, 185, n. 15.
9. Hans Thoma and Herbert Brunner, *Residenz Museum, Munich* (Munich, 1967) pp. 55, 56. The frames are described as probably by Georges Jacob, the upholstery said to be Beauvais tapestry after Oudry and Boucher.
10. Francis Bennet-Goldney, *Some Works of Art in the Possession of George A. Cooper at 26 Grosvenor Square* (London, 1903) pp. 14–27, no. 13.
11. Advertised in *Country Life* 103 (March 19, 1948) p. 589.
12. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 406.
13. *Catalogue of the John L. Severance Collection*, Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1942) no. 123, pl. xxvii.
14. Edith A. Standen, "Tapestries in the Collection of the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute," *Carnegie Magazine* 55 (1981) pp. 18, 19, illus.
15. Frances Little, "Textiles from the Elsberg Collection," *MMA Bulletin* 34 (1939) p. 142, fig. 1. A gouache drawing in the Metropolitan Museum is related to the brocaded design.
16. Henry René d'Allemagne, *La Toile imprimée* (Paris, 1942) pl. 82 (Nantes manufacture). The design was also used on a printed cotton made at Beautiran, of which an example is in the Metropolitan Museum.
17. *Les Oeuvres de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres* (Paris, n.d.) vol. 1, pl. 3, no. 535; pl. 1, no. 337, pl. 1, no. 525.
18. "Sir Charles Mills and the Hillingdon Collection," in Dauterman, Parker, and Standen, *Decorative Art*, pp. 116–19.



## 60 The History of France

Two tapestries from a set of nine

a *The Continenence of Bayard*

b *Sully at the Feet of Henri IV*

French (Paris); 60a designed by Louis Jean Jacques Durameau (1733–1796) in 1777, and 60b designed by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier the Elder (1738–1826) in 1783; woven in the haute-lisse workshop of Pierre François Cozette (1714–1801) at the Gobelins manufactory, 1788–92.

Artist's and weaver's names on 60b.

Wool and silk.

60a 12 ft. 4 in. x 8 ft. 6 in. (3.76 m x 2.59 m);

60b 12 ft. 2 in. x 10 ft. (3.71 m x 3.05 m).

22–23 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Purchase, Frederic R. Harris Gift, 1942 (42.58.1, 2).

### DESCRIPTION

The borders to both tapestries simulate carved and gilded wooden frames in red-brown, dull pale yellow, and gray tones. The guards are dark blue.

### CONDITION

Both pieces have what may be their logical dark brown linen linings, “piqués à lozenges.” This method of attaching the tapestries to the linings has caused an overall puckering of the surfaces.

### SUBJECT

The nine tapestries of the series were intended to depict, in the words of the Directeur des Bâtiments, comte d'Angiviller, “des traits célèbres et des actions nobles et vertueuses de notre histoire”; when he wrote this, in 1775, he believed that, until then, “on ignorait les ressources que notre histoire présentait pour la peinture.” Jean Baptiste Pierre, then *surinspecteur* at the Gobelins, had sent him a list of seven or eight subjects, to which d'Angiviller added four more, all to be painted by Durameau:<sup>1</sup>

1.<sup>0</sup> La mort du Connétable du Guesclin; honneurs rendus à sa valeur et à ses vertus par la ville de Randan.

2.<sup>0</sup> Le chevalier Bayard sauve l'honneur de sa prisonnière; il la remet à sa mère et la dote.

3.<sup>0</sup> Le président Molé saisi par les factieux.

4.<sup>0</sup> Mort de l'amiral de Coligny, dans l'instant où les assassins frappés de respect reculent et tombent à ses genoux.<sup>2</sup>

The remaining five subjects of the series may have been suggested by Pierre or by d'Angiviller. They are:

The courageous action of Eustache de Saint-Pierre at the siege of Calais (the *Burghers of Calais*).

Leonardo dying in the arms of François I.

Maillard, a Parisian loyal to the regent during the captivity of King Jean, killing a traitorous provost, Marcel, in 1358.

Sully at the feet of Henri IV.

Paris retaken from the English by the troops of Charles VII in 1436.

The link between the different subjects is that they all show “traits d'histoire propres à ranimer la vertu et les sentimens patriotiques.”<sup>3</sup> Though historical incidents conducive to virtue could include events from classical history, patriotic sentiments could more properly be aroused, it was thought, by representations of French heroism or virtue.

The Salon of 1777, in which two paintings used for the *History of France* tapestries (one of them the *Continenence of Bayard*) were exhibited, so impressed a critic that he wrote: “Tous contribuent à me rendre meilleur. Tous font rejaillir sur moi quelques rayons de la gloire nationale et je me félicite d'être français.” In 1783, when *Sully at the Feet of Henri IV* and another *History of France* painting were shown, another critic wrote: “A mérite égal de deux sujets, l'un national, l'autre étranger, le national nous intéressera davantage.”<sup>4</sup> The continuity of the series was so important to d'Angiviller that, when Louis XVI in 1790 objected to the amount of blood shown in *Maillard and Marcel* and the *Death of Coligny*, he wrote to Joseph Maria Vien, then artistic adviser at the Gobelins, that it would be wrong to replace these subjects with others drawn from classical history. He wished the set to be completed, “sauf à se ressouvenir de ne pas mettre ces pièces sous les yeux du Roy, s'il y a quelque jour occasion de fournir une tenture de ce genre pour ses appartemens; ce sont deux traits d'histoire si mémorables qu'il seroit fâ-

cheux qu'ils ne fissent pas suite avec d'autres de notre histoire."<sup>5</sup> The incidents, or anecdotes, were all, indeed, well known at that time.

The idea that works of art should teach moral lessons by depicting the noble actions of great men had been current since 1750, when it was suggested by Rousseau; he wrote that statues and paintings should represent the "défenseurs de la Patrie" and those who had enriched their countries by their virtues.<sup>6</sup> In 1754, Socrates, Brutus, Charlemagne, and Bayard were named as suitable subjects,<sup>7</sup> and the critics of the Salon continually reiterated the value of works of art with subjects from French history. In 1781, one wrote: "Un peintre qui prend ses sujets dans l'histoire nationale ajoute à la gloire de l'artiste le mérite du citoyen."<sup>8</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

D'Angiviller was appointed Directeur des Bâtiments by Louis XVI in August 1774. At the next meeting of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, in December, he announced that the king would commission historical paintings and statues of great Frenchmen to be shown at the biennial Salons.<sup>9</sup> In June 1775, as has been mentioned, he ordered four paintings of scenes from French history to be made by Durameau expressly for the Gobelins, and in the following March drew up a list of historical subjects for the 1777 Salon with the names of the artists who were to paint them. This list has not survived, but Durameau was to do two of them;<sup>10</sup> he did, in fact, show in the 1777 Salon the *Continence of Bayard* and a classical subject. The former and the *Death of Duguesclin* by Nicolas Guy Brenet are both noted in the Salon catalogue as from a *History of France* series, commissioned by the king. The Brenet painting is at Versailles,<sup>11</sup> with a replica of 1778 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkerque.<sup>12</sup>

The published correspondence between d'Angiviller and Pierre gives less detailed information about the later *History of France* paintings, but d'Angiviller wrote in October 1779 that it was time to think of the 1781 Salon entries; he listed the statues he wanted and their sculptors, but merely said he would discuss the subjects of the pictures when Pierre was next at Versailles.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, the 1779 Salon had included one of his first choices, the *Seizure of President Molé*; it was painted by François André Vincent, had great success, and is now in the

Chambre des Députés, Paris.<sup>14</sup> The *Burghers of Calais* by Jean Simon Berthélemy was also in this Salon; the painting is in the Municipal Museum of Laon.<sup>15</sup>

The *Death of Leonardo* by François Guillaume Ménageot was the picture of the year at the 1781 Salon; it is in the Musée Municipal at Amboise.<sup>16</sup> The king also commissioned a *Death of Bayard* by Jacques Antoine Beaufort, of the same size, but this was not chosen as a tapestry cartoon. Two more, however, appeared in the 1783 Salon, *Maillard and Marcel* by Berthélemy, whose present location is not known,<sup>17</sup> and *Sully at the Feet of Henri IV*, now at Pau. There were none shown in 1785, when the king's commissions were all classical subjects, but in November of that year d'Angiviller wrote to Pierre that, for the next Salon, some paintings were to illustrate the history of France; he asked Pierre to send a list of subjects with the most appropriate artist's name for each in the margin. In December, he had the list and sent it and the names of twelve painters back to Pierre; some artists were to undertake classical subjects, some, French historical, and some were free to choose. Pierre was to return the list with the painters' choices of subjects, from which d'Angiviller would make a final selection; this would lead to a greater variety than had been seen in recent Salons.<sup>18</sup> In 1787 another of d'Angiviller's original subjects finally appeared, the *Death of Coligny* by Joseph Benoît Suvée, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Dijon,<sup>19</sup> as well as *Paris Retaken* by Berthélemy, now at Versailles.<sup>20</sup> These nine pictures were evidently considered enough for a series, as the weaving of the first set was begun the following year.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The first and second weavings of the series were both made on Pierre Cozette's looms, but *Sully at the Feet of Henri IV* is not listed as in the second. It seems probable, therefore, that both pieces of 60 are from the first set, woven between 1788 and 1791, according to the records,<sup>21</sup> though the date "1792" on 60b indicates a later terminus.<sup>22</sup> Neither subject was included in the nineteenth-century weavings.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

All nine subjects were included in the first set. The *Death of Duguesclin* and the *Burghers of Calais* belong to

the Mobilier National, Paris;<sup>23</sup> *Maillard and Marcel* and the *Death of Coligny* were sold at the American Art Galleries, New York, January 24–28, 1928 (nos. 1157, 1158, illus.), and are now at Marble House, Newport, Rhode Island, owned by the Preservation Society of Newport County;<sup>24</sup> *Paris Retaken* was given to the Spanish ambassador in 1799,<sup>25</sup> but its present location and that of the *Seizure of President Molé* are not known. The *Death of Leonardo* from this set may be the piece that was in the Parma collection in 1861 and is now in the Quirinale Palace, Rome.<sup>26</sup> (The example of this subject that was on the Berlin art market in 1928<sup>27</sup> seems more likely to be from the second weaving, 1790–1804, given to Prince Eugene, viceroy of Italy, on the occasion of the birth of the king of Rome, as it has Napoleonic symbols.)<sup>28</sup>

Published tapestries of the series from later sets include a *Death of Coligny* owned by the Mobilier National, probably from the fourth weaving, 1814–16; it was exhibited at the Château de Coppet, Switzerland, in 1962 (cat. no. 65, illus.). The same subject, from the second weaving, 1790–before 1801, is in the Palazzo Reale, Naples.<sup>29</sup> The *Death of Leonardo* in the Camillo Castiglioni sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, July 13–15, 1926 (no. 162, illus.), has no borders and is probably the piece from the third weaving, given to the Austrian ambassador in 1820.<sup>30</sup> The *Maillard and Marcel* woven between 1816 and 1823 is in the Mobilier National.<sup>31</sup>

#### HISTORY

The complete first weaving was offered for sale to Citizen Langlade in 1795, but his offer was too low.<sup>32</sup>

In the collection of Harry Payne Whitney, New York, sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, April 29, 1942 (nos. 138, 142, illus.).

Purchased for the MMA with the Frederic R. Harris Gift, 1942.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille. *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 368–76. Account of paintings, series, and eighteenth-century weavings.

Fenaille-Calmettes. *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 78–86. Account of nineteenth-century weavings; *Contenance of Bayard* mentioned, p. 78.

MMA *Annual Report* 1942, p. 28. Mentioned, as an anonymous gift.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. “Two Historical French Tapestries.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 1 (1942–43) pp. 131–33, illus. (60a de-

tail, 60b complete). Series named, subjects, artists, and weaver identified.

*De David à Delacroix: la peinture française de 1774 à 1830*. Exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris, 1974, p. 405. In English as *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts and MMA, Detroit, 1975, p. 410. Mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. “Lessons in Moral Values: Two Gobelines Tapestries from the *Histoire de France* Series.” *Apollo* 106 (1977) pp. 402–05, figs. 1 [60a], 2, 3 [60b].

## 60a *The Contenance of Bayard*

#### DESCRIPTION

Bayard wears gray and yellow armor, a short-sleeved blue garment ornamented with yellow bands, a pale pink cape and leggings with darker pink turn-down cuffs and sandals, a gray spur on his left foot, and a bright red hat with white plumes. He has a medallion on a yellow chain hung around his neck and dangles a red and dull yellow bag from his right hand; his left holds the hand of the young girl who has been brought to him. She is in white, with yellow bands and gold chains. Her mother, kneeling to receive the dowry, has brown hair and wears a red dress and a dull orange cloak lined with blue. A table, almost completely covered with a dark blue cloth fringed with dull pinkish yellow, is seen behind Bayard. Two men bend over a dull gray-pink box with yellow and gray coins lying on it. The foremost, presumably the servant, Cordon, holds a dull pink bag with tassels; he has a turbanlike cap with a white feather and is dressed in dull pale yellow, pink, white, and dull green. The boy holding the lid of the box is in pale red with a dull pale pink cap.

A door standing ajar behind the women has a gray key in its lock and is partly hidden by blue curtains attached by rings to a gray rod near the ceiling; two yellow ropes with large yellow tassels are seen on the left. Immediately below the curtain rod is a blue, gray, and yellow spear and, hanging from the wall, a shield with the Bayard arms,<sup>33</sup> gray above and blue below, with half a dull red lion above, and a dull yellow border and band. The entire background—ceiling, walls, and floor—is in shades of brown and gray, simulating carved wood. An open cupboard on the left discloses a gray vessel.

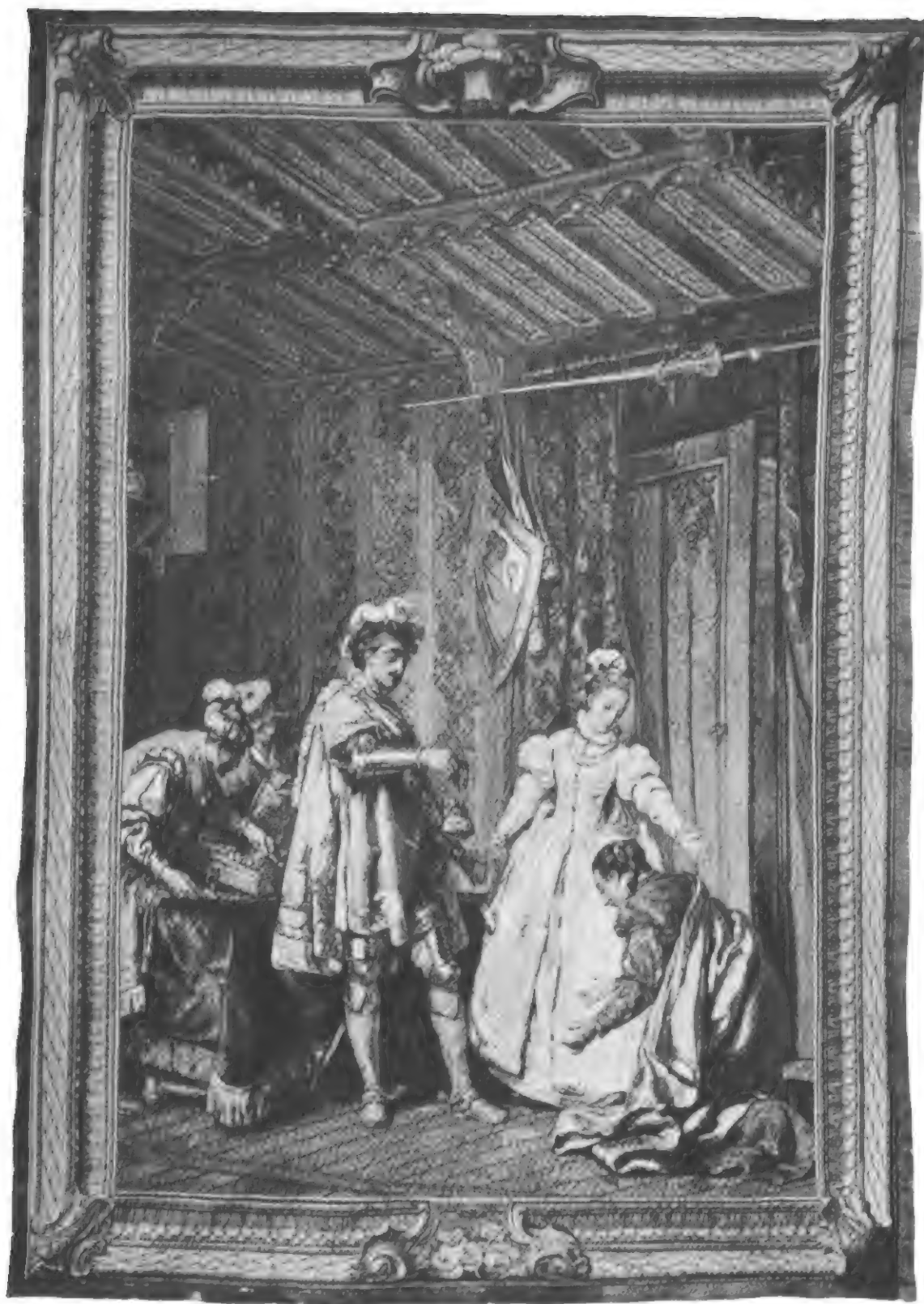






FIG. 44. *La Contenance de Bayard*, by Louis Jean Jacques Durameau. Oil on canvas. Musée de Grenoble. Photo: Musées Nationaux.

#### CONDITION

Some minor repairs are visible.

#### SUBJECT

The moment in the story was chosen by d'Angiviller, when he gave the subject as "Le chevalier Bayard sauve l'honneur de sa prisonnière; il la remet à sa Mère et la dote." The artist himself indicated as much, when he described it as "un trait de respect pour les moeurs: le chevalier Bayard remet sa prisonnière à sa mère et la dote [*sic*]." <sup>34</sup> The story is found in the life of Bayard written by

"le Loyal Serviteur" (Jacques de Maille?), published in 1527 and frequently reprinted. In 1512, Bayard was in poor health and went to Grenoble to visit the bishop, his uncle. On his recovery, he felt so fit that, "comme assez povez entendre qu'il n'estoit pas saint," he wished for female companionship. Accordingly he asked one of his servants, a man called Cordon, to bring him a beautiful girl. Cordon found a poor gentlewoman who relinquished her fifteen-year-old daughter, hoping that Bayard would marry her. The girl was reluctant, but went with Cordon, "moytié par amour et moytié par force." Cordon put her in an antechamber, but when Bayard found her, she, though beautiful as an angel, had cried so much that her eyes were swollen. She knelt to Bayard, weeping incessantly, and told him that she was a virgin, that she and her mother were so poor they were starving, and that she preferred death to dishonor. Bayard gave her a cloak and sent her to a female relative of his for the night. In the morning he sent for her mother and reproached her for selling her daughter. He asked if the daughter had a suitor and was told that she had, "ung, mien voisin honneste homme, mais il demande six cens florins, et je n'en ay par vaillant la moytié." Bayard took his purse from his servant and gave her the money, with an extra amount for a trousseau. He told Cordon not to let the woman out of his sight until the marriage was performed; it took place three days later. <sup>35</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Durameau, exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1777, is in the Musée de Grenoble (fig. 44). A preparatory drawing in ink is in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, and a sketch is in the Grenoble museum. <sup>36</sup> The ornament on the wall in the painting is even more clearly a typical Louis XV meander pattern.

The jury of 1794 that passed on the suitability of all the Gobelins cartoons considered the subject moral, but rejected the painting "sous le rapport de l'art." <sup>37</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

60a is probably from the first weaving of 1788 to 1791, made in Cozette's workshop between 1788 and 1790.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject was included in the second set which was woven 1789–91; this piece is presumably the unsigned example owned by the Mobilier National.<sup>38</sup> It is not known to have been woven again.

### 60b *Sully at the Feet of Henri IV*

#### DESCRIPTION

Henri IV wears a dark brown hat with white plumes, a white ruff, a pale yellow slashed costume with white showing through the openings, a white sash with a yellow fringe, white leg coverings, dark brown shoes with red heels and pale blue bows, the cross of Saint Michel on a dark blue ribbon, and a brilliant red cloak lined with gray. He places a restraining hand on Sully's outstretched arm. Both men have gray hair and beards. Sully is dressed in a darker yellow slashed costume, with a white ruff, pale pink leg coverings, one dark blue and one brown shoe with red heels and overlapping tongues, and a dark blue-gray cloak. His brown and dark gray hat with blue and white feathers lies on the ground.

The king treads on a rolled piece of paper and another lies on a pink, gray, and dull green stone bench behind him. He points toward a group of men in the background on the left. The foremost of these is a Swiss guard in livery, holding a lance; he wears a dark gray hat with white plumes, a white ruff, a uniform, red on his right side and blue on his left, decorated with strips of red and yellow braid, pink leg coverings, and dark blue shoes. Behind him are three courtiers in dark blue hats with white plumes and white ruffs. One seen full-face is in dull green and pale blue and has the cross of an order on a dark blue ribbon. Another has a blue cloak and dull orange leg coverings.

Between the guard and Sully is a gray pedestal supporting the statue of a nude armless youth. Behind the bench on the right is a wing of the palace of Fontainebleau with a blue slate roof and pale pink chimneys. A large tree with a blue-gray trunk and green and pale yellow foliage rises behind the king, and others make up the background; that on the extreme right has dark brown leaves. The distant trees by the palace are in pale greens and blues. The sky is pale blue with white clouds; the foreground is in dull tones

of brown, green, gray, pink, and blue. Inscribed in brown on the end of the bench on the right is: *Le Barbieo* [sic] *L'aine / Pinxit 1783 / COZETTE · 1792*.

#### CONDITION

A small section of the guard on the right is a replacement. Some very small areas of repair are visible.

#### SUBJECT

Sully tells the story in his memoirs. In 1605, he was out of favor with Henri IV because his enemies had been maligning him. One day, at Fontainebleau, the king took him into a plantation of white mulberries, entirely surrounded by canals, and placed two Swiss guards, who knew no French, at the entrance. The king and his minister walked and talked for four hours. Henri produced the papers that



Detail of 60b



accused Sully, who showed that they were false, ending, “me permettez, pour confirmer toutes ces vérités, que je me jette à vos pieds et vous embrasse les genoux, comme à mon Roi bien Aimé, unique maître et bienfaiteur.” The king, however, would not let him kneel, saying, “Non, ne le faites pas, car je ne voudrais pour rien au monde que ceux qui nous regardent crussent que vous eussiez commis aucune faute qui méritât une telle sousmission, car ce serait vous faire tort, puisque je vous tiens pour homme du bien et du tout innocent.” They embraced, the king took his hand, and they left the mulberry alleys, at the entrance to which almost all the court were standing, out of earshot, but thinking that the king had been upbraiding Sully. Instead, Henri announced that he loved Sully more than ever.<sup>39</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Le Barbier, exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1783, is in the Château of Pau, on loan from the Louvre (fig. 45). It is extremely close to the tapestry.

The jury of 1794 rejected the cartoon because of the subject, presumably “contraire aux idées républicaines.”<sup>40</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

6ob is probably from the first weaving, recorded as made between 1788 and 1791, in Cozette’s workshop, but it is dated 1792.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject is not recorded as being woven more than once, but there is another example in the Château of Pau. It is exactly the same as 6ob, except for a different border and the absence of Cozette’s signature. The composition was also woven as a small oval medallion, placed in a wide framework (*alentour*) with a yellow simulated damask ground, like the later versions of 57; the piece belongs to the Mobilier National.<sup>41</sup>

The same event was very similarly treated by the painter François André Vincent in a series of the *History of Henri IV*, intended to be woven as small medallions in *alentours*. In the tapestry of 1783–84 made after his composition, the king is on the left, Sully has one knee on the ground,

and his plumed hat is on the bench.<sup>42</sup> This tapestry was imitated in the Naples manufactory in 1791, but the event is shown taking place indoors.<sup>43</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Durameau had painted *Saint Louis Washing the Feet of Paupers* for the chapel of the Ecole Royale Militaire and showed the picture at the 1773 Salon, so his ability to paint medieval subjects was known (Marc Sandoz, “Le ‘Bayard’ de Louis Durameau [1777]: Durameau peintre d’histoire et artiste préromantique,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français*, 1963, pp. 113, 114).
2. Letter from d’Angiviller to Pierre, June 27, 1775 (Marc Furcy-Raynaud, “Correspondance de M. d’Angiviller avec Pierre (première partie),” *Nouvelles Archives de l’Art Français*, 3rd ser., 21 [1905] pp. 42, 43).
3. D’Angiviller to Pierre, March 14, 1776 (Furcy-Raynaud, “Correspondance,” pt. 1 [1905] p. 80).
4. Quoted in James A. Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750–1799* (Toronto, 1965) pp. 82, 83.
5. D’Angiviller to Vien, May 20, 1790 (Marc Furcy-Raynaud, “Cor-

FIG. 45. *Henri IV et Sully*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier the Elder. Oil on canvas. Château de Pau, on loan from the Louvre.





- respondance de M. d'Angiviller avec Pierre (deuxième partie)," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd ser., 22 [1906] p. 291).
6. Leith, *Idea*, p. 12.
  7. Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, 1967) pp. 55, 56.
  8. Diderot, *Salons*, Jean Seznec, ed., vol. 4 (Oxford, 1967) p. 336.
  9. The sculptors were to make terra-cotta miniatures of their work so that they could be reproduced in Sèvres porcelain (Diderot, *Salons*, p. 300).
  10. D'Angiviller to Pierre, March 14, 1776; Pierre to d'Angiviller, April 13, 1776. Pierre thought Durameau would find this difficult: "Vous connoissés M. le comte sa façon d'opérer" (Furcy-Raynaud, "Correspondance," pt. 1 [1905] pp. 80, 81, 88).
  11. *De David à Delacroix*, exh. cat., pp. 338, 340, no. 15, pl. 7.
  12. Rosenblum, *Transformations*, fig. 29.
  13. D'Angiviller to Pierre, October 5, 1779 (Furcy-Raynaud, "Correspondance," pt. 1 [1905] pp. 264, 265).
  14. Frederick Antal, *Classicism and Romanticism, with Other Studies in Art History* (London, 1966) pl. 22. A study or replica is in the Detroit Institute of Arts.
  15. Nathalie Volle, *Jean-Simon Berthélemy (1743–1811)* (Paris, 1979) p. 83, no. 53, fig. 36.
  16. Rosenblum, *Transformations*, fig. 30. A sketch is in the Mairat collection, Paris (Antal, *Classicism*, pl. 23a).
  17. Volle, *Berthélemy*, p. 88, no. 71.
  18. D'Angiviller to Pierre, November 18, 1785, and December 18, 1785 (Furcy-Raynaud, "Correspondance," pt. 2 [1906] pp. 146, 150).
  19. *De David à Delacroix*, exh. cat., pp. 612, 613, no. 169, pl. 34.
  20. Volle, *Berthélemy*, p. 94, no. 85, fig. 64.
  21. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, pp. 372, 373.
  22. A similar discrepancy between a tapestry documented as finished on December 30, 1756, but dated 1757, has been accounted for as a bookkeeping stratagem (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pp. 91, 92).
  23. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 78, 81, as in the French embassies at Bern and Copenhagen.
  24. *Marble House, the William K. Vanderbilt Mansion, Bellevue Avenue, Newport, Rhode Island* (n.p., 1965) p. 5; both mentioned. These pieces were sold to Citizen Boursault in 1797–98 (Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 83, 85). Both have the names of the designers, Berthélemy and Suvée, the dates of the paintings, 1783 and 1787, and of the weavings, 1790 and 1791.
  25. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 86.
  26. Chiara Briganti, *Curioso Itinerario delle collezioni ducali parmensi* (Parma, 1969), listed at end of book.
  27. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 192; vol. 2, pl. 187, as owned by J. Klausner, Berlin.
  28. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 82, 83.
  29. Mercedes Viale and Vittorio Viale, *Arazzi e tappeti antichi* (Turin, 1952) pl. 100.
  30. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 83.
  31. Volle, *Berthélemy*, fig. 53.
  32. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 373.
  33. "D'azur au chef d'argent chargé d'un lion issant de gueules au filet d'or en bandes brochant sur la tout" (*De David à Delacroix*, exh. cat., p. 407).
  34. Sandoz, "Le 'Bayard,'" p. 105.
  35. *Histoire du Seigneur de Bayard, Le chevalier sans paour et sans reproche, Composée par le Loyal Serviteur* (1527; reprint, Paris, 1927) pp. 216–19.
  36. *De David à Delacroix*, exh. cat., pp. 405–07, no. 55, pl. 6.
  37. Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant la jury des arts en septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd. ser., 13 (1897) p. 369.
  38. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 374, as in the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. In the French embassy, Bern, since 1897.
  39. *Mémoires de Sully*, ed. Louis Raymond Lefèvre (Paris, 1942) pp. 333–37.
  40. Guiffrey, "Modèles des Gobelins," p. 369.
  41. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 376, as in the French embassy, Constantinople, in 1900.
  42. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 356.
  43. Nicola Spinosa, *L'Arazzeria napoletana* (Naples, 1971) pp. 53, 82, pl. 35.

## 61 Flowers in a Vase and Two Plums

French (Paris); designed in 1781 by Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818), woven, perhaps by Deyrolle, on a basse-lisse loom at the Gobelins manufactory, 1800–04.

Designer's name and date.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. x 1 ft. 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (45 cm x 37 cm).

25 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.7).

### DESCRIPTION

A pale yellow-gray and brown vase, with pale yellow and brown decoration at the top and a yellow and brown base, stands on a greenish-gray and brown shelf. It contains purple and mauve roses, a dull red-brown chrysanthemum, and other flowers in blue, white, and dull yellow, with leaves in shades of dark greens and blues. On the shelf at its base are a purple and a blue plum with dull green leaves. The background is in dark, dull shades of brown, gray, and gray-green. Signed on the side of the shelf to the right: *M* [in dark brown] *d Vallayer Co-/1781* [in pale brown, nearly invisible].

### CONDITION

The tapestry is slightly rubbed around the edges.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Anne Vallayer-Coster of which this tapestry is a copy has been identified with one of the two “tableaux de fleurs, forme ovale” that she exhibited in the 1798 Salon.<sup>1</sup> But the date, 1781, makes it far more probable that the picture was actually one of the three “petits Tableaux ovales, de fleurs and de fruits” shown in the 1781 Salon.<sup>2</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

The subject is recorded as having been woven twice, both times with a companion piece. The first pair must have been completed by February 1801, when a weaver called Deyrolle<sup>3</sup> was awarded an honorable mention for one of them; the second pair was finished by September



1804.<sup>4</sup> Deyrolle is given the credit of reviving the method of modeling by hatching instead of by juxtaposition of tones,<sup>5</sup> which is particularly evident in the background of 61.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Including 61, three versions are known. One is an oval slightly larger than 61 and is in the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris;<sup>6</sup> the third, much taller and somewhat wider, is in the collection of Mme Loyer, Paris.<sup>7</sup> The latter

has the name "Coster," added in red thread to the woven signature, "Md Vallayer," and is dated 1781. It has been suggested therefore that this piece was made before the artist's marriage in April 1781. The Nissim de Camondo piece and 61 would thus represent the two recorded examples woven between 1800 and 1804; the dimensions of the first pair are not known, but those of the second are very close to the piece in the Nissim de Camondo Museum. It is thus rather more probable that 61 is from the first recorded weaving.

The companion piece of either of these pairs is not known, but its composition was used for a rectangular tapestry, woven in 1806, with a companion piece after another artist. This tapestry, showing a blue vase and a dead bird, is also in the Nissim de Camondo Museum.<sup>8</sup>

#### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelbach (Mrs. Alfred Heidelbach), Paris, 1932.

#### EXHIBITION

Paris, Hôtel Jean Charpentier, 1930. *La Fleur*, cat. no. 106. Lent by Mme Julie Heidelbach. Described as woven by Deyrolle and made for Marie-Antoinette.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille-Calmettes. *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 351. Weavings recorded, but no examples listed.

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 29. Signature and date noted.

Michel, Marianne Roland. *Anne Vallayer-Coster, 1744–1818*. Paris, 1970, no. 430.

#### NOTES

1. *Collection des Livrets des anciennes Expositions: Exposition de 1798*, Académie Royale (Paris, 1871) p. 23, no. 97; Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 351.
2. *Collection des Livrets . . . Exposition de 1781* (Paris, 1870) p. 26. One of the paintings, a vase of flowers with a shell, is in the Metropolitan Museum; it is signed Mlle Vallayer and dated 1780 (Charles Sterling, *A Catalogue of French Paintings: XV–XVIII Centuries*, MMA [Cambridge, Mass., 1955] pp. 178, 179; Diderot, *Salons*, Jean Seznec, ed., vol. 4 [Oxford, 1967] p. 365, no. 106, pl. 150). The third painting, showing a blue vase and a dead bird, has not been identified.
3. Two weavers of this name, father and son, were active at the Gobelins in the first half of the nineteenth century. The father (called "Desrolles") is listed as a first class weaver in 1794 and described as "premier ouvrier de la basse lisse" in 1808, so that it was probably the son who was given a minor award in 1801. He wove another subject after Vallayer-Coster in 1811 and was active until 1849 ("Liste des tapisseries des Gobelins en août 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd ser., 13 [1897] p. 88; Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 355, 384, 442).
4. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 351.
5. Alfred Darcel, "Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie, Exposition de l'histoire de la tapisserie," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 14 (1876) p. 433.
6. *Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1973) p. 103, no. 622.
7. Marianne Roland Michel, "L'Art du Dix-huitième Siècle: Tapisseries on Designs by Anne Vallayer-Coster," *Burlington Magazine* 102 (November 1960) advertisement supplement following p. 502, pp. i, ii, fig. 3. Lent by Maurice Loyer to the exhibition *Peintures, gravures, miniatures et autres ouvrages de femmes peintres du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Hôtel des Négotiants en Objets d'Art, Tableaux et Curiosités (Paris, 1926) cat. no. 99.
8. From the Joseph Bardac sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 9, 1927, no. 136, illus.

## 62 Portrait of Napoleon I

French (Paris); designed by François Gérard (1770–1837) in 1805, and woven in the haute-lisse workshop of Michel Henri Cozette (1744–1822) at the Gobelins manufactory by Harland (probably the Elder, fl. 1790–c. 1826), Abel Nicolas Sollier (fl. 1790–1815), Duruy the Younger (probably Charles Duruy, fl. c. 1805–1850), and five other weavers, between 1808 and 1811, for the emperor Napoleon I.

Wool and silk and silver-gilt thread.

7 ft. 3 1/2 in. x 4 ft. 9 1/2 in. (2.22 m x 1.46 m).

26–28 warps per inch, 10–12 per centimeter.

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1943 (43.99).

### DESCRIPTION

Napoleon wears a crown of yellow laurel leaves and a white robe richly embroidered in yellow on the sleeves and at the hem. It has a yellow fringe and white lace on the cuffs. Over this is a deep red velvet mantle, lined with ermine, and with an ermine band around the hem; elaborate yellow embroidery, including the letter N in white, is seen around the edges of the velvet, with yellow bees scattered over the central part. A single open sleeve, also ermine lined and with the same yellow embroidery, is visible to the right elbow, with a large yellow tassel at the point. Above this is a short circular ermine cape; two yellow tassels and a knotted cord at the left shoulder are part of the attachment of this garment.<sup>1</sup> Around the neck is a white lace collar under a yellow embroidered one and a white lace cravat. The gloves are white, with a ring on the right hand. A white sash with yellow embroidery and fringe supports a sword with large gray gems on the hilt and a white, yellow-tipped scabbard. The stocking and sandals are white, with yellow embroidery and cross lacing. The emperor holds a brown and yellow scepter, with a yellow eagle at the top; the letter N is visible below. He wears the collar of the Legion of Honor, made up of yellow eagles, and the star of the order in white, blue, and gold; some letters of the inscription, “Honneur et patrie,” can be distinguished. At the left, on a stool upholstered in blue with a wide yellow and gray fringe, is a blue cushion, trimmed with yellow embroidery and tassels. On this are a yellow and brown orb and a Hand of Justice with an open white hand and a yellow-brown staff. On the right is a throne with a yellow and brown frame, upholstered in

blue, thickly embroidered in yellow, with the letter N in the center. At the end of the left arm is a gray ball. The background is formed by a blue curtain with dull yellow embroidery and fringe; the reverse of the curtain, seen at the upper left and to the left of the stool, is dark dull pink. The more elaborate embroidery on this side includes the letter N. The foreground is a blue velvet carpet with yellow bees. The guards are dark yellow. Metal thread is very sparingly used.

The original frame of gilded pine has an attached inscribed plaque at the top reading: DONNÉ / PAR S.M. L'EMPEREUR ET ROI / AU PRINCE / ARCHI-CHANCELIER DE L'EMPIRE.

### CONDITION

There are a very few small areas of repair near the edges.

### SUBJECT

The emperor is shown in the robes he wore for his coronation at Notre-Dame on December 2, 1804, with his regalia. The costume and regalia were listed in the first article of a decree of July 18, 1804: “Breeches and stockings of white silk; white shoes embroidered with gold; a tunic of white silk embroidered and ornamented at the hem with fringe of gold; a mantle flowing over the shoulders and trailing behind; the material will be purple velvet powdered with gold bees,<sup>2</sup> embroidered all round and lined with ermine. White gloves embroidered with gold; a cravat of lace. An open crown of gold, shaped in the likeness of laurel leaves. The sceptre and Hand of Justice of gold. A sword with a golden hilt enriched with diamonds and fastened to a white scarf worn round the waist and ornamented with golden fringe.”<sup>3</sup> Everything was made especially for the occasion, under the superintendence of the artist Jean Baptiste Isabey; most of the bills and many of the objects have survived.

The crown was made by Martin Guillaume Biennais and consisted of forty-four large and twelve smaller gold laurel leaves, with forty-two “grains” among them;<sup>4</sup> it has not survived.



The white silk satin robe, without its fringe, is in the National Museum, Malmaison;<sup>5</sup> the material was supplied by Vacher, cut by the tailor Chevalier, and embroidered by Picot. The crimson velvet of the mantle (the color named in the bill) also came from Vacher, was cut by Chevalier, and was embroidered by Picot;<sup>6</sup> the Russian ermine was provided by the widow Toullet.<sup>7</sup> The garment is said to be at Mme Tussaud's museum in London; a design for part of the embroidery is in the Brocard collection, Paris.<sup>8</sup> The lace collar, cravat, and cuffs came from the firm of Lolivre, de Beuvry & Co.; they were probably of Alençon lace, perhaps made by the firm of Charles Clérambault, and are not known to have survived.<sup>9</sup> Lolivre, de Beuvry also provided gold "broderie en finition" for two pairs of gloves and two pairs of silk stockings, but Mlle Fouret, an embroideress, was also paid for a pair of white gloves and a pair of white silk stockings embroidered in gold.<sup>10</sup> Several gloves, all for the left hand, are at Malmaison. The sandals shown in 62 are presumably the "demi-brodequins de satin blanc brodé en or avec laçure dorée" made by Berger, rather than any of the several pairs made by Jacques, none of which seems to have had laces.<sup>11</sup>

The ring Napoleon wore over the glove on his right hand is in the Louvre; it is gold, with a large square emerald that had been part of the crown jewels, but was engraved for Napoleon in Prague with the imperial arms and set by the jeweler Marguerite.<sup>12</sup> The white silk satin sash is at Malmaison; it was embroidered in gold by Picot.<sup>13</sup> The sword seen in the tapestry, however, is not the one worn by Napoleon for the ceremony, which had gold eagles on the hilt and a tortoiseshell scabbard.<sup>14</sup> The sword in the tapestry was worn earlier in the day with the "petit habillement"; it was set with the great diamond from the crown jewels known as the Regent (now in the Louvre)<sup>15</sup> and was made by Etienne Nitot and Nicolas Noël in 1803, when Napoleon was First Consul. The diamonds were removed in 1811. It descended by inheritance to Prince Napoleon until 1979, when it was acquired by the French State, the prince retaining a life interest.<sup>16</sup>

The scepter was made by Biennais; it was silver gilt, 5 *pieds 8 pouces* long, with the imperial eagle at the top, "les ailes ouvertes et tenant dans ses serres un foudre, le dit aigle rondebosse ciselé et posé sur une portion de sphère sortant d'une touffe à double rang de feuillet de myrte, de laurier et palmes, au bas desquels sont deux astragales

ornées de perles et entre lesquelles se trouvent des mouches [abeilles] et une petite couronne de laurier au milieu de laquelle est la lettre initiale N."<sup>17</sup> It has not survived. The collar of the Legion of Honor is of a unique type, known only from portraits of Napoleon in his coronation robes.<sup>18</sup> The star is the standard type, designed by Jean Baptiste Isabey in 1802.<sup>19</sup>

The silver-gilt orb was also made by Biennais. It was surmounted by a "croix gothique formée par quatre espèces de balustres dont les 'pauses' sont ornées de feuilles d'eau et les têtes, d'espèces de touffes."<sup>20</sup> It has not survived. The Hand of Justice differs from that preserved in the Louvre in that it has all the fingers straight; the Louvre hand has two fingers bent.<sup>21</sup> Biennais described the hand he made as of ivory, "après un modèle moulé sur nature," with a silver-gilt stick, 3 *pieds 6 pouces* long.<sup>22</sup>

The throne in the tapestry corresponds closely with that shown in the engraving of the throne room of the Tuileries published in 1812,<sup>23</sup> except that in the engraving there are no balls at the ends of the arms. They are, however, mentioned in the bill for the Tuileries throne submitted by the maker, François Honoré Georges Jacob-Desmalter, on December 16, 1804; on each "pilastre de devant" was "une boule de 2 *pouces 8 lignes* de diamètre en ivoire."<sup>24</sup> They appear on the drawing by Charles Percier for this engraving and on another showing a side view of the Tuileries throne.<sup>25</sup> But these drawings show only a single palmette in the center of the back, instead of the series of seven varied protuberances seen in the engraving and on the tapestry; Jacob-Desmalter's bill also states that the back of the Tuileries throne was formed of a "guirlande isolée sculptée de laurier se posant sur un rond de 2 *pieds* de diamètre avec profil renversé de 18 *lignes* de large, sculpté de feuilles et bande avec palmette au milieu."<sup>26</sup> The cabinetmaker does not describe the upholstery, but that shown on the tapestry resembles the upholstery in the engraving, not the very different design, with an eagle in the center, of the drawing; it also corresponds with the upholstery seen in a drawing for a throne for Saint-Cloud.<sup>27</sup> In this drawing, as in the tapestry and in the engraving of the Tuileries throne, there are seven protuberances around the back; the throne is described in Jacob-Desmalter's bill as having at the back "une guirlande de laurier liée par sept rubans, ornés de perles, sur lesquels sont montés sept ornements en cuivre (trois palmettes et quatre soleils vus des deux côtés, ciselés et dorés)."<sup>28</sup> The



Saint-Cloud throne, now in the Louvre, has heads of Hercules at the front of the arms and lion-paw feet.<sup>29</sup> The Tuileries throne is believed to be the one now at Fontainebleau, though this now has neither the single palmette nor the seven protuberances.<sup>30</sup> The descriptions in the bills would seem to be the best indication of the original appearance of these thrones. The throne in the tapestry would then be inaccurate, showing the ivory balls of the Tuileries throne and the seven copper ornaments around the back of the Saint-Cloud throne. It is probable that Gérard was copying drawings or prints rather than an actual piece of furniture.<sup>31</sup>

The background of the tapestry is also related to the engraving of the throne room at the Tuileries. The fringe and the embroidery around the edges of the curtain are similar in both, though the engraving shows a powdering of bees on the outside of the drapery and of stars inside. The steps of the throne, however, are shown as bare in the engraving; the blue velvet of the tapestry may be derived from the blue carpeting with golden bees that was used for the coronation ceremony in Notre-Dame.<sup>32</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

On March 7, 1806, Napoleon ordered the Gobelins manufactory to make tapestry copies of two portraits of himself and one of Josephine. Only the last was executed at the time. One of the paintings of Napoleon was a portrait by François Gérard owned by Talleyrand, which was then in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On February 5, 1808, the order was repeated, but the ministry refused to send the picture to the manufactory. On February 26, therefore, a sum of money was appropriated to pay Gérard for making a copy of this portrait, as well as of a full-length portrait of Josephine in her coronation robes and the busts of her and Napoleon, all to be executed in tapestry.<sup>33</sup>

The tapestry is thus after a copy by Gérard (or, more probably, by one of his pupils) of his own painting. The latter is probably the painting at Versailles, which went there from the Louvre in 1894; it corresponds with great exactness to the tapestry, except that in the painting the background drapery on the right has fewer folds. This change may have been made at the instance of the weavers, who needed more liveliness in the monochrome areas.

In making the original portrait, Gérard used the representation of Napoleon in coronation robes which Isabey

drew for the collection of engravings called the *Livre du Sacre*. Except for the position of the head and the fact that Napoleon, in the print, holds the Hand of Justice as well as the scepter, the correspondence is exact, down to the folds of the cravat and of the mantle. Possibly Gérard had access to Isabey's original drawing, now at Malmaison.<sup>34</sup> Isabey had been careful about the design of the costume and the regalia; an entry, "fourni à M. Isabey un habit pour servir de modèle,"<sup>35</sup> in the bill of Chevalier, the tailor, suggests that the artist made his drawing from clothes lent him by the tailor.

Gérard's portraits, both the full-length and the bust, exist in several versions. Full-lengths are owned by Prince Napoleon;<sup>36</sup> the prince de Chimay;<sup>37</sup> the Louvre;<sup>38</sup> the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (inv. no. 2518); the Musée National, Ajaccio; the Museum of Capodimonte, Naples; the Musée National, Fontainebleau; and Malmaison.<sup>39</sup> A reduced sketch is at Versailles. Napoleon is seen to the knees only in a portrait in the Napoleon Museum, Arenenberg, Switzerland,<sup>40</sup> and a half-length, with an imperial crown, was owned by Dalva Brothers, Inc., New York, in 1970;<sup>41</sup> another half-length is in the Tampa Bay Art Center, Florida.<sup>42</sup> A small full-length, signed "F. Gérard," was in the Rodolphe, Prince de Faucigny-Lucinge sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 22, 23, 1955 (no. 74, illus.).

#### WEAVERS AND DATE

Michel Henri Cozette became the head weaver of the single haute-lisse workshop at the Gobelins in 1801. Eight men are recorded as having worked on 62, the principal ones being listed as Harland, Abel Nicolas Sollier, and Duruy  *fils*. The last was praised by Gérard for his work on the embroideries and the throne.<sup>43</sup>

A list of the Gobelins employees enrolled in the Garde Nationale in 1790 includes Harland, "Sollier l'aîné" and "Sollier cadet," and "Denis Duruit."<sup>44</sup> Both Solliers and Denis Duruy are in the third class of weavers in a list of 1794, with Harland in the second.<sup>45</sup> Harland was a *chef de pièce*, weaving flesh parts, in 1801, so that he was probably the head of the team for 62. Abel Nicolas Sollier is recorded as a weaver between 1806 and 1816, but it is not known whether he was Sollier the Elder or the Younger of the 1790 and 1794 lists; in 1811, there were three weavers called Sollier: Antoine Hubert, Abel Nicolas, and Auguste. Denis Duruy was born in 1765 and his son

Charles was head of an haute-lisse workshop from 1823 to 1850; the latter is probably the Duruy *fil*s of this entry, but there was also a Pierre Duruy active between 1810 and 1814.<sup>46</sup>

Weaving was begun on May 12, 1808, and the tapestry was sent to the storehouse on March 7, 1811.<sup>47</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Another weaving of the portrait was made between 1811 and 1813; it was not copied from the same version of Gérard's portrait, but from another example that he had made for the duc de Frioul, with a different background. This picture has not been identified. The tapestry was destroyed by the order of Louis XVIII, July 15, 1816.

A third weaving, begun early in 1814, of which less than a tenth had been completed by August, was destroyed at the same time.<sup>48</sup>

A companion piece of Josephine seated, in her coronation robes, after Gérard, was woven between 1808 and 1810. It was given to the viceroy of Italy in 1811<sup>49</sup> and was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, November 29, 1974 (no. 130, illus.). A version of the painting belonged to Prince Napoleon in 1968.<sup>50</sup>

Portrait busts of Napoleon after Gérard, showing the upper part of the full-length figure, were woven between 1808 and 1814; ten were completed, of which eight were given as presents by Napoleon or Josephine and two destroyed in 1816.<sup>51</sup> One is in the Schlossmuseum, Ludwigsburg,<sup>52</sup> one is in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight,<sup>53</sup> and one was in the E. B. Schley sale, Parke-Bernet, November 7, 8, 1947 (no. 383, illus.), sold again at the same auction house, October 8, 1977 (no. 37, illus.). The bust portrait was also reproduced in Sèvres porcelain.<sup>54</sup> A companion bust of Josephine was woven four times between 1808 and 1810; three of them were burned in the Gobelins fire of 1871, the other was in the Schley sale (no. 383, illus.).<sup>55</sup> A version of the painting of Josephine, attributed to Gérard, is at Malmaison and another at Versailles.<sup>56</sup>

A companion piece of Marie Louise in her coronation robes after Mlle Godefroid's copy from Gérard was begun in 1813, but not completed; it was burned in 1871. Two busts of this empress after Gérard were also begun in 1814. One was given to the emperor of Austria and is in the Schatzkammer, Vienna.<sup>57</sup> The other, not completed, was burned in 1871. A bust of the king of Rome was

destroyed in 1816.<sup>58</sup>

All the tapestries given as presents were lined, mounted on stretchers, put into gilded frames, and provided with woolen curtains. The frames for the bust portraits were made by Delporte Brothers, gilders, whose bill for one of them has been published; many of them were glazed.<sup>59</sup>

Tapestry portraits of Napoleon after other artists were apparently planned. A report to the emperor of August 15, 1808, by Vivant Denon, Director of Fine Arts, says that the Gobelins weavers "cessent d'être occupés par des tableaux insignifiants, et ce qui vient d'être exécuté par Gros, David et Gérard est d'une perfection si étonnante qu'on ne conçoit pas comment des ouvriers peuvent arriver à un si haut degré de magie. Deux cents autres, qui exécutent le portrait de Votre Majesté d'après Gros et d'après David font des tapisseries si supérieures à tout ce qui était connu, qu'elles feront l'étonnement des cours

Detail of 62





auxquelles Votre Majesté les destine.”<sup>60</sup> A tapestry copy of David’s *Napoleon at the Saint Bernard Pass* was made and Gros’s painting of the *Pest House at Jaffa* was woven,<sup>61</sup> but no portraits after these artists comparable to the tapestries after Gérard were undertaken at the Gobelins.

## HISTORY

Given by Napoleon to Jean Jacques Régis de Cambacérès, duc de Parme, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, by an order of July 17, 1810, and delivered March 11, 1811.<sup>62</sup> A document of April 1812 is extant, recording that Cambacérès paid the gilder Roland 261 francs 75 centimes “pour bordure du tableau de l’Empereur en tapisserie des Gobelins.”<sup>63</sup>

Inherited in 1824 by his nephew Marie Jean Pierre Hubert, later duc de Cambacérès. His property went in 1881 to his widow, who died in 1883, leaving it to Maurice Jean Marie Louis Delaire, comte de Cambacérès. In 1899, the Cambacérès house in Paris passed into the hands of the duchesse de la Salle de Rochmaure, who sold it to the French government in 1920.<sup>64</sup> It was probable that at this time the tapestry was acquired by Jacques Seligmann, who owned it in 1940.

Bought by the MMA from Seligmann by means of the Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1943.

## EXHIBITIONS

New York World’s Fair, 1940. *Masterpieces of Art: Catalogue of European & American Paintings, 1500–1900*. Introduction and descriptions by Walter Pach, no. 229, illus. No owner is named, but presumably it was lent by Jacques Seligmann & Co., Inc.

Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, 1942. *Loan Exhibition of Masterpieces of Painting*, cat. no. 79, illus. Lent by Jacques Seligmann Galleries, New York.

New York, MMA, 1978. *The Arts under Napoleon*, no. 1, fig. 1.

## PUBLICATIONS

Fenaille-Calmettes. *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 374–77. Account of origin, artist, weavers, and all weavings.

MMA *Annual Report* 1943, p. 32. Described; said to have been in the Cambacérès family “until a few years ago.”

Phillips, John Goldsmith. “A Gift to Cambacérès.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 3 (1944–45) pp. 228, 229, illus.

Miner, Dorothy, and Edelstein, Emma J. “A Carving in Lapis Lazuli.” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 7–8 (1944–45) p. 99, fig. 17.

Grandjean, Serge. “Les nouvelles salles empire du Louvre.” *Revue de l’Institut Napoléon*, no. 100 (July 1966) p. 150. Throne identified as that made for the Tuileries.

Remington, Preston. “The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) pp. 68, 99 illus.

## NOTES

1. The profile views of Napoleon in two paintings by David, the *Coronation* in the Louvre and the *Distribution of the Eagles* at Versailles, show the complicated relationship of these garments (Jean Mistler, “20 ans qui ont marqué le monde,” *Plaisir de France*, no. 364 [February 1969] pls. 7, 8).
2. Bees and the eagle had been suggested as symbols for the French empire at the meeting of the Conseil d’Etat on June 12, 1804. Cambacérès said that bees were a suitable emblem for the actual situation of France, “une République qui a un chef.” Later, he was quoted as saying that Napoleon chose the eagle for himself, as successor to Charlemagne and Caesar, but, when asked if his robe would be sprinkled with eagles, he answered: “Non, ce serait d’un mauvais effet; on y mettra des étoiles, ou plutôt des abeilles d’or; ce dernier aura quelque chose de national, on en trouva dans le tombeau de Chilpéric. Cet insecte est le symbole de l’activité. . . . Les étoiles seront pour moi, les abeilles pour le peuple.” More than three hundred golden bees had been found in the tomb of the fifth-century Merovingian king, Chilpéric, in 1653 (François Papillard, *Cambacérès* [Paris, 1961] p. 181; E. L. Lamothe-Langon, *Les Après-dîners de S.A.S. Cambacérès* [Paris, 1946] p. 76; W. Deonna, “L’abeille et le roi,” *Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 25 [1956] pp. 105–11). But Napoleon’s mention of stars as well as bees suggests that he was also familiar with the use of both objects as hieroglyphic symbols for royalty; they are found together in cartouches on the frontispiece to the first volume of the official publication of his Egyptian expedition, the *Description de l’Egypte*, 1809, which includes the crowned N of the emperor’s monogram (Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* [Copenhagen, 1961] pp. 132, 133, pl. xxiv).
3. Frédéric Masson, *Napoleon and His Coronation*, trans. Frederic Cobb (London, 1911) pp. 156, 314.
4. Gabriel Vauthier, “Les costumes du sacre et les fournisseurs de l’Empereur,” *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes* 4 (1913) p. 312.
5. Joseph Billiet, “Les nouveaux aménagements du Musée de Malmaison,” *Le Jardin des Arts*, no. 11 (September 1955) illus. p. 697.
6. Alphonse Maze-Sencier, *Les Fournisseurs de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et des deux Impératrices* (Paris, 1983) pp. 4, 5. Picot’s bill calls the mantle purple velvet and mentions the gold bees; the robe or tunic is less easy to identify in the documents, but Picot probably worked it.
7. Vauthier, “Costumes du sacre,” p. 312.
8. *Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1969) no. 150.
9. M. Risselin-Steenebrugen, “Un détail du costume du sacre de Napoleon,” *Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 42 (1973, published 1975) pp. 89–98. The Brussels bobbin lace at Malmaison, supposed to have been worn by Napoleon at his coronation, does not resemble that shown in 62 and other representations of the emperor in his coronation robes.
10. Maze-Sencier, *Fournisseurs*, p. 4.
11. Vauthier, “Costumes du sacre,” pp. 314, 315. Maze-Sencier, *Fournisseurs*, p. 6, believed that the *demi-brodequins* were for Josephine. The one surviving pair of footwear has rosettes and was used with the first costume worn by Napoleon on his coronation day, the “petit habillement”; it is at Malmaison and was exhibited at the Grand Palais, 1969, cat. no. 174. Slippers with rosettes are, however, worn with the “grand habillement” in the portrait by Robert Lefèvre in the Musée National de la Légion d’Honneur,

- Paris (Mistler, "20 ans," pl. 9).
12. *Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, 1969, no. 186; Pierre Verlet, *La Galerie d'Apollon et ses trésors, Guide sommaire* (Paris, 1947) p. 10.
  13. *Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, 1969, no. 176; Maze-Sencier, *Fournisseurs*, p. 5.
  14. It is clearly seen in the David *Coronation*.
  15. Lord Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960) pl. 89c.
  16. *Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, 1969, no. 167 (lent by Prince Napoleon); Henri Vever, *La Bijouterie française au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1906–08) vol. 1, p. 36, illus. (hilt only) p. 37; information from Gérard Hubert.
  17. Vauthier, "Costumes du sacre," p. 313.
  18. *Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, 1969, p. 48.
  19. De Basily-Callimaki, J.-B. *Isabey* (Paris, 1909) p. 70.
  20. Vauthier, "Costumes du sacre," p. 313.
  21. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Faux ivoires des collections publiques," *Revue de l'Art*, no. 21 (1973) pp. 96–99, figs. 6, 7. This Hand of Justice appears in Ingres's portrait of Napoleon enthroned in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (*De David à Delacroix: la peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Detroit Institute of Arts, MMA [Paris, 1974] no. 104, pl. 114). It is also seen in Gérard's state portraits of Louis XVIII and Charles X (sale catalogue, Duc de Talleyrand, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 29–June 1, 1899, nos. 4, 5, illus.).
  22. Vauthier, "Costumes du sacre," p. 313.
  23. Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, *Recueil de décorations intérieures* (Paris, 1812) pl. 48.
  24. Hector Lefuel, *François-Honoré-Georges Jacob-Desmalter* (Paris, 1925) p. 395.
  25. Boris Lossky, "A propos du Château de Fontainebleau. Identifications et considérations nouvelles . . . Trône de Napoléon," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1970, pp. 40–42, figs. 7, 8.
  26. Lefuel, *Jacob-Desmalter*, p. 395.
  27. Lossky, "Trône de Napoléon," fig. 9. The three drawings (the Tuileries throne in its setting and in a side view and the Saint-Cloud throne) were in a private collection in 1969 (*Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, 1969, no. 165).
  28. Lefuel, *Jacob-Desmalter*, p. 330.
  29. Grandjean, "Nouvelles salles," p. 150.
  30. Lossky, "Trône de Napoléon," pp. 40–44, fig. 10.
  31. Other portraits of Napoleon in his coronation robes show similarly inaccurate thrones in the background. One in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, attributed to David, has the Hercules busts and lion feet of the Saint-Cloud throne, but different upholstery and no protuberances around the back (Germain Seligman, *Merchants of Art* [New York, 1961] pl. 45a). That by Robert Lefèvre in the Musée National de la Légion d'Honneur, Paris, has the protuberances and the upholstery design with an N on the back, but this is shown as a figured velvet, and the arms end in lion heads. Ingres, in his seated portrait in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, has a totally imaginary throne, with one white and one gold ball, eagles in relief on pilasters on the arms, and no protuberances round the back (Mistler, "20 ans," pls. 9, 10).
  32. Masson, *Napoleon*, p. 158.
  33. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 375.
  34. *Napoléon*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, 1969, no. 146; Octave Aubry, *Napoléon* (Paris, 1936) p. 106, illus.; Jean Bourguignon, *Napoléon Bonaparte* (Paris, 1936) p. 326, illus.
  35. Maze-Sencier, *Fournisseurs*, p. 5.
  36. *Souvenirs de la Famille Impériale de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> à Napoléon III*, exh. cat., Orangerie du Château de Bois-Préau, Musée National de Malmaison (Rueil-Malmaison, 1968) no. 18, illus.
  37. *Merveilles des châteaux des Flandres, d'Artois, de Picardie et du Hainault* (Paris, 1973) p. 214, illus. (on wall of *petit salon* of the Château de Chimay). Called after David.
  38. *Défense du patrimoine national*, exh. cat., Louvre (Paris, 1978) no. 7. With list of other examples.
  39. Billiet, "Nouveaux aménagements," p. 695, illus. Described as after Gérard.
  40. Gérard Zimmerman, ed., *Museen der Schweiz* (Munich, 1981) p. 37, fig. 1.
  41. *The Taste of Napoleon*, exh. cat., William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts (Kansas City, 1969) no. 29, illus.
  42. "College Museum Notes: Acquisitions," *Art Journal* 28 (1968–69) p. 297, fig. 5.
  43. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 376.
  44. M. Perrot, "Artistes des Gobelins et de Sèvres incorporés dans la Garde Nationale en 1790," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd ser., 13 (1897) pp. 83, 84.
  45. "Liste des tapisseries des Gobelins en août 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd ser., 13 (1897) pp. 88, 89.
  46. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 281, 227, 240, 395, 435, XI, 239, 248, 254.
  47. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 376.
  48. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 376, 377.
  49. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 381, 382.
  50. *Souvenirs*, exh. cat., no. 79.
  51. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 377–82.
  52. Werner Fleischhauer, *Schlossmuseum Ludwigsburg, Amtlicher Führer* (n.p., 1963) p. 20. Mentioned as a present from Napoleon to King Friedrich of Württemberg in 1809; it is thus either the first or the second weaving.
  53. Percy Macquoid, *English Furniture, Tapestry and Needlework of the XVth–XIXth Centuries*, vol. 3 of *A Record of the Collection in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight* (London, 1928) p. 112.
  54. Serge Grandjean, "La porcelaine de Sèvres," *Plaisir de France*, no. 364 (February 1969) pl. 11.
  55. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 382, 383.
  56. Joseph Billiet, *Les Appartements de Joséphine, Guide-Catalogue*, Musée du Château de Malmaison (Paris, 1951) p. 12; Verver, *Bijouterie*, p. 43, illus.
  57. Arpad Weixlgärtner, *Geschichte im Widerschein der Reichskleinödien* (Vienna, 1938) p. 80.
  58. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 389.
  59. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 387.
  60. Pierre Lelièvre, *Vivant Denon, Directeur des Beaux-Arts de Napoléon* (Paris, 1942) p. 101.
  61. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, pp. 372, 373, 224–26. The *Pest House at Jaffa* tapestry is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (William Johnston, "Napoleon: The Cult of the Emperor," *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 19, no. 8 [May 1967]).
  62. Fenaille-Calmettes, *Gobelins*, vol. 5, p. 377.
  63. Information from Christian Baulez.
  64. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1956) s.v. "Cambacérés"; Papillard, *Cambacérés*, p. 228.

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# FRANCE

## Beauvais

COLBERT created the Beauvais tapestry manufactory at the same time as the Gobelins, but it was apparently intended from the first to cater primarily to private customers rather than to the crown. Two armorial tapestries (63) might have been made there between 1691 and 1694, but a Parisian origin is also possible. The arms are those of a Swiss brigadier in French employ, François Laurent Greder.

Several series designed in the late seventeenth century were very successful. Many sets were woven of the *Berain Grotesques*, so called from the resemblance of the compositions to the ornamental prints of Jean Berain, though they were designed by Jean Baptiste Monnoyer. Five pieces from one set and one from another (64) have the typical yellow ground of the series; marks on three of them show that they were woven when Philippe Behagle or his son, also Philippe, were in charge of the manufactory. Furniture covers were made to harmonize with these wall hangings; such upholstery for three chairs (65) has the monogram of the Swedish statesman Count Carl Piper, and is known to have been made in 1696.

Another very popular series was the *Story of the Emperor of China*, designed by Guy Vernansal and the flower painters Jean Baptiste Belin de Fontenay and Monnoyer about 1685–90. *The Audience of the Emperor* (66) may date from the late seventeenth or the early eighteenth century. Similarly, the design of *Boreas and Orithyia* (67) from a series of scenes from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid was by René Antoine Houasse about 1690, but the weaving of the set to which this piece belongs may have been a decade or more later. The *Stag Hunt* (68) was probably also designed in the late seventeenth century.

The undoubtedly lucrative practice of weaving upholstery panels to accompany wall hangings, begun in the seventeenth century, continued through the eighteenth. Some chair covers (70, 71, 75–77, 81) can be dated approximately on stylistic grounds.

The greatest period at Beauvais began when the painter Jean Baptiste Oudry was first given responsibility for the designs in 1726 and took over the directorship of the manufactory in 1734, with Nicolas Besnier as a partner. The *Arms of the duc de Boufflers* (72) has Oudry's name and the date 1733; this is probably the date of the design by Oudry, with 1740 as the probable date of weaving.

Soon after being appointed director, Oudry called in the young François Boucher to provide designs. The result, over twenty years, was six of the finest tapestry series ever created. It is also quite possible that Boucher designed the very rococo upholstery for two chairs (73); if so, it must have been in his early days of working for the manufactory. But his first documented works were the six pieces of the *Italian Village Scenes (Fêtes italiennes)* of 1736–46. The last complete set, with two narrow panels added, was made for the Boulard de Gatellier family in 1762 (78), in whose country mansion it remained until 1898; it is one of the very few Beauvais sets of hangings that has stayed together and whose entire history is known, though the furniture covers woven as part of the order are in the Louvre. The head of the manufactory at this time was André Charlemagne Charron.

*Vulcan Presenting Arms for Aeneas to Venus* and *Bacchus and Ariadne* (79) are from a set of four of Boucher's *Loves of the Gods* commissioned by the Danish baron Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff in 1754; Oudry and Charron were then co-directors at Beauvais. The furniture covers provided with the set (74) have Oudry designs of animals. The series designed by Boucher called *Scenes from Operas* is represented by *Vertumnus and Pomona* (80), which has the artist's name and the date 1757.

Boucher was made artistic director at the Gobelins in 1755 and soon after Charron was forced to rely on other painters for new designs. Among them was Boucher's pupil Jean Baptiste Le Prince, who had worked for Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg; he accordingly produced designs for the *Russian Entertainments*, one of which is the *Repast* (82). The set to which it belongs was made for the king in 1771–72. De Menou took over from Charron in 1780 and under his direction the piece with three scenes from the *Pastorals with Blue Draperies* (83) was woven after a cartoon by Jean Baptiste Huet, as was a set of bed hangings (84).

By the late 1780s, however, the manufactory badly needed new designs and was able to obtain them for two new series. One consisted of scenes illustrating the *Arts and Sciences*, designed by Jean Jacques Lagrenée; upholstery for a sofa represents *Commerce* (85). The other series was the *Four Continents*, after Le Barbier, which was only woven twice. One complete set—four hangings and covers for two sofas and twelve chairs, all different—was made for Louis XVI in 1790–91 (86); America appears as the young United States, aided by France, on one hanging and one sofa back. The set was disposed of by the French Republic in 1796 as payment for military supplies.

Furniture covers continued to be made at Beauvais in the nineteenth century; two chairs have Napoleon's initial (87). The weavers kept their skill. A small panel with a still life (88) was painstakingly copied, dewdrops and all, from a Salon picture by Theude Grönland; the weaver put his name, Rigobert Milice, and the date 1846 in the background.

A last attempt to revive Beauvais was undertaken in the 1920s. Four screen panels designed by Paul Vera were produced by a group of weavers in 1922–23 (91); they are characteristic examples of the Art Deco style.

## 63 Arms of the Greder Family of Solothurn, Switzerland

Two pieces from a set of perhaps eight

French (perhaps Paris); probably woven between 1691 and 1694, for François Laurent Greder.

Wool, silk, and metal thread.

63a 9 ft. 1 in. x 9 ft. 10 in. (2.77 m x 3 m);

63b 8 ft. 11 in. x 9 ft. 6 in. (2.72 m x 2.9 m).

20–22 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt, 1934 (35.40.5 [63a]; 35.40.6 [63b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Except for slightly different colors and some minute variations in the landscapes, the two tapestries are identical. Both were woven in two pieces; a vertical line down the exact center shows where the halves were joined.

The central coat of arms has a pale and dark blue ground. The first and fourth quarters show a bird's leg and claw in gray, with details in silver thread, flanked by red-brown and white fleurs-de-lis (Greder); the second and third quarters have five red roses on a ground of dull orange-red, white, and tarnished metal thread, probably originally gold, in basket weave (Blumenstein, a property of the Greder family). The surrounding wreath and scroll forms are in orange-red and white, with details in silver thread; they are surmounted by a coronet of a nobleman of unspecified rank (*Adelskrone*), in the same colors, ornamented with gray pearls and red and blue stones. The supporters are gray and white swans with pale yellow beaks, red inside. A red canopy with pale yellow fringes and ornamentation, lined in pale and dark brown, hangs behind the arms. The swans stand on a yellow, red-brown, and brown platform, with a semicircular drapery in pale brown, pale yellow, and red in the center. At the lower left is a gray classical helmet with a pale yellow and red-brown fantastic mask at the front and blue plumes; on the right, a gray breastplate, lined with blue. From a blue rosette on either side spring two red leaves and a thin pale brown stem which supports an openwork basket, filled with red, white, and dull yellow flowers and dark green leaves. The two bunches of flowers are different. White roses, yellow honeysuckle, and a white tulip can be distinguished. From each basket rises a yellow framework, to which the drap-

ery of the canopy is fastened with white ribbons banded in red and dull yellow. A head in profile protrudes on either side; the face is flesh color, the plumes above it, pink, white, and blue. The background is a landscape. The sky is in shades of blue with white and gray clouds; the distant views show hills, trees, and meadows, with some far-off buildings, in shades of green and gray. An irregular green band separates the landscapes from the foreground, which is brown.

The border has a shaded blue ground with interlacings in pale gray. An oval red medallion on either side has a monogram of two G's (for Greder) in dull red and white. The ornamentation of the border panels is in pale yellow, gray, and red, with naturalistic sprays of green leaves and red cherries. The outer guards are red-brown. Silk is lavishly used, especially in the sky and landscape; there is very little metal thread. Abrupt changes in color in plain areas, such as that behind the swan on the right in 63a, suggest a poorly organized workshop.

### CONDITION

There are a number of small holes, some coarsely repaired, especially in the right border in 63a.

### SUBJECT AND DATE

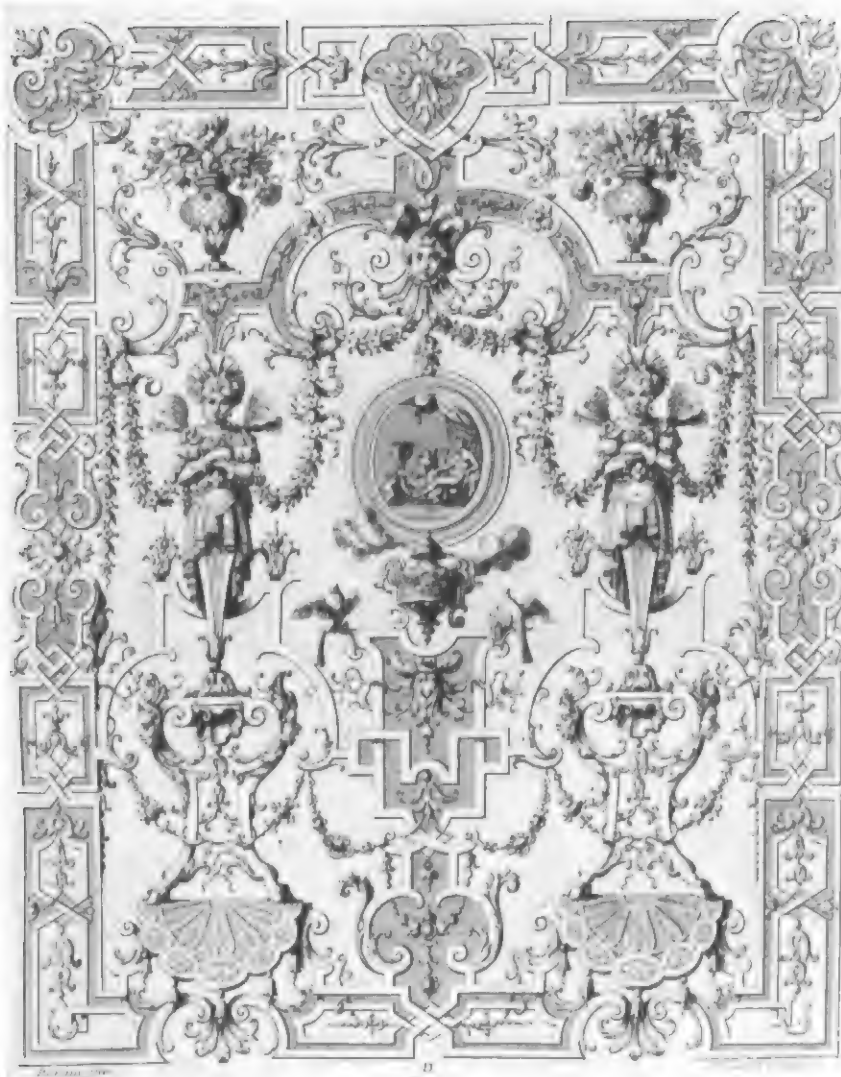
The arms are Greder and Blumenstein: "Ecartelé d'azur à une patte et cuisse de cygne argent, accostées de deux fleurs de lys d'or (Greder)"; and "d'or à la fasce d'azur accompagnée de cinq roses de gueules (3 et 2) (Blumenstein)."<sup>1</sup> The estate of Blumenstein belonged to the family of Greder of Solothurn, many of the male members of which, at this period, served in the French army. The tapestries were presumably commissioned by the head of the house and most probably by François Laurent Greder (1658–1716) after the death of his father, Wolfgang, in 1691. He became a brigadier in the same year and was made a knight of the order of Saint Louis in 1694.<sup>2</sup> As he would have been entitled to show this honor on his coat of

arms, it seems certain that if the tapestries were made for him, they date from between 1691 and 1694. He bequeathed Blumenstein to his sister, Maria Franziska Molondin, who named the house "Laurentin" after him,<sup>3</sup> so that no later Greder could have used this coat of arms.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Many elements of the design can be found in prints after Jean Berain I (1640–1711) (fig. 46), but it is not taken from any single plate.

FIG. 46. *Grotesques*, by Jean Dolivar, after Jean Berain. Engraving. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.36.141).



#### MANUFACTURE

Stylistic resemblances are apparent between these two tapestries and twenty armorials in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, that were made at Lunéville between 1720 and 1722 for the duke of Lorraine by Josse Bacor. But there is no evidence that this small workshop, which was not established until 1718, executed any private commissions, and the designs are closer to Claude III Audran than to Berain.<sup>4</sup> Another related set is the one made for Colbert de Seignelay, the *Naval Attributes*, after prints by Berain, in a private collection in France; these were made in the Paris workshop of Louis and Jean Baptiste Hinard. Another Paris weaver at this period was Gilles Bacor (died 1714), who also used Berain designs and is known to have woven armorial tapestries (*Chancelleries*). Josse Bacor, his nephew, presumably worked with him before going to Lorraine in 1711. The coloring of the *Great Gods* set woven in Paris by a member of the Bacor family is very like that of 63.<sup>5</sup> The weaving of each of the Greder tapestries in two pieces and the inept variations in background colors suggest a less well-organized workshop than the Gobelins or Beauvais. But, lacking any inscriptions, an attribution to a specific manufactory is not possible.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four tapestries of the set were in the Prince Paul Galitzin sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 10, 11, 1875 (no. 180, not illus.), called Gobelins, after Berain. They have landscape backgrounds and were bought by Gauchez. Three were in the Mme X . . . sale (identified on the Frick Library copy of the sale catalogue as "Maîtresse de Gauchez"), Hôtel Drouot, April 20–23, 1892 (nos. 410–12, no. 140 illus.). They were called Gobelins, seventeenth century, with a ducal crown. The example illustrated is exactly like 63, except that the background on either side is a formal garden. All three pieces are said to have "fonds de parcs." Four pieces were in the Marquise de Y . . . (Landolfo-Carcano) sale, Hôtel Drouot, November 28–December 2, 1921 (nos. 603–06, no. 603 illus.), bought by Lefortier. They were called Italian, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the Carcano arms<sup>6</sup> and a ducal coronet on "un fond de paysage ou sur un fond vert." One of the examples on a plain ground,





possibly that illustrated in the sale catalogue, is presumably the tapestry in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Like 63, it was woven in two pieces. One piece with a formal garden in the background was in the Lefortier collection, sold at the American Art Association, New York, November 27–29, 1924 (no. 513, illus.).

Lacking illustrations or detailed descriptions of these examples in sales catalogues, all of which have very similar dimensions, it is not possible to say how many pieces made up the original set. Possibly there were eight, four with garden backgrounds, two with country landscapes (63a,b), and two with plain backgrounds (one in Kansas City).

#### HISTORY

Probably in the Landolfo-Carcano sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 28–December 2, 1921, nos. 605, 606.  
Bequeathed to the MMA by Lucy Work Hewitt of Paris, 1934.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report* 1935, p. 31. Mentioned.  
H.B.W. [Harry B. Wehle] and J.G.P. [John Goldsmith Phillips].  
“Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt.” *MMA Bulletin* 30 (1935) pp. 91, 92, illus. [63a]. Arms identified as those of the Greder family of Neufchâtel, said to be “probably from the first half

of the eighteenth century, and very likely of French manufacture.”

Standen, Edith A. “Some Beauvais Tapestries Related to Berain.” *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, pp. 216, 217, fig. 13. Relationship to Berain noted, probably made for François Laurent Greder, 1691–94, perhaps in Paris.

#### NOTES

1. Jean Tricou and D. L. Galbreath, “Les documents héraldiques du Musée des Tissus de Lyon,” *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 45 (1931) p. 153. The same arms appear on an embroidery in the Musée des Tissus, Lyon; the swan’s leg, however, is reversed. Swans are shown as supporters and as the crest. The coronet is incorrectly described as that of a duke. J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* (1884, 1887; reprint of 1950 ed., Baltimore, 1972) s.v. “Greder,” calls the bird’s leg that of an eagle, but gives the crest as a swan, “le vol levé.” Three large wool embroideries on red grounds in the National Museum, Stockholm, have the same arms as central features.
2. Baron de Zur-Lauben, *Histoire militaire des Suisses au Service de France* (Paris, 1751) vol. 3, pp. 16–18, 78–81.
3. *Das Bürgerhaus in der Schweiz*, vol. 31, Kanton Solothurn (Zürich, 1929) p. xli.
4. Michel Antoine, *Les Manufactures de tapisserie des ducs de Lorraine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1698–1737)* (Nancy, 1965) p. 56 pls. xxii, xxiii, xxv, xxvi.
5. Roger-Armand Weigert, *French Tapestry*, trans. Donald and Monique King (London, 1972) p. 147; Antoine, *Les Manufactures de tapisserie des ducs de Lorraine*, pp. 51–53.
6. The Carcano family of Milan has arms of a swan under a battle-ax (Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, s.v. “Carcano”).



## 64 Berain Grotesques

Five pieces from a set

- a *The Camel*
- b *Musicians and Dancers*
- c *The Elephant*
- d *The Offering to Bacchus*
- e *Violin and Lute Players*

French (Beauvais); designed by Jean Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699) in the style of Jean Berain I (1640–1711), about 1685–89; woven under the direction of Philippe Behagle (1641–1705) or his son of the same name (in charge of the manufactory, with his mother, until 1711) in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Weaver's name on 64b.

Wool and silk.

64a 9 ft. 2 in. x 17 ft. 4 in. (2.79 m x 5.28 m);

64b 9 ft. 10 in. x 16 ft. 8 in. (3 m x 5.08 m);

64c 9 ft. 9 in. x 15 ft. 2 in. (2.97 m x 4.62 m);

64d 9 ft. 7 in. x 6 ft. 8 in. (2.92 m x 2.03 m);

64e 9 ft. 9 in. x 6 ft. 4 in. (2.97 m x 1.93 m).

21–27 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of John M. Schiff, 1977 (1977.437.1–5).

### DESCRIPTION

All pieces of the series have a dull yellow ground, the color called in France “tabac d’Espagne,” sometimes translated as “Havana yellow.” The framework of each design is basically similar, showing intense blue fantastic spindly columns decorated in orange-brown; these rise from marble bases in variegated tones of red, blue, pink, white, purple, and gray, standing on short, pointed, orange-brown feet. They support platforms of similarly colored marble, from which fall massive fringed draperies and above which are usually leafy arbors. At the top of each piece of 64a–e are marble bars in the same colors as the platforms; in 64f, the *Offering to Pan* from another set, this feature appears some distance below the top. The tiled floors are in shades of pale pink and gray, with brown and darker gray in the distance, and occasional black tiles. A band of dark pink separates the floor from the lower border in 64a–e; taller examples of the series, such as 64f, show one or more flights of steps leading up to the floor

with balls at the top of them and trellises with dark green foliage at either side. Sometimes part of a garden is visible at the foot of the steps. Whenever there are pairs of vases or baskets of flowers, each member of the pair differs from the other.

The borders of 64a–e have white or pale gray grounds, with inner and outer bands of classical ornament in shades of brown, red-brown, orange, and yellow. The side borders are the same on all five pieces. In the center is a seated Chinaman, very like the emperor in 66; he is in crimson and brown, with blue trousers and red shoes, and holds a red parasol lined with dark pink. Above the dark blue and green striped niche in which he sits are red and blue feathers and a swag of red drapery. On this are two birds, one a parrot with blue wings. A winged figure with brown wings rises from a blue sheath and holds brown lazy tongs above her head; these support a basket of red, blue, purple, pink, yellow, and green leaves and flowers. Below the seated Chinaman is a head with a blue cap, red drapery, and gray wings, and a blue peacock with red-brown wings and a green and pink tail. At each lower corner is a satyr with pink drapery and gray legs and, below him, panpipes dangling on a blue ground (see detail).

In the center of each horizontal border is a reclining Chinaman in purple and brown with red trousers and a blue cloak; he is inside a red tent lined with dark blue and brown stripes (see detail). At his side is a table with a purple cloth supporting a pale yellow vase and two blue and white cups. Outside the tent is a bunch of blue-green feathers on either side and an orange-brown censer. All the motifs of the borders are linked by strapwork, scrolls, drapery, and garlands in yellow-green, red, blue, pink, pale yellow, purple, green, and gray. The lower borders on the wide tapestries (64a, b, c) show, on either side of the censers, a bearded head with horns from which curl crimson scrolls under an orange-brown rectangle of strapwork and a red and blue parasol-like canopy. A feathered oval in blue, gray, and black is flanked by two birds; the outermost one, which is red and cream, holds a blue snake in its beak in front of a sphinx. This creature has a flesh-colored face and breast, yellow-brown wings, forelegs, and lion-

back, and red and cream drapery. On 64b there are parrots beyond baskets of flowers behind the sphinges, blue and cream on the left, red on the right. On 64a, the widest tapestry, there is a fair-haired nude female half-length with blue-green drapery rising from pink and blue scrolls. The guards are black or dark blue. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

#### SUBJECT

The name *Grotesques de Berain* was not given to the series until after 1850; the sets apparently usually consisted of three horizontal tapestries with the modern titles of the *Animal Tamers*, the *Camel* (*Le Dromadaire*), and the *Elephant*, and three upright ones, called the *Offering to Bacchus*, the *Offering to Pan*, and the *Musicians*.<sup>1</sup> Each horizontal tapestry normally contains three groups of a few figures, each upright one a single group; there are also three less frequently found groups of two figures: a cello player with a dancing girl holding a triangle, a lute player with a dancing girl, and a violinist with a lute player (64e), woven as upright tapestries. But sometimes the groups were combined differently, as in 64b, which consists of the *Musicians* in the center, flanked by two groups from the *Elephant*, and 64a, which has the *Musicians* instead of its usual central group. In this instance, the changes caused repetitions of groups on different pieces of the same set; possibly they were made because cartoons for the usual figures were in use on other looms. It is clear that no precise significance was accorded to the subjects, which are "grotesques" in the sixteenth-century meaning of the word. There is, however, a general sense that the figures are performing on a stage:<sup>2</sup> the costumes are certainly theatrical and the lute player in 64e wears a half-mask. It has been stated that some characters from the *Commedia dell'Arte* are represented,<sup>3</sup> but the resemblances are not close enough for these to be identified.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The designer of the set of six Beauvais *Grotesques*, "du goust de celle des Gobelins faite sur les desseins de Raphaël, de Rome," is named as "Baptiste, excellent peintre et dessignateur d'ornement icy," in a letter of January 7, 1695, from Daniel Cronström in Paris to Nicodemus Tessin in Sweden.<sup>4</sup> This is the usual way in which his

contemporaries referred to Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, the flower painter who left Paris for London in 1690 to work at Montagu House.<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt, however, that Monnoyer designed this tapestry series under the influence of Jean Berain, who may even have provided preliminary sketches.<sup>6</sup> Berain did, in fact, design a border specifically for the set that was made to be sent to Sweden; Cronström wrote on May 20/10, 1695: "je fais mettre à la *Grotesque*, une bordeure d'un goust grotesque du dessein de Berain, à bastons rompus rouges sur un fond bleu, au lieu d'une bordeure ordinaire de feuilles de persil tournantes sur un fond bleu. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

A memorandum of 1731 lists a "tenture du dessein de *Grotesques*, avec petites figures chinoises, par Batiste et Vernensal,"<sup>8</sup> perhaps this series with the chinoiserie border. The resemblance between the Chinamen in the upright borders of 64a-e and the emperor of 66 suggests that Vernensal may have designed the chinoiserie borders. The figures in them are markedly superior to those of the central scenes.<sup>9</sup> These borders were not mentioned in the 1695 letter of Cronström to Tessin quoted above, which suggests that they were not then available.

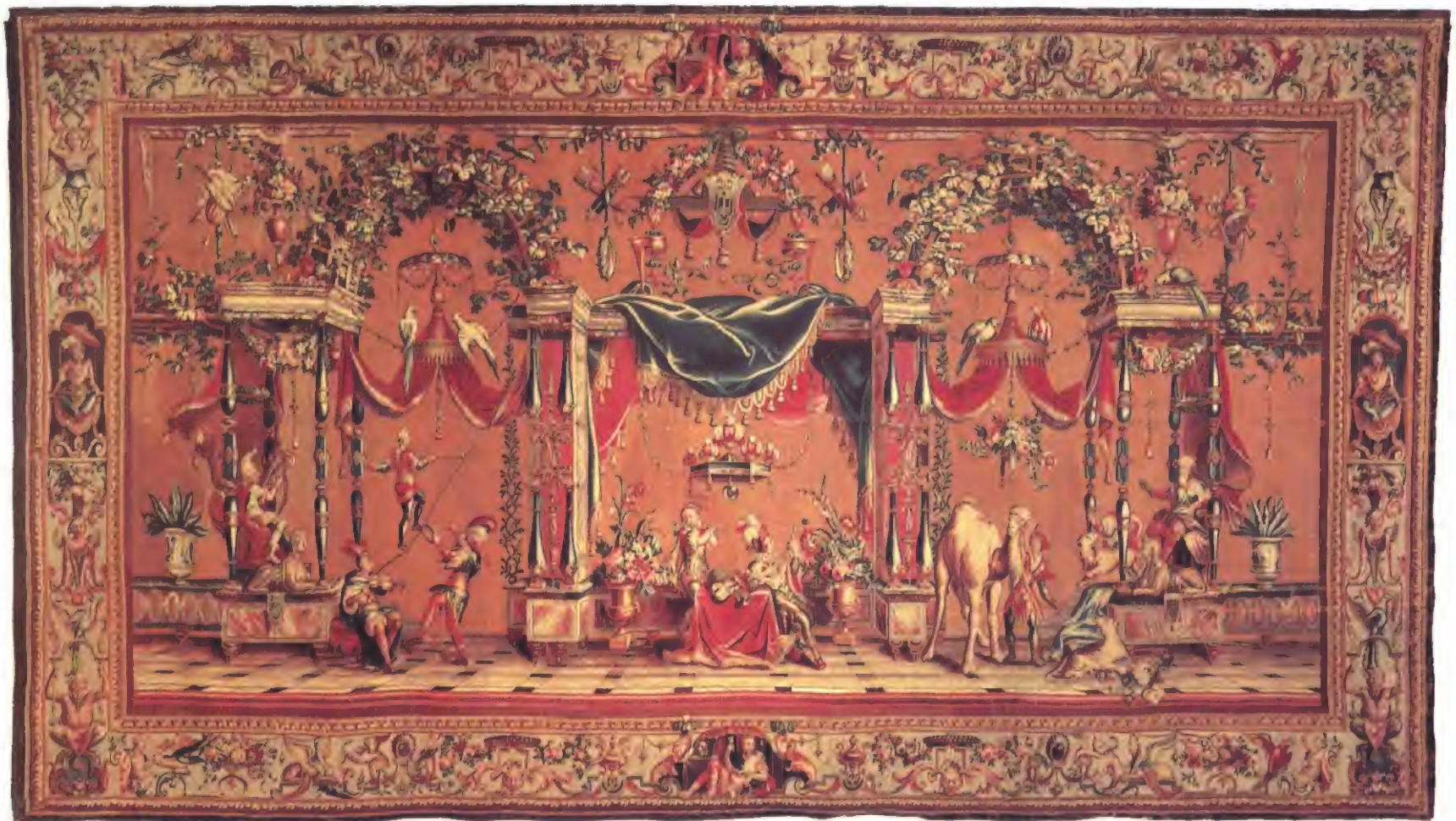
#### WEAVER AND DATE

The mark on 64b shows that 64a-e were woven while the Beauvais manufactory was under the direction of Philippe Behagle, 1684-1705, or of his widow and son, 1705-11. The series is known to have been woven before 1689, as Behagle was forced in that year to pawn to a creditor several pieces of a series "représentant des *grotesques à petit personnages*"; though these were "rehaussées d'or," and gold has not been found on any tapestries of this series, they were probably examples of the *Berain Grotesques*.<sup>10</sup> The vogue for a yellow ground at this period is confirmed by its use on Savonnerie carpets and screen panels after about 1686.<sup>11</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

What may very probably be a sixth piece of the set 64a-e is a *Pan* in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.<sup>12</sup> It has an exactly similar chinoiserie border and the design is cut off at the same places at the top and the bottom.

Several sets of six pieces, presumably complete, are known.<sup>13</sup> One consisting of the *Animal Tamers*, *Camel*,



64a

*Elephant, Bacchus, Pan, and Musicians* is in Schloss Bruchsal, a branch of the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe; it has chinoiserie borders. A similar set with framelike borders of heavy gadrooning was in the Mrs. C. E. M. Shelswell-White sale, Christie's, London, November 22, 1956 (nos. 137–42, *Musicians and Elephant* illus.). Six pieces, also with framelike borders, are in the Musée des Tapisseries, Aix-en-Provence. Here the three wide pieces are the less frequently found scene of the man playing a cello and the dancing girl with a triangle,<sup>14</sup> *Pan*, and *Bacchus*; the uprights are the *Musicians*, the man with four dogs from the right side of the *Animal Tamers*, and the lute player and the dancing girl with cymbals.<sup>15</sup> Six pieces formerly in the Clarence H. Mackay collection are all upright panels, each with a single group; they show the

*Musicians, Pan, Bacchus*, the central scene of the *Camel*, and the center and left side of the *Elephant*. *Pan, Bacchus*, and the centers of the *Camel* and the *Elephant* were sold at Christie's, July 27, 1939 (no. 114, *Pan* illus.); a seventh piece from this set, the right side of the *Animal Tamers*, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum;<sup>16</sup> the set is said to have originally included eight pieces.<sup>17</sup>

Smaller sets and individual examples are said to bring the total number of known pieces of the series to about 150.<sup>18</sup> Of the subjects not included in 64, an example of the central group of the *Animal Tamers* is in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.<sup>19</sup> This has a chinoiserie border, but cannot be from the same set as 64a–e since part of the leafy trellis appears at the bottom. Another *Animal Tamers* with a chinoiserie border was sold at Christie's,



June 22, 1939 (no. 159), but it was 10 feet, 3 inches high. The usual center of the *Camel* (64a), a huge vase of flowers with a gesticulating man and a peacock, surmounted by the two children on ropes of 64e, is found on almost all other examples of the subject. The *Cello and Triangle Players* is at Aix, the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, and the castle of Náměšt in Czechoslovakia. The lute player of 64e and a dancing girl with cymbals are on a piece at Aix. Two *entrefenêtres*, one with tambourine and lute players, the other with triangle and viol players, were sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, November 25, 1977 (no. 75, illus.), and were owned by the London dealer Victor Franses in 1983.

Two *entrefenêtres* with yellow grounds, the reclining man of the chinoiserie border at the top, and representations of Summer and Autumn in the center were sold at the Nouveau Drouot, Paris, December 12, 13, 1983 (no. 90, illus.). Some other unusual variants of the designs have been published, such as an *Animal Tamers* in the V. Klotz sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 21, 1935 (no. 79, illus.), sold again at the Palais Galliera, Paris, March 30, 1965 (no. 146, illus.), and now in the Château de Seneffe, Belgium, in which the men and lions in the center are replaced by Thalia seated on a throne. A set of six pieces, described as "des grotesques, fond feuille morte, fabrique de Beauvais" with the arms of Charles Maurice Le Tellier, Archbishop of Reims, was listed in the inventory taken after his death in 1710.<sup>20</sup>

For the furniture upholstery made to accompany this series, see 65.

A set of six embroidered panels was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1929 (no. 159, all illus.), and at Christie's, July 10, 1975 (nos. 153, two illus.); their designs are based on the tapestries of this series, especially the taller sets, such as that to which 64f belongs. One piece shows the violinist, tambourine player, and tightrope walker of the *Camel* (64a) with the setting and tambourine player of *Pan* (64f).<sup>21</sup>

Imitations of the series were made at Berlin by the weaver Jean Barraband II in the early eighteenth century, usually reversed and much simplified. Two complete sets of three large pieces and four *entrefenêtres* are known.<sup>22</sup>

#### HISTORY

Said to have been in the collection of Prince Murat.<sup>23</sup> The set

was apparently in France before 1909, when 64c and 64d were published there.

In the Mortimer L. Schiff sale, Christie's, London, June 22, 23, 1938, no. 75, *Bacchus* and *Camel* illus.

In the John M. Schiff collection before 1957.

Given to the MMA by John M. Schiff, 1977.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Badin. *Beauvais*, illus. facing p. 12, *Bacchus* (as in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, an error); pl. facing p. 16, *Elephant* (no location given).

MMA *Annual Report* 1977–1978, pp. 39, 41, illus. p. 40 [64d]. Mentioned among gifts of the year.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Beauvais Tapestries Related to Berain." *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, pp. 209–13, figs. 1 [64a], 4 [64d]. Series described, Guy Vernansal suggested as possible designer of chinoiserie borders, relationship to Berain prints illustrated.

MMA *Notable Acquisitions* 1975–1979. New York, 1979, pp. 40, 41, illus. [64c].

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790." *Apollo* 114 (1981): "IV. Baroque and Régence," pp. 32–34, pl. IV (color, *Camel*), fig. 5 (border detail); "VI. Some Exotic Subjects," p. 44, fig. 3 (chinoiserie border detail).

## 64a *The Camel*

#### DESCRIPTION

All the wide pieces of the set (64a, b, c) are divided into three compartments, each enclosing a group of figures. At the left and right of each piece is a dull pale greenish brown sphinx. The upper sections are basically alike, showing two arching yellow-brown arbors of dark blue, green, red, and cream-colored vine leaves with purple and blue grapes. Trophies of red and blue quivers and blue and white wreaths hang from blue ribbons on either side of a central structure at the top of each tapestry. This includes orange-brown scrolls, sprays of blue-green leaves with red berries, and garlands of flowers in red, pink, white, yellow, and blue, with blue-green leaves. Beyond the leafy arches are orange-brown vases of flowers; below the one on the right is a red and blue parrot eating purple grapes.

To the left, on 64a, behind and above the sphinx, is a

man playing an orange-brown harp; he wears a cream-colored cap and a blue and orange-brown costume, with a red cloak. Below him, a man sitting on a stool playing a violin has red feathers in his orange-brown helmet, a red and orange-brown costume, pink stockings, and a blue cloak. A dancing jester holding a tambourine wears a pink cap with red, white, and blue feathers, a pink and blue costume, and brown shoes. He has orange-brown bells attached to his clothes. Above this pair is a ropewalker in dark pink, with blue sleeves and leggings. The central compartment shows two musicians beside a table covered with a dark pink cloth fringed with yellow-brown; on it are a gray bagpipe and a pale brown violin. The standing man playing a flute is in red, blue, and pink; the seated man with a mandolin has pink and white feathers in his red and blue hat, a red and blue costume, and red shoes. On the far right is a seated king with an orange-brown crown and a white turban; he has a white beard and wears a blue-green costume, orange-brown breeches, red leg coverings, and gray gloves. In front of him is a child in blue with red sleeves and dark pink drapery holding a pale brown feline cub on pink ribbons. A man in a red hat, dark pink costume, and blue leggings holds a pale brown camel on a pink strap. Blue drapery falls from the king's throne behind a spotted cream and brown leopard lying on the ground beside some bunches of red and purple grapes with dark green and yellow leaves.

At the far right and left of the tapestry, beyond the sphinges, are white vases with blue ornaments and leaves. Behind the man with a harp is a brown drapery with a red and pink scale pattern inside, dark pink outside. A blue wreath with white flowers hangs from dark pink cords in front of it. Above the ropewalker are swags of purple-lined red drapery with an orange-brown fringe and ornamentation. Two blue and white parrots sit on the central canopy under an umbrella form in blue, lined with dark pink, ornamented with pearls and blue and red gems. There is a similar structure over the camel, with a hanging basket of red, pink, white, and blue flowers and leaves, with blue ribbons ending in tassels replacing the ropewalker. The parrot on the left is blue with touches of red, the one on the right is red with touches of blue. The drapery behind the king is like that behind the harpist, except that it is red on the outside. On either side of the two musicians in the center is an orange-brown vase with dark blue foliage and red, pink, and white flowers. Above the

table is a blue canopy with a yellow-brown fringe, topped by red, gray, and white plumes, hanging from a huge dark blue-green drapery lined with dark pink. In the top right and left corners of the tapestry are trophies of musical instruments; the one on the right includes a white turbaned mask.

#### CONDITION

Parts of the guards are replacements. There are small repaired areas in the background. Sections of the floor have bare warps, some coarsely repaired. Many slits have been badly joined.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Unless otherwise noted, all the other versions of the *Camel* listed below have the peacock and vase of flowers as a center, with the two winged children on slack ropes above that are found on 64e. An example in the Louvre has no border; it is taller than 64a, showing the steps and greenery at the base.<sup>24</sup> A piece in the set at Bruchsal has a chinoiserie border with heads in the upper corners; it has the areas above the marble bar at the top, but ends below at the same place as 64a.<sup>25</sup> Chinoiserie borders, but with squirrels in the upper corners, are found on a set of five pieces in the castle of Náměšť, Czechoslovakia (offered for sale by Sanz Sagaseta, American Art Association, April 28, 29, 1922 [nos. 357–61, all illus.]). All are much taller than 64a with a large and elaborately designed area above the marble bar and a single step with some greenery at the bottom. The *Camel* in this set is also wider, with an extra figure at each side beyond the blue-and-white vases; they are a boy with cymbals and the dancing man playing a lute seen in 64e. Sets of four in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. T.53–1955),<sup>26</sup> and of five in the Stockholm Town Hall both have heavy gadrooned borders. The Stockholm set *Camel* is very tall, showing a large area above the bar at the top and complete flights of steps at the base;<sup>27</sup> the London example is much shorter and narrower than 64a, omitting the harpist and the king at the sides. A version in the Mobilier National, Paris, has a chinoiserie border.<sup>28</sup> Large twisting leaves form the border of the tapestry in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, which has the area above the upper bar.<sup>29</sup> Two with narrow borders are at Firlie Place, Sussex, owned by Viscount



Detail of 64a

Gage; both have flights of steps at the bottom.<sup>30</sup> The Paris dealer Dario Boccara owned a borderless example in 1971; it has the area above the bar at the top, but no steps.<sup>31</sup> The *bastons rompus* border appears on a piece in Kronborg Castle, Denmark, signed by Behagle; it has the area above the bar and steps in the foreground.<sup>32</sup> One in the British Embassy, Brussels, has the area above the marble bar at the top, no steps in the foreground, and a border of large twisting leaves.<sup>33</sup> The *bastons rompus* border appears on a *Camel* sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, November 28, 1927 (no. 111, illus.); it has the area above the upper bar, but no steps. The same sale included an example with the same borders with scrolling leaves as 64f (no. 112, illus.); the central motif is missing. There was an example in the Shelswell-White sale (no. 142, illus.); it is

tall and has a small dog on the flight of steps on the left. The same rolling leaf border is seen on a tapestry owned by the Turin dealer Giuseppe Cohen in 1961.<sup>34</sup> A piece sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, December 17, 18, 1943 (no. 1943, illus.), has a narrow border, the area above the bar, complete flights of steps with a dog on the left-hand one, and parts of three flower beds in the lower center. A borderless example, ending above at the same place as 64a but with steps and greenery in the foreground, was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, December 13, 1929 (no. 24, illus.), and at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 21, 1957 (no. 46, illus.). Another borderless piece with the area above the upper bar, but no steps or greenery, was in the Mme Dubernet Douine sale at the Galerie Charpentier, April 11, 12, 1946 (no. 128, illus.), a Palais Galliera sale,



April 10, 1962 (no. 161, illus.), and was sold again at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, December 4–6, 1983 (no. 228, illus.).

An apparently unique version was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, April 1, 2, 1963 (no. 191A, illus.); this has the usual right-hand group of the king and the camel, but in the center are the dancing man playing a lute and the girl with cymbals found as a separate panel in Aix.<sup>35</sup> On the left are a seated man playing a lute, a man playing a double pipe, and a girl with a tambourine. There is a dog on the steps and three flower beds. Fragments with the two figures on the left of 64a were owned by the Munich dealer L. Bernheimer in 1928,<sup>36</sup> and a standard central compartment was in the Mackay collection;<sup>37</sup> the latter was sold at Christie's, July 27, 1939 (no. 114).

The two men at a table in the center are usually found as a separate tapestry called the *Musicians*. There are examples in the Stockholm, Aix,<sup>38</sup> Bruchsal,<sup>39</sup> and Victoria and Albert Museum sets, as well as in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the Louvre. The piece formerly in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Schloss Rohoncz,<sup>40</sup> was sold at Christie's, May 17, 1968 (no. 14, illus.), and bought back by the Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza, Castagnola. It ends shortly above the drapery above the table, but has two birds on the floor and part of three flower beds at the bottom. Other examples that have appeared in auction sales include one with a chinoiserie border in the Baron Leonino sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 18, 1937 (no. 230, illus.), sold again at Sotheby's, July 6, 1956 (no. 20, illus.), and at Christie's, March 19, 1970 (no. 130, illus.). Two others with this border were sold at the Nouveau Drouot, Paris, December 12, 13, 1983 (nos. 88, 89, illus.). The *bastons rompus* border is found on the piece in the former Clarence Mackay collection,<sup>41</sup> on one lent by Don Celedonis Pereda to the *Exposición de tapices* at the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, Buenos Aires, 1939 (cat. no. 62), another sold at Sotheby's, March 17, 1950 (no. 138, illus.), and again at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 24, 1976 (no. 120, illus.), with two birds above the upper bar, and one sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 30, 1949 (no. 107b). The example in the Shelswell-White sale (no. 138, illus.) has the birds above and the trellis with greenery below. A tall piece with heavy turning leaves in the border was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, December 3, 1969 (no. 145, illus.).

The embroidered panel sold at Christie's, July 10, 1975 (no. 153, illus.), shows three of the figures of the left section of 64a, with the tambourine-playing girl on the far left of 64f.

## 64b *Musicians and Dancers*

### DESCRIPTION

On the left, a girl, turning her back, plays a triangle; she has a green blouse, yellow-brown sleeves with blue-green puffs, a red skirt, and violet leg coverings. Beside her, a dancing jester holds panpipes to his lips; he has a dark pink cap and coat over blue breeches, and pink leg coverings, all ornamented with bells. In the center is the same pair of musicians at a table found on 64a in a similar setting. On the right is a dancing boy wearing a blue hat with red feathers, a blue jacket with pink sleeves, red leggings, and pale yellow gloves; he plays a small trumpet and holds another one. The girl beside him, holding a thyrsus, has a red and yellow jacket, a green skirt decorated in red and yellow, and a pink and lavender scarf. On the floor is a leopard and grapes as in 64a.

Above the couples at the left and right are red-brown bars supporting swags of dark blue-green drapery. Above these are smoking censers, blue ribbons, and red and blue umbrella forms. Below them are red and orange-brown shield-shaped medallions with heads and sprays of dark blue leaves and red berries. Behind the sphinx on either side of the tapestry is a large basket of red, pink, white, blue, and lavender flowers with blue-green leaves. Beyond them are blue and white vases as in 64a. The upper part of the tapestry is like 64a, without the musical trophies on either side. In the innermost band of the border, under the leopard, is the inscription in dark red-brown: BEHAGLE.

### CONDITION

Some areas of repair are visible, especially in the left background. Bare warps in parts of the floor have been coarsely sewn up.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The central motif is usually found as a separate tapestry called the *Musicians* (see 64a). The couples at left and right usually accompany an elephant in the center (see 64c).

### 64c *The Elephant*

#### DESCRIPTION

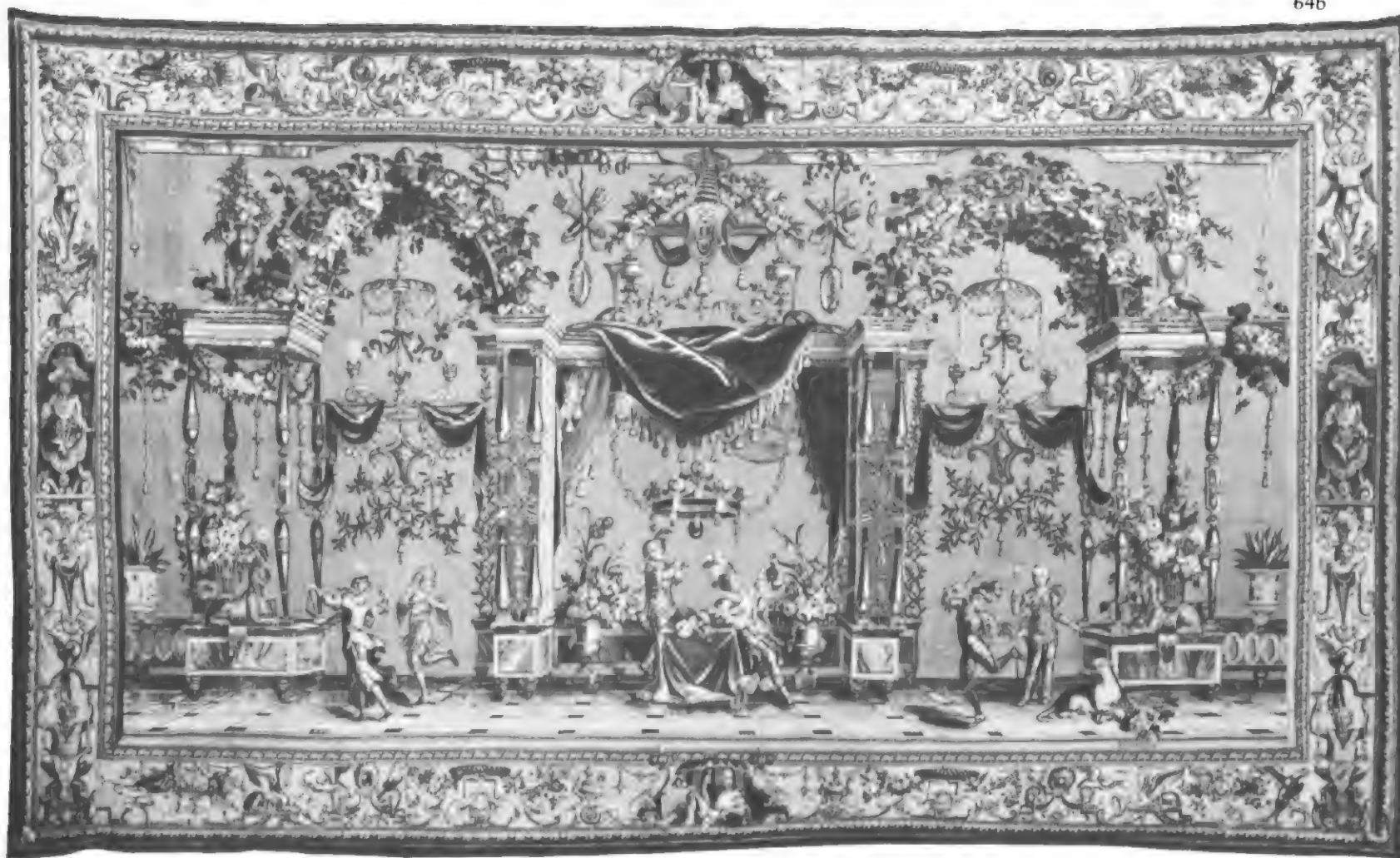
The central section shows a dark brown and gray ele-

phant with red, blue, and orange-brown trappings. On its back, a boy blowing a trumpet has a blue cap, white shirt, red cloak, and red breeches. The animal is led by a man in dark pink with a red hat and leggings. Vines with red and purple grapes twine around blue columns in the background and there are swags of red drapery, decorated and fringed in orange-brown, on either side. The remainder of the tapestry is like 64b, except that there are no vases beyond the sphinges and no signature.

#### CONDITION

There are small areas of repair.

64b



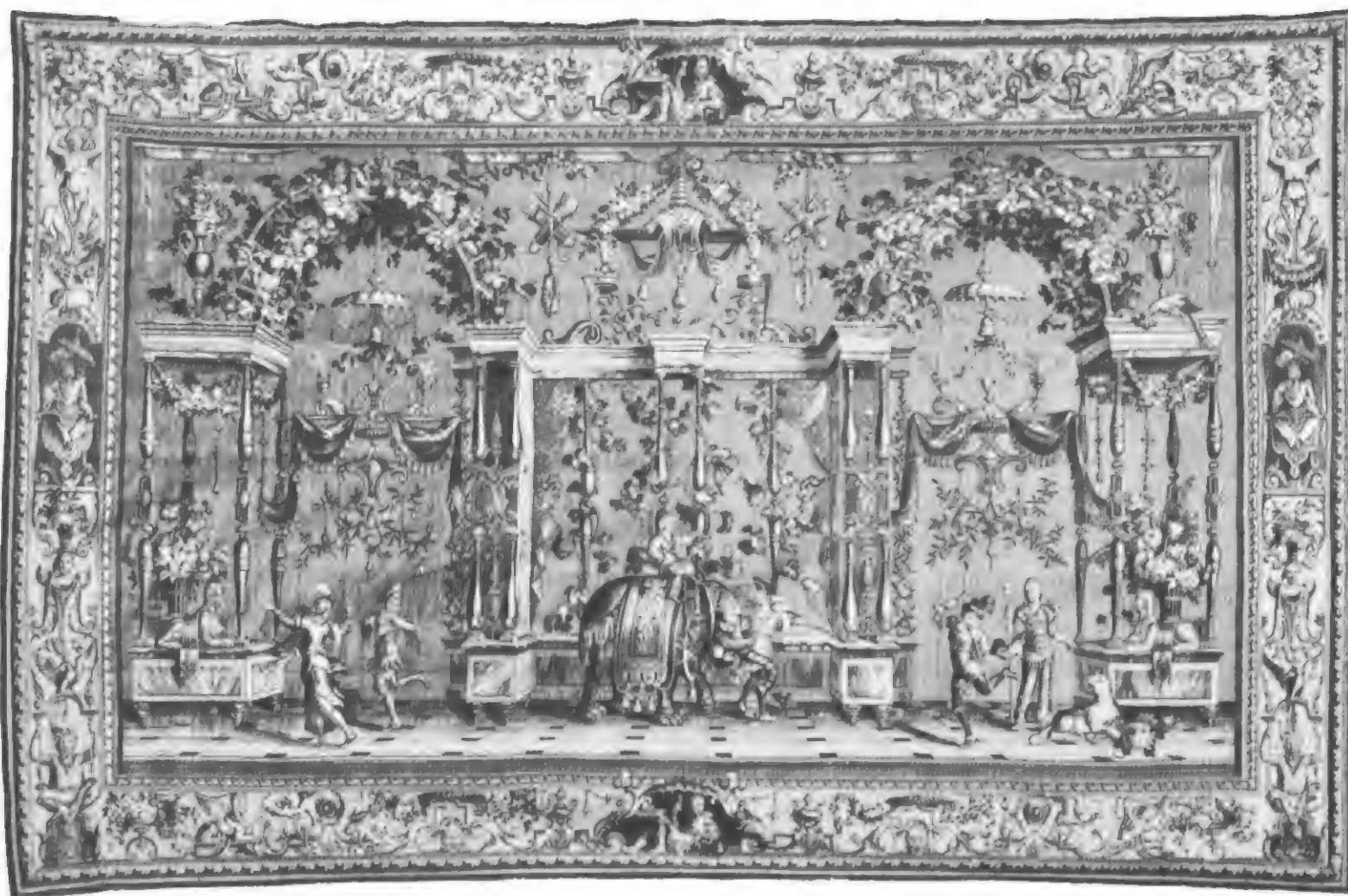


# RELATED TAPESTRIES

All examples of the *Elephant*, except as noted, have the same figures at the sides. The subject is included in the Stockholm and Bruchsal sets;<sup>42</sup> the one in the latter set is taller than 64c, with an area above the marble bar at the top. The piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. T.54-1955) is much lower and narrower, being cut off just above the marble framework over the elephant and just outside each couple at left and right; two steps appear on each side at the bottom, however. An example in the Art Institute of Chicago has the *bastons rompus* border; it is taller than 64c, with the area above the marble bar.<sup>43</sup> The *Elephant* in the British Embassy, Brussels, is like the

*Camel* of the same set.<sup>44</sup> The example in the Shelswell-White sale (no. 141, illus.) is also tall and has steps and greenery at the bottom. One sold at Parke-Bernet, October 13-15, 1949 (no. 551, illus.), has a framelike border and complete flights of steps. A borderless piece with the upper area, but no steps, was owned by the Munich dealer L. Bernheimer in 1928;<sup>45</sup> it may be identical with the one sold at Sotheby's March 20, 1959 (no. 56, illus., printed in reverse), and is certainly the piece sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, July 25, 1984 (no. 3248, illus.). The piece in Náměšt Castle is tall. An example with a chinoiserie border was in the de Bondy sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 20, 21, 1890 (no. 147, illus.), and was sold

64c



again at the Hôtel Drouot, June 19, 1978 (no. 130, illus.); it is cut off at the upper bar but has two flights of steps below. One sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, April 9, 1976 (no. 117, illus.), and owned by the Paris dealer Dario Boccara later in the year, has the upper area, but no steps; the large turning-leaves border includes six blank medallions. These also appear on an example sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, December 5, 1979 (no. 117, illus.); it has two flights of four steps.

An unusual *Elephant* was owned by the Paris dealer Dario Boccara in 1971. On the left, a roistering couple approach a statue of Bacchus and above them and above the group on the right heart-shaped medallions with feathered heads replace the canopies with parrots. Both flights of steps are seen in full, with a white dog on the left-hand one, and there are garden beds in front of the leafy trellis. There is a gadrooned border.<sup>46</sup> The right portion only from the Clarence Mackay collection is in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.<sup>47</sup> The center with the elephant was also a separate tapestry in the Mackay set.<sup>48</sup> The Louvre has a fragment (inv. no. OA 9267), showing the right side only.

The elephant, reversed and considerably altered, appears on one of the Berlin adaptations of this series.<sup>49</sup>

## 64d *The Offering to Bacchus*

### DESCRIPTION

The statue of Bacchus and his leopard is orange-brown; white panpipes hang from a red ribbon above. The man on the left playing a pipe has a red hat, a blue and pink costume, and red shoes. The girl crouching on the right is in red, pink, and yellow, with a red ribbon in her hair. The basket in front of her is yellow with red and blue flowers. The marble walls around the statue are red, blue, pink, white, and purple, with orange scroll forms and balls. The pedestal of the statue is gray, pale brown, and cream colored. The curtain behind the statue is dark pink outside, orange-brown with a scale pattern in red and purple inside. The roof is marble like the walls below. It supports an orange-brown trellis covered with a grapevine in green, blue-green, red, and yellow, with red and purple grapes. The fan shape above is dark pink and blue. Swags of jewels in red, blue, orange, and gray fall from the marble

bar at the top. Candelabra in red, blue, purple, and orange rise on either side, with a gray and cream-colored bird, with touches of red, at the top of each.

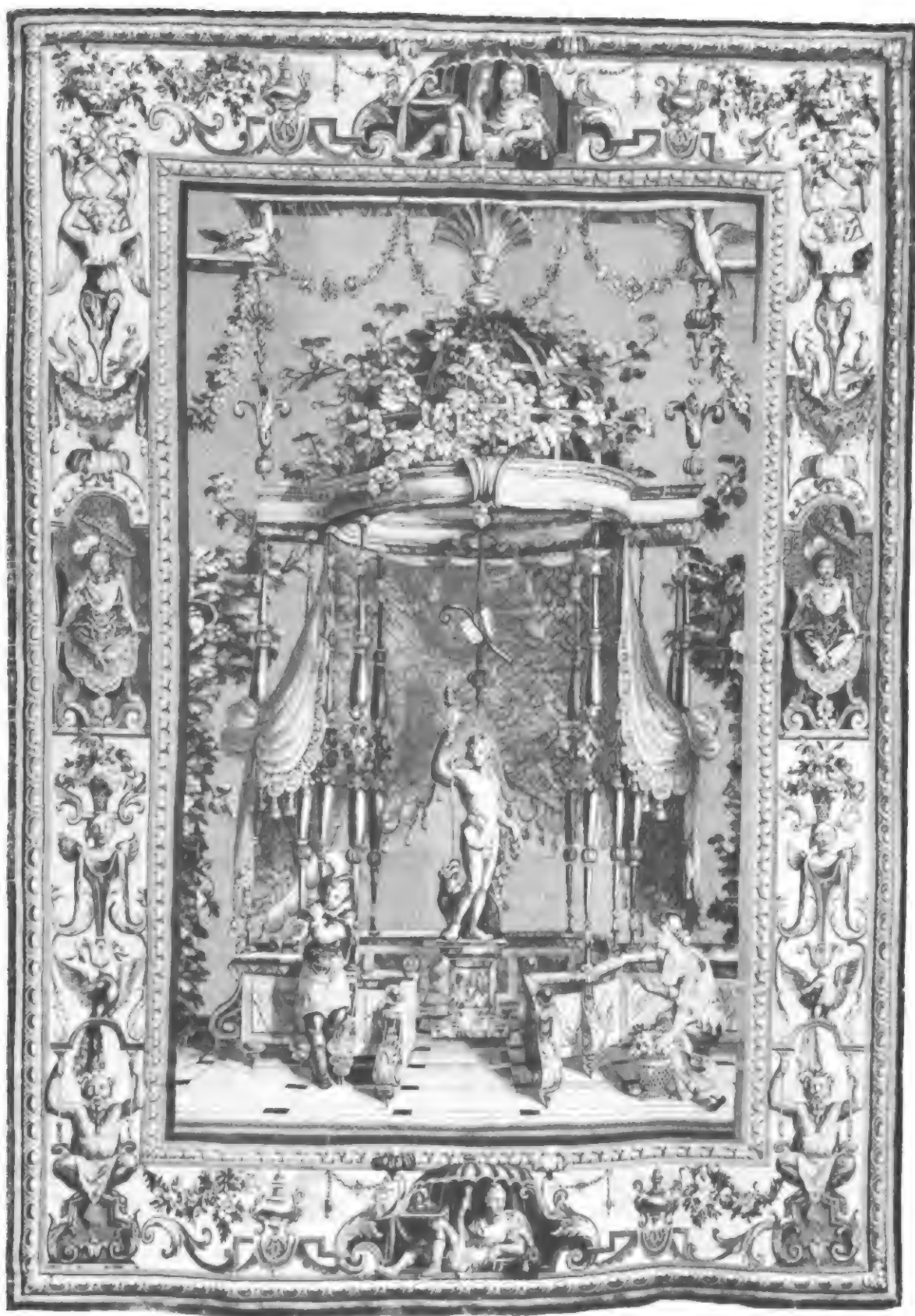
### CONDITION

There are a few very small repairs and some bare spots on the guards.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

An *Offering to Bacchus* in the Mobilier National, Paris, is narrower than 64d and omits the girl with a basket; it has the same chinoiserie border.<sup>50</sup> One in the Huntington Galleries, Huntington, West Virginia, has a border of heavy gadroons; it is square, being cut off immediately above the roof over the statue, but with a narrow stretch of leaves at the base.<sup>51</sup> There are no borders on a piece in the Louvre, which is taller than 64d, showing two smoking censers above the bar at the top and a flight of steps on either side at the bottom; the girl is walking up one of these with her basket of flowers on her head.<sup>52</sup> The piece at Aix is wider, showing a trellis of grapevines on either side with flying birds above, and leaves at the bottom.<sup>53</sup> That in the Stockholm Town Hall is tall but very narrow, including the censers at the top but omitting the girl with the basket. One in the C. L. Davids Samling, Copenhagen, has the steps and greenery at the bottom and is slightly wider than 64d; it has a chinoiserie border.<sup>54</sup> The same border is found on the example in Schloss Bruchsal, which has the censers above the bar, but no steps.<sup>55</sup> One with a chinoiserie border and no steps is in the Philippe Aubertin collection, Château de Feillet;<sup>56</sup> it may be the piece sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 9, 1936 (no. 140, illus.). There is a chinoiserie border on the example in the castle of Náměšť, Czechoslovakia; it is much taller than 64d and has the smoking censers and the girl walking up the steps on the right.

Of the examples that have appeared in auction sales, one with chinoiserie borders was sold at Christie's, June 22, 1939 (no. 159, illus.), at Sotheby's, December 16, 1966 (no. 15, illus.), and at Christie's, July 1, 1982 (no. 3, illus.), and was owned by the Munich dealer Bernheimer in 1983; it is like 64d, except that the trellis and leaves appear at the bottom. Examples with borders of *bastons rompus* include the piece formerly in the Clarence







Mackay collection,<sup>57</sup> sold at Christie's, July 27, 1939 (no. 114); it is wider than 64d, with vines or trellises at either side. Others were sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 30, 1949 (no. 107c), and June 24, 1937 (no. 126, illus.); the latter is very close to 64d, though slightly wider. An example with a border like 64f was in the Laurent-Richard sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 28, 29, 1886 (no. 155, illus.); it is taller than 64d, with the censers above and the steps and greenery below. A version was in the Cassel van Doorn sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 30, 1956 (no. 130, illus.); it has the eagle on top of the arbor flanked by winged female busts like 64f, the girl climbing the steps, and scattered flowers with two birds on the floor. A borderless example was owned by the Paris dealer Denise Gateau in 1971; it is tall and wide, with the censers, the trellises on either side, and the girl climbing the steps. A narrow example with the girl in this position was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, March 14, 1975 (no. 180, illus.). A nearly square piece was sold at Drouot-Rive Gauche, May 23, 1978 (no. 170); no figures other than the statue and no borders are mentioned in the description. Two examples with narrow borders were owned by the Galerie Dario Boccara in 1982.

The *Bacchus* woven by Jean Barraband in Berlin shows a statue of the god in a very similar but simplified setting, with different figures; an example was sold at Sotheby's, December 16, 1966 (no. 14, illus.).

## 64e *Violin and Lute Players*

### DESCRIPTION

The seated violin player on the left wears an orange helmet with red feathers, an orange costume with red sleeves, and a blue cloak. The dancing lute player has a red plume in his blue and red turban, a blue costume with red leg coverings, and gray shoes. He wears a brown half-mask. The drapery between the two players is an intense blue, with red. Two winged small boys are playing on slack ropes above. The one on the left has white sleeves, a red bodice, green breeches, and blue leg coverings; the other has white sleeves, lavender bodice, red breeches, and gray leg coverings. Their wings are white with red spots. Below them is a basket of red, yellow, white, pink, and

purple flowers with green and blue-green leaves. The structure to which the ropes are tied is pink, blue, purple, and gray, with orange-brown scrolls. The ornamentation above it is the same as that found in the center of 64a, b, and c, with the addition of a blue peacock.

### CONDITION

There are a few very small areas of repair.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The lute player is close to "Metzetin" in Jacques Callot's *Balli di Sfessania* series of prints.<sup>58</sup>

Detail of 64e





## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The seated violinist is the same figure as the one seated at the left of the *Camel* (64a) in the company of a tambourine player. The lute player is found at the extreme right of the very wide example of the *Camel* that was in the Sanz Sagasetta sale (no. 361, illus.), and on an unusual piece sold at Sotheby's, December 7, 1951 (no. 58, illus.); the latter includes the girl holding a tambourine above her head from *Pan* (64f) and other musicians and dancers. He is paired with a dancing girl, seen full face, holding a tambourine above her head, on a narrow tapestry sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, November 25, 1977 (no. 175, illus.).

## NOTES

1. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Les Grotesques de Beauvais," *Hyphé*, 1 (1946) pp. 68, 69.
2. Weigert, "Grotesques," p. 71.
3. Roger-Armand Weigert, *French Tapestry*, trans. Donald and Monique King (London, 1962) p. 126.
4. *Les Relations artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693-1718: Nicodème Tessin le jeune et Daniel Cronström, correspondance (extraits)*, National Museum, Skriftserie 10 (Stockholm, 1964) p. 65. The Gobelins tapestries mentioned are the *Triumphes des Dieux*, called at the period the *Arabesques de Raphaël*.
5. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837*, vol. 1 (London, 1962) p. 255.
6. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Les commencements de la manufacture royale de Beauvais 1664-1705," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 64 (1964) p. 344.
7. *Relations artistiques*, p. 77. Borders that correspond to this description are on a set of six pieces formerly in the collection of Clarence H. Mackay, New York (George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay* [New York, 1925] pp. 68-76) and on other examples of all the usual subjects (see under individual tapestries).
8. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 21.
9. Standen, "Some Beauvais Tapestries," p. 210.
10. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 213.
11. Pierre Verlet, *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection* (London, 1982) p. 230.
12. Louis Guimbaud, *La Tapisserie de haute et basse lisse* (Paris, 1928) pl. 7. The tapestry measures 3.05 m by 3.2 m and was acquired in 1907 (information from L. Amic).
13. When sets are mentioned in the published manufactory records, they are of six pieces except for one of five taken by the king in 1731 (Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 18, 21, 23, 24, 56). Cronström says that the *tenture* was of six pieces (*Relations artistiques*, p. 64), and the 1689 document already mentioned says that the *Grotesques* series "doit estre composé de six pièces." On the other hand, a Beauvais inventory of 1754 includes "un dessein de Grotesques en sept pièces" (Roger-Armand Weigert, "La Manufacture Royale de tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1933, p. 230).
14. Another example of this subject is in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; others were sold at Parke-Bernet, November 10, 1956, no. 511, illus., and at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, November 25, 1977, no. 175, illus. An unusually wide version with a chinoiserie border was sold at Christie's, June 22, 1939, no. 159, illus.
15. Henri Algoud, *Les Tapisseries du Musée de l'Ancien Archevêché à Aix-en-Provence* (Marseille, 1931) p. 6, pls. 17-22.
16. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1924) no. 46.
17. Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay*, p. 68. *Pan* and the center of the *Elephant* (called *Les Funambules*) were exhibited at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1960, *Louis XIV, Faste et Décors*, cat. nos. 761, 762, without the name of the owner.
18. Weigert, *French Tapestry*, p. 127.
19. Hans Huth, "Eighteenth Century Furniture in the De Young Museum," *Art Quarterly* 28 (1965) p. 65, fig. 1.
20. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Inventaire des tapisseries de Charles-Maurice Le Tellier, Archevêque de Reims (1710)," *Archives de l'Art Français*, new period, 21 (1949) p. 24.
21. Arthur Oswald, "Tusmore—II, Oxfordshire: The Seat of Lord Bicester," *Country Life* 84 (August 6, 1938) p. 135, figs. 3, 4.
22. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pp. 84, 85; Roger-Armand Weigert, "Les grotesques de Beauvais et les tapisseries de Chevening (Kent)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1933, pp. 7-21.
23. No tapestries were included in the Prince and Princess Murat sale, "par suite de leur décès," Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 21-23, 1902.
24. Jean Cassou, "French Tapestries: The Style," *Art News Annual* 1948, p. 34, illus. (detail).
25. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Un atelier de tapisseries français à Berlin au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 60 (1931) p. 213, illus.
26. Previously sold at Christie's, June 25, 1936, no. 165, illus.; Standen, "Some Beauvais Tapestries," fig. 10.
27. Jack Lindblom, *Vädda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1979) p. 131, illus. p. 133.
28. Madeleine Jarry, *World Tapestry* (New York, 1969) pp. 222, 223, illus. (detail).
29. "Beauvais Tapestry Purchased," *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 28 (1939) pp. 133-37, illus.; Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 213 (as owned by French & Co.).
30. Clifford Musgrave, "Firle Place, Sussex: The Seat of the Viscount Gage," *Antiques* 97 (1970) p. 261 (one seen on wall in hall); Arthur Oswald, "Firle Place, Sussex—I: The Home of Viscount and Viscountess Gage," *Country Life* 117 (February 17, 1955) p. 482, fig. 7 (one seen on wall, with portion of second visible).
31. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) pl. 138. Said to have come from the Hussein Pacha collection, France. Sold at Sotheby's, December 7, 1951, no. 57, illus., and at the Palais Galliera, Paris, April 10, 1962, no. 161, illus.
32. *Kronborg* (n.p., 1972) p. 31, illus. (on wall of room in north wing). Sold at Christie's, May 26, 1925, no. 147, at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 7, 1951, no. 129, illus., and at Sotheby's, December 13, 1963, no. 74, illus.
33. Christopher Hussey, "The British Embassy, Brussels," *Country Life* 124 (September 11, 1958) p. 535, fig. 10.
34. 2<sup>a</sup> Biennale: Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell' Antiquariato, Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1961) stand 162, illus.
35. Algoud, *Tapisseries*, p. 22, illus.

36. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pls. 210 a, b.
37. Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay*, p. 74, illus., called the *Slack Rope*.
38. Algoud, *Tapisseries*, p. 17, illus.
39. Weigert, *French Tapestry*, pl. LV.
40. Adolf Feulner, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, vol. 3, *Plastik und Kunsthandwerk* (Lugano-Castagnola, 1941) p. 177, no. 594, pl. 79.
41. Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay*, p. 71, illus. Signed "Behagle."
42. Weigert, "Un atelier," p. 209, illus.
43. Standen, "Some Beauvais Tapestries," fig. 11.
44. Hussey, "British Embassy," p. 533, illus. (on wall of dining room).
45. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 211.
46. Boccara, *Belles Heures*, pl. 139. Sold at the Palais Galliera, April 1, 2, 1963, no. 191 bis, illus., and December 3, 1969, no. 146, illus.
47. Paulina Junquera, "Tapices del Museo Lázaro Galdiano," *Goya* 103 (July–August 1971) p. 6, illus.
48. Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay*, p. 73, illus.
49. An example was in the Henry Symons sales, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 27–February 3, 1923, no. 1174, illus., later owned by the London dealers Mallett and Son (Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 61).
50. *Tapisseries, XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh. cat., Septentrion, Fondation Anne et Albert Prouvost (Marcq-en-Baroeul, 1981) no. 11, illus.
51. *Three Hundred Years of French and Flemish Tapestry*, exh. cat., Huntington Galleries (Huntington, W. Va., 1966) unnumbered pl., illus. Previously in the Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, March 10, 11, 1950, no. 321, illus.
52. *La Tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours*, exh. cat., Palais des Beaux-Arts (Brussels, 1947) no. 64, fig. 47.
53. Algoud, *Tapisseries*, illus. p. 20.
54. "La Chronique des arts," supplement to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 73 (February 1969), p. 42, no. 182, illus.
55. Weigert, "Un atelier," p. 203, illus.
56. *Merveilles des châteaux de Normandie* (Paris, 1966) pp. 190, 191, illus.
57. Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay*, p. 75, illus.
58. Donald Posner, "Jacques Callot and the Dances Called *Sfessania*," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) p. 212, fig. 23. The author shows that the Callot figures do not represent Commedia dell'Arte characters.

## 64f The Offering to Pan

From a set of the *Berain Grotesques*

French (Beauvais); designed by Jean Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699), in the style of Jean Berain I (1640–1711), about 1685–89; and woven under the direction of Philippe Behagle (1641–1705) or his son of the same name (in charge of the manufactory, with his mother, until 1711) in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Weaver's initials.

Wool and silk.

10 ft. 1 in. x 9 ft. 3 in. (3.07 m x 2.82 m).

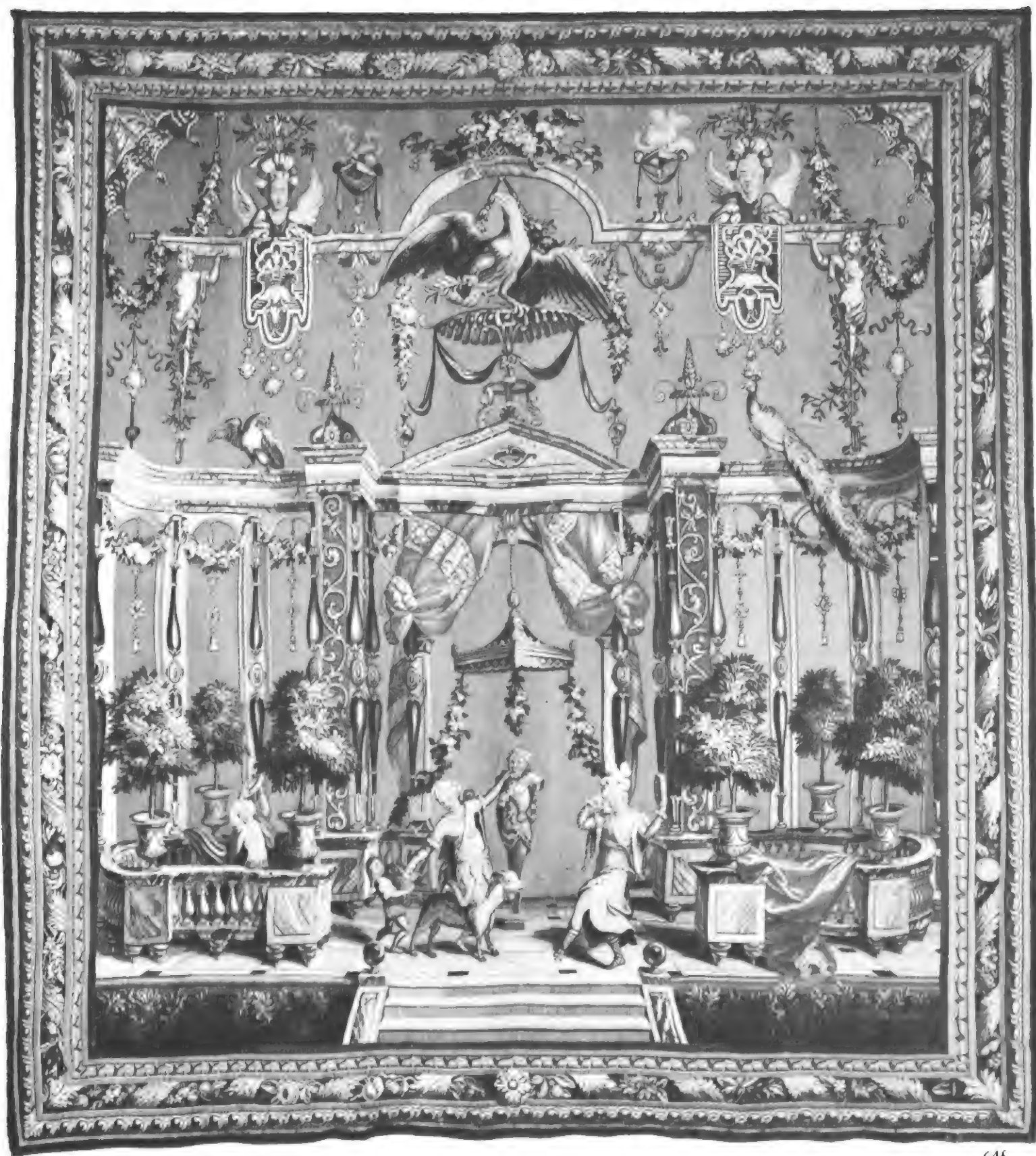
21–22 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Guy Fairfax Cary, 1950 (50.205).

### DESCRIPTION

The yellow-gray stone statue of Pan as a herm is crowned with blue leaves and draped with garlands of red, white, and yellow flowers and blue-green leaves. A woman in pale yellow with gray sleeves and a red cloak places one hand on the shoulder of the statue and reaches with the other into a brown basket of flowers; this is held by a small boy in a long red cap and breeches, with a blue and white shirt and stockings. The woman places one knee on a gray and white goat. To the right is a dancing girl with white plumes in her hair, wearing a yellow-green dress, red jacket and sleeves, and yellow stockings cross-gartered in red. She holds castanets in one hand and a yellow tambourine in the other. On the far left is another girl, in yellow and red, half hidden by a balustrade, holding a tambourine above her head.

The figures stand in front of a portico with yellow, gray-blue, and pale red pillars and garlands between the arches. The two wide square pillars are red with yellow scrolling decoration and the spindle-shaped forms are an intense blue. From the central pediment pale red and yellow curtains are draped around two pillars, and a blue and yellow canopy, with garlands attached to it, hangs immediately above the statue. Curved balustrades of red, pink, gray, and blue marble extend on either side of the figures, each supporting three large red and yellow vases; dark green bushes with red fruit are growing in them. A yellow-fringed red drapery lies over the right balustrade. On the portico are two birds, the one on the right a blue and yellow peacock; above the pediment, standing on a dull



red and blue parasol-like structure, is a large brown and gray eagle, holding an olive branch.

Spindly red and yellow female herms, one on either side, with dark green leaves twined around their lower extremities, hold up a horizontal gray and pink marble bar that curves into an arch above the eagle. On this are two female busts with natural faces; they have white and gray wings and headdresses of red and white plumes. Below them are stiff hangings in blue, red, and yellow, with dangling tassels. Above the arch is a yellow and blue basket with red and green vine leaves and red and yellow grapes; on either side is a red and yellow stand with blue drapery and white smoke rising from it. The upper corners have scalloped fillings in red and yellow; blue-green leafy garlands fall from them. The floor is in tones of brown, red, yellow, and gray. A flight of three steps leads down from the floor in the center, with two dull red and yellow balls at the top. On either side of the steps is a trellis with thick dark green foliage and red flowers.

The main border shows scrolling brown and yellow leaves, with green, red, pink, yellow, and blue leaves, fruit, and flowers between them; it is framed by narrow borders of classical ornament in dull red and yellow. The guards are dark brown, with the inscription P · BE (Philippe Behagle) in orange in the lower right corner.

#### CONDITION

There are a few small repairs in the center and in the guards.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The statue, the girl kneeling on a goat, the boy holding the basket of flowers, and the small tambourine player behind the balustrade are all derived from figures in Poussin's *Triumph of Pan*, painted for Richelieu in 1635–36 and now in the National Gallery, London.<sup>1</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The mark of 64f shows that it was made while the manufactory was under the direction of Philippe Behagle, 1684–1705, or of his widow and son, 1705–11.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

No tapestries that can be positively identified as from the same set as 64f have been located. An *Animal Tamers* formerly owned by the donor of 64f and sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, January 13, 14, 1950 (no. 405, illus.), has a different border.

The *Pan* in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, might be a sixth piece of the set to which 64a–e belong, though it is recorded as slightly taller (3.05 m).<sup>2</sup> Another, with a frame border and a flight of steps at the bottom, is in Kronborg Castle, Denmark.<sup>3</sup> There are examples of *Pan* in the Bruchsal,<sup>4</sup> Aix,<sup>5</sup> castle of Náměšť, Victoria and Albert Museum, and Stockholm sets. The Bruchsal piece is slightly wider than 64f, but only one step of the stairs is visible; that at Aix is horizontal, wider and shorter than 64f, cut off at the upper bar, with a basket of flowers replacing the eagle, no motifs in the upper corners, another half-arch on either side, a bird in front of the left balustrade, and two steps. The Victoria and Albert *Pan* is wide and low, the upper edge cutting through the pediment; there are no steps and no birds above the arches, but there is one in front of the left balustrade. The Stockholm piece shows a complete staircase of six steps, with a peacock spreading its tail at the foot and parts of flower beds visible.<sup>6</sup> There are balls both at the top and at the bottom of the stairs. A piece in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco is much wider than 64f; it is cut off at the upper bar with the basket replacing the eagle. It has a trellis but no steps at the bottom, a bird in front of the left balustrade, and a chinoiserie border.<sup>7</sup> This border is also found on the *Pan* in the Stockholm National Museum, which is cut off at the upper bar with the basket replacing the eagle,<sup>8</sup> and on the piece in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which is close to 64f, but with the bird in front of the left balustrade. The example in the British Embassy, Brussels, is like the two other pieces in the set there.<sup>9</sup> An *entrefenêtre* in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, shows the right side of the design only; it has a complete flight of stairs with part of the peacock at the foot of them.<sup>10</sup>

There was a *Pan* in the Mrs. Shelswell-White sale, Christie's, November 22, 1956 (no. 140). Examples with chinoiserie borders were in the Lady Baron sale, Christie's, London, December 18, 1952 (no. 134, illus.), and an Hôtel Drouot sale, June 19, 1975 (no. 320, illus.); both of these are cut off at the upper bars, with the basket replacing the eagle, but the Baron piece is narrow, like 64f.

Another *Pan* with the same border, also cut off at the upper bar and narrow, but with no steps, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 22, 1983 (no. 115, illus.). A wide example with this border was sold at the Nouveau Drouot, Paris, December 12, 13, 1983 (no. 87, illus.), and was owned by the dealers Boccara and Chevalier in 1984.<sup>11</sup> One with a frame border was in the duc d'Avaray sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 23, 1915 (no. 230, illus.); no steps are visible and the herms supporting the upper bars are missing. The example formerly in the Mackay collection is nearly square; it is cut off at the upper bar, with the basket replacing the eagle, and has two arches on either side and no steps. It is signed "Behagle."<sup>12</sup> The *bastons rompus* border is also found on a *Pan* sold at Sotheby's, October 17, 1958 (no. 137, illus.), and November 24, 1978 (no. 100, illus.), and owned by the Paris dealer Jacqueline Boccara in 1982; this has four steps visible and the bird below the left balustrade. A wide example with a chinoiserie border sold at Christie's, June 22, 1939 (no. 159), may be the piece in the Stockholm National Museum. One formerly in the Brincart collection was lent anonymously to the exhibition *Jean Berain (1640–1711)* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, 1961 (cat. no. 66). An apparently unique border of grotesques, including two-tailed mermaids, is found on a *Pan* sold at Sotheby's, May 28, 1936 (no. 49, illus.); it has five steps with three large flowers lying on them.

The basic design of the central part of the *Offering to Pan* was used for four narrow tapestries that were in a private collection in France in 1946.<sup>13</sup> The whole portion under the pediment is replaced by the arms of the Sénozan family with doves as supporters; there is a complete flight of six steps with a peacock at the foot of the stairs. The girl holding a tambourine above her head was used in the unusual tapestry sold at Sotheby's, December 7, 1951 (no. 58, illus.).

One large piece of the series woven in Berlin uses the central figures of the *Offering to Pan*, reversed, but otherwise unchanged.<sup>14</sup>

## HISTORY

M. X... [Beer] sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 29, 1913, no. 75, illus. Bought by Fabre.<sup>15</sup>

Given to the MMA by Mrs. Guy Fairfax Cary, 1950.

## PUBLICATIONS

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 215. Mentioned as in the sale of the Beer estate, Paris, May 29, 1913.

MMA Annual Report 1950. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 10 (1951–52) p. 35. Mentioned, called after a design by Berain, about 1700.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Beauvais Tapestries Related to Berain." *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, fig. 5.

## NOTES

1. Dennis Farr, "Eighty Years On: The Achievements of the National Art Collections Fund in a Changing World," *Apollo* 117 (1983) p. 18, fig. 7.
2. *Exotisme et tapisserie au XVIII siècle*, exh. cat., Centre Culturel et Artistique Jean-Lurçat (Aubusson, 1983) no. 6, illus.
3. *Kronborg* (n.p., 1972) pl. 52. Previously sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, November 28, 1927, no. 113, illus.; the F. J. E. Horstman sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, November 19–21, 1929, no. 111, illus.; and Christie's, July 8, 1965, no. 181, illus.
4. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Un atelier de tapisseries français à Berlin au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 60 (1931) p. 211, illus.
5. Henri Algoud, *Les Tapisseries du Musée de l'Ancien Archevêché à Aix-en-Provence* (Marseille, 1931) p. 21, illus.
6. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) fig. 72.
7. Bennett, *Five Centuries*, pp. 225–27, illus.
8. Previously sold at Sotheby's, June 21, 1974, no. 12, illus.
9. Christopher Hussey, "The British Embassy, Brussels," *Country Life* 124 (September 11, 1958) p. 533, illus. fig. 3 (on wall of dining room).
10. Nina Biryukova, "Decoration and Diplomacy: Eighteenth-Century French Tapestries," *Apollo* 101 (1975) p. 458, fig. 1.
11. *Les Fastes de la tapisserie*, exh. cat., Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, 1984) no. 34.
12. George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries of Clarence H. Mackay* (New York, 1925) p. 69, illus.
13. Francis Salet, *La Tapisserie française* (Paris, 1946) pl. 83; *La Tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours*, exh. cat., Musée d'Art Moderne (Paris, 1946) nos. 152–55.
14. Weigert, "Un atelier," illus., p. 207, example then in the Reichstag, Berlin. This set was saved when the Reichstag was burned in 1933 (Hans Huth, "Zur Geschichte der Berliner Wirkteppiche," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 56 [1935] p. 88).
15. Three other pieces of the series in this sale (nos. 76, 77, not illus.) have different borders and are not from the same set as 64f.



## 65 Upholstery panels

Backs and seats for three chairs

French (Beauvais); designed and woven, 1696, for Count Carl Piper of Stockholm

Wool and silk.

Backs (65a, c, e) 2 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 9 in. (76 cm x 53 cm);

seats (65b, d, f) 2 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 4 in. (69 cm x 71 cm).

16 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.779 [65a, b];

14.40.780 [65c, d]; 14.40.781 [65e, f]).

### DESCRIPTION

All three backs have basically the same design, but 65a and c are almost exactly alike, except for slight differences in coloring and details, whereas 65e has different flowers in the vases at the upper corners and minor alterations elsewhere.

A medallion in the center of each back shows a blue monogram with two C's and two P's on a yellow ground. It has a red and yellow border and stands on crossed green and yellow laurel branches tied with a red ribbon on a red, yellow, and brown support. A red drapery with a yellow fringe, lined with pink and black, hangs behind from a shell motif in red and pale yellow. A red and yellow vase, filled with red, blue, pink, and white flowers, with green and black foliage, stands on either side of the main motif, with a twisting vine in green, brown, red, and yellow winding around it. The columns stand on brown, gray, and purple supports, largely covered with red, yellow, and brown drapery with tassels. At the sides are dangling motifs in red, yellow, and brown. At the top of each panel are two scrolling forms, possibly intended to represent crossed C's, in gray, pink, white, and red. The background is yellow.

All the seats are alike, except for minor differences in coloring. The central motif is the same as that on the backs, except that the monogram is in red and yellow on a blue ground and has a red ribbon above it. The drapery hangs from a blue canopy with red and yellow details. Scrolling forms, strapwork, and other small motifs in red, blue, pink, yellow, brown, and black surround the central figure. The background is dull yellow.

65e,f



## CONDITION

There are extensive areas of repair on all the pieces, especially on the seats. Many silk passages are entirely rewoven.

## SUBJECT

The monogram C.P. on both backs and seats stands for Count (or Carl) Piper, the Swedish chancellor.<sup>1</sup> The design and the coloring show that the upholstery was made to accompany a set of the *Berain Grotesques* made for this statesman in 1695–96. The furniture consisted of six armchairs and six side chairs.<sup>2</sup>

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The designs were especially made for Count Piper's furniture coverings, commissioned by Baron Daniel Cronström, a Swedish representative in Paris, in 1696.<sup>3</sup> The designer could not therefore have been the artist responsible for the *Berain Grotesques*, Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, as he went to England in 1690.

## WEAVER AND DATE

The manufactory that produced Carl Piper's furniture covers was presumably Beauvais, as his wall hangings en suite had been made there. Its director in 1696, when the upholstery was commissioned, was Philippe Behagle. He also had a workshop in Paris, where the covers may have been woven; Cronström wrote in 1698 that he employed the best Beauvais and Gobelins weavers there.<sup>4</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

A chair back and two chair seats of the same set have been published as in the Swedish National Collection,<sup>5</sup> and four chair seats and three backs are in the National Museum, Stockholm.<sup>6</sup> Another chair back, mounted as a screen, is owned by C. G. Stjerswärd, Sövdeborg Castle, Sweden.<sup>7</sup> A small panel with musicians on a yellow ground owned by the London dealer Mayorcas in 1974 may have been made for a screen en suite with the series.

## HISTORY

Made for the Swedish chancellor Count Carl Piper, April–October 1696.<sup>8</sup>  
Bequeathed to the MMA by Benjamin Altman, 1913.

## PUBLICATIONS

*Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*. MMA, New York, 1914, p. 150. Tapestries called Beauvais, about 1680, in the manner of Berain; monogram, read as P.C., said to bear out statement that this upholstery was formerly the property of the prince de Condé who built Chantilly.

Hunter, George Leland. "The Tapestries of the Altman Collection." *Arts and Decoration* 5 (1915) p. 52, illus. (one) p. 93.

*Les Relations artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718: Nicodème Tessin le jeune et Daniel Cronström, correspondance (extraits)*. National Museum, Skriftserie 10. Stockholm, 1964, pp. 119, 131, 136, 149, 151, 171, 179, 231. Account of the commissioning of tapestry covers for six armchairs and six side chairs for Count Carl Piper by Baron Daniel Cronström in Paris, in his letters to Nicodemus Tessin in Stockholm.

Standen, Edith A. "Some Beauvais Tapestries Related to Berain." *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, pp. 212, 214–16, fig. 12. Account of Piper commission taken from the *Relations artistiques*; identification of extant chair covers.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: IV. Baroque and Régence." *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 34, fig. 6.

## NOTES

1. The monogram was formerly read as P.C. and thought to refer to the prince of Condé. The absence of a princely crown makes this suggestion extremely unlikely and no such use is known to the curator of the Musée Condé, Chantilly.
2. *Relations artistiques*, p. 93, Cronström letter of August 19, 1695.
3. *Relations artistiques*, pp. 171, 179, Cronström letters of June 21/11 and September 20/10, 1697.
4. *Relations artistiques*, p. 188, Cronström letter of February 21/11, 1698.
5. John Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af Väfda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1898) vol. 3, p. 68, illus. (example of back and seat).
6. Carl Hernmarck, "Avdelningen för konsthantverk," *Nationalmusei Årsbok*, 1934, p. 140, fig. 95. Identified as from set made for Carl Piper.
7. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1978), p. 257, color pl. xiv. Called a fire screen designed by Jean Berain and woven at Beauvais late in the seventeenth century.
8. Standen, "Some Beauvais Tapestries," pp. 212–16.

## 66 The Audience of the Emperor

From the series *The Story of the Emperor of China*

French (Beauvais); designed about 1685–90 by Guy Vernansal (1648–1729), Jean Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), and Jean Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699), and woven in the late seventeenth or first third of the eighteenth century.

Name of manufactory (inserted).

Wool and silk.

10 ft. 3 1/2 in. x 15 ft. 3 1/4 in. (3.14 m x 4.65 m).

19–20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. J. Insley Blair, 1948 (48.71).

### DESCRIPTION

The emperor, who has a long gray mustache, wears a brown and dull red fur cap, with yellow peacock feathers; a blue robe decorated in yellow; yellow sleeves, sash, stockings, and slippers, decorated in red; a red scarf fastened to his left shoulder, and a yellow sword with red jewels. He sits on a red cushion at the top of a low flight of steps covered with an Oriental rug in red, yellow, brown, and blue, lined with dark blue. Behind him rises a yellow structure, like the back of a throne, studded with red and blue stones, with dull yellow peacock feathers at the top, a blue winged monster with red eyes peering out from the half dome, a pale brown panel with fanciful black lettering behind the emperor's head, two sphinx-like creatures ending in snakes at the top of the arms, and two winged lionesses with red eyes at the base. On the left, a gray and brown elephant with a dark blue and dull yellow covering advances from behind the throne, with a man in red, blue, gray, and yellow holding its blue reins. On the right, an attendant in brown, yellow, and red holds a blue flag and shield. On the rug at the right is a gray and yellow perfume burner. Three men in pale yellow, decorated in red and blue, pale red, and pale blue, all with yellow soles to their dull pink shoes, prostrate themselves beside it, and a fourth man, in red with blue sleeves and leg coverings, kneels and raises his hands.

On the far left, a woman, presumably the empress, approaches, sitting in a brown and yellow two-wheeled chariot. She wears a yellow headdress, with yellow and blue gems, a pale blue dress over a yellow petticoat, and a

red and pink cloak, all richly jeweled. She holds a red, blue, and yellow feather fan. An attendant behind her in a red cap, white scarf, blue coat, and pink sleeves holds a large gray-lined red parasol edged with peacock feathers, and a partly seen woman in red and yellow puts her hand on the back of the chariot. In front of it, two men, dressed in red and yellow feathers, kneel and bow deeply to the emperor; they are attached to the chariot by pale blue bands.<sup>1</sup> On the right is a gray and blue bowl or basket filled with fruit; yellow-brown bananas, red cherries, and pink and yellow pomegranates can be identified. Two pineapples, one pink with red leaves, one pale yellow with green, and two large dark green and pale yellow gourds rest on the yellow-gray and brown tiled floor beside it. Farther to the right is a gray table supporting blue and white cups, a tall yellow and brown teapot, and a large yellow-gray and blue covered vase resting on a piece of red-lined dark blue drapery with a yellow fringe; on a shelf below the table is another gray and blue vase.

The figures are framed by a fantastic red and yellow arched pavilion or kiosk, standing on eight spindly columns that terminate above as pairs of intertwined dragons. Swags of flowers and leaves in red, pink, lavender, blue, green, and white hang from the tops of the columns and a huge dark dull pink curtain falls from the four innermost ones to form a backdrop for the emperor; where its other side is seen, above and at the sides, it is dull yellow with a blue pattern. The roofs and vaults of the pavilion are blue and yellow outside, red with yellow or brown tracery inside. At each end is an ornament of red and white feathers and a pale yellow, red, and blue statue of a dragon; in the center is a brown-lined red, blue, and pale yellow parasol above a tuft of blue and red feathers. On the roof at the left is a blue, red, and yellow parrot, on the right, a red and blue one. Other blue, gray, brown, and yellow birds fly in the sky or perch on the excrescences of the roofs. The sky is blue above, gray, white, and pale yellow below.

A landscape in pale tones of yellow, gray, and blue is seen in the distance on both sides, with pagodas, Chinese roofs, and palm trees. Two warriors in green, blue, and









red are seen to the waist behind the backdrop drapery on the left. In the lower right corner in dark brown is the inscription BEAUVAIS; this is on an inserted band and is not original.

The acanthus border is in dull yellow and red-brown, simulating a carved wooden frame. The guard, preserved on the left side only, is dark brown.

#### CONDITION

An area around the two kneeling men in feathers is a replacement. There are small patches of repair throughout, especially in the sky. Bare warps are visible in some dark brown or black passages.

#### SUBJECT

The series shows scenes from the everyday life of a Chinese emperor, probably intended to represent Kangxi, and his empress. They have been given the modern titles of the *Audience of the Emperor*, the *Emperor on a Journey*, the *Astronomers*, the *Collation*, *Harvesting Pineapples*, the *Return from the Hunt*, the *Emperor Sailing*, the *Empress Sailing*, and the *Empress's Tea*.<sup>2</sup> A tenth title, *Gathering Tea*, has been listed,<sup>3</sup> but no example of the tapestry has ever been identified and no early references to a tapestry with this subject have been located. The set of ten pieces that was made for the comte de Toulouse apparently included two versions of the *Journey*, one wide and one a narrow upright. The absence of martial subjects is noticeable. Pineapples were not grown in France until 1733.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A memorandum by Philippe Behagle, in charge of the manufactory from 1684 to 1705, lists some of the tapestries he had made, including a series called "*Chinoise faict par quatre illustre peintre [sic]*." In a list of 1731, the "*tenture du dessein des Chinois, par les sieurs Baptiste, Fontenay et Vernensal*" is included.<sup>4</sup> "Baptiste" was the name by which Monnoyer was usually known and it seems virtually certain that he was one of the designers of this series. He had, however, been dead for over thirty



years when the list naming him was compiled and it has been suggested that another artist with the same Christian name, Jean Baptiste Martin, may have been meant.<sup>5</sup> But Martin was attached to the Gobelins manufactory as “premier peintre de conquêtes du roi,” and his known works are battle paintings, landscapes (especially views of Versailles), and portraits. Both Monnoyer and Belin de Fontenay were primarily flower painters, so it seems probable that Vernansal, whose known works are figure pieces, was chiefly responsible; this supposition is supported by the existence of two examples of the *Collation* inscribed “Vernansal Invt. et Pint”;<sup>6</sup> two of his paintings in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orleans, are similarly signed.<sup>7</sup> For the emperor, the artist had adapted the figure on the title page of Johan Nieuhof's *L'Ambassade de la Compagnie orientale des Provinces Unies vers l'Empereur de la Chine* (Amsterdam, 1665);<sup>8</sup> one of the chief figures in the *Astronomers* is related to the portrait of the Jesuit father Adam Schall in Athanasius Kircher's *China Monumentis* (1667).<sup>9</sup> The inspiration for the arches and vaulting, especially in the *Emperor Sailing* and the *Empress Sailing*, is clearly late Gothic architecture. A contract entered into by Vernansal with M. de Platen, an officer of the king of Denmark, who was represented by Jean Berain, in 1704, called for designs for twenty narrow upright tapestries. One painting, to cost 1000 *livres*, was to consist of “architectures, figures et ornements” and would also be used for the nineteen others, “sauf pour le sujet du milieu qui sera différent”; the central designs were to be furnished to Gilles Bacor, a Paris weaver, to be reproduced by basse lisse.<sup>10</sup> Though nothing is known of these tapestries, the contract shows that Vernansal could be asked to make designs with important architectural elements.

If Monnoyer was among the artists, his part in the designs must have been completed before he went to England to work on the decoration of Montagu House in 1690.<sup>11</sup> A date of 1685–90 for the designs is probable for other reasons. The first weaving of the series, with gold (rarely used at Beauvais), was bought by the duc de Maine; he, though only fifteen, gave a scientific instrument that he had had made for his own use to the Jesuit missionaries when they left for China in 1685. The immense interest aroused by this mission may well have given rise to the conception of the series, or the first set may have been commissioned by the duc du Maine.<sup>12</sup> An alternative date is shortly after 1697, when one of the

Jesuits, Father Bouvet, returned to France,<sup>13</sup> but in this case Monnoyer could not have been among the designers. The style of the designs is another argument in favor of the earlier date.<sup>14</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

There is no clear indication of when 66 was woven, but it was certainly before 1732, when a visiting committee reported that the cartoons were so worn out that “on n’y distingue presque plus rien . . . on n’en peut plus faire d’usage.”<sup>15</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A *Journey* and a *Harvesting Pineapples* were with 66 in the L. and R. Hamot collection in 1911.<sup>16</sup> Both have the same border as 66; *Harvesting Pineapples*, formerly in the George Widener collection and now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is the same height and may be from the same set, but the *Journey* is fifty centimeters higher. 66 is unusually low; tapestries of the series are generally from ten to thirteen feet high. Elaborate borders are found on the armorial sets, the chinoiserie borders of some of the *Berain Grotesques* appear on the *Audience*, *Journey*, *Emperor Sailing*, and *Empress's Tea* in the Louvre,<sup>17</sup> and an eighteenth-century border with Chinese heads in medallions was used for later sets, but the acanthus border of 66, with minimal variations, is far and away the most common. This makes any attempt to identify scattered pieces as belonging to the same set almost impossible.

According to Behagle's memorandum, the first set of the *Chinese* series, woven with gold, was “vendu par M. d'Isrode à Monseigneur le duc du Maine.”<sup>18</sup> Such a rich set, unusual at Beauvais, must have been a commission, and, despite the mention of M. d'Isrode as an intermediary (he bought two later sets, certainly for resale), it seems very likely that it was made for the duc du Maine. The inventory of the Hôtel du Maine, Paris, made in 1736 after his death, includes “*Des Chinois avec des portiques*, Beauvais, 3 pieces rehausées d'or. 3 pieces 9 aunes de cours sur 3 1/2.”<sup>19</sup> Nothing more is known of this set, though an *Emperor Sailing* with gold thread in a private collection has been published.<sup>20</sup> Another set, according to Behagle, was “faite pour Monseigneur le comte de Toulouse” at a cost of 10,565 *livres* instead of the 20,000 his

brother paid. It is listed in the 1718 inventory of Rambouillet, the comte's château, where it is called "l'histoire du roi de la Chine, sur trois aunes et demi de haut, manufacture de Beauvais, faite par Behagle." Six pieces were in the *antichambre du roi*, three in the *chambre du roi*, and one in a storeroom above the stables.<sup>21</sup> Six of these are certainly number 8 in the sale of Louis Philippe's tapestries on January 25–27, 1852; their height, 4.2 meters, corresponds exactly to 3½ aunes. The subjects are the *Empress's Tea*, *Emperor on a Journey*, *Collation*, *Astronomers*, *Return from the Hunt*, and *Harvesting Pineapples*. All but the first are in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.<sup>22</sup> They have the names of Behagle and Vernansal and are recorded as having belonged to the duchesse d'Uzès and as brought to the United States to be sold in 1926.<sup>23</sup> Two other tapestries of the series, the *Empress Sailing* and the *Emperor Sailing*, were number 13 in the Louis Philippe sale; they also had the Toulouse arms, but were only 3.55 meters high. Two wide tapestries with these arms, an *Audience* and another *Journey*, owned by Louis Philippe, were not included in his sale, as they were acquired by the empress Eugénie; she placed them in the Palace of Compiègne, where they remain.<sup>24</sup> Behagle listed two other sets as sold to M. d'Isrode, one for 14,000 and the other for 10,000 livres, which have not been identified.

A list by de Mérou of the tapestries woven between 1722 and 1742 includes among the *tapisseries fines* a set of six pieces of the *Chinois* made for the Garde des Sceaux; this was Joseph Jean Baptiste Fleuriau d'Armenonville, appointed to this office in 1722. Five pieces of this set, *Journey*, *Audience*, *Astronomers*, *Collation*, and *Harvesting Pineapples*, were in the Château de Lumigny sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 12, 1937 (nos. A–E, three illus.); the *Collation* was in a private collection in Paris in 1964.<sup>25</sup> They have Fleuriau's arms with emblems of his office in the upper and lower borders; the *Audience* and the *Journey* are wide pieces, the *Astronomers* square, and the others narrow uprights. Two portieres with new designs by Jacques Duplessis and with Fleuriau d'Armenonville's arms were added to the set; they were signed by the artist and dated 1724. In 1975 they were owned by the Paris dealer J. Kugel, but they were destroyed by fire later in the same year.<sup>26</sup> The *Journey* was looted from M. Jansen in World War II.<sup>27</sup>

Two sets of six pieces each are listed in another statement of de Mérou's, dated 1731, both of them then stored

in Paris. One had been made in 1724; five pieces of the other had been completed in 1725 and the sixth was still on the loom. In 1732, an inventory made by official inspectors included a set of six pieces in storage.<sup>28</sup> One of these might be a set of six pieces (*Journey*, *Collation*, *Audience*, *Astronomers*, *Empress's Tea*, and *Harvesting Pineapples*) in the Bavarian National Collection;<sup>29</sup> the borders are eighteenth-century in style, with fantastic Chinese heads, probably after the designs by Rolly mentioned in the 1732 Beauvais inventory.<sup>30</sup>

What is described as a set of nine pieces was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, May 30, 1973 (nos. A–I, all illus.); all the known subjects except the *Empress Sailing* are included and there are two examples of the *Empress's Tea*. This duplication of a subject suggests that the nine pieces do not, in fact, constitute a single original set. Other indications leading to this conclusion are the lack of borders on the illustrations of the *Audience*, the *Astronomers*, and the *Collation*; the metal thread said to be present only on the *Return from the Hunt* and the *Emperor Sailing*; the heights of the pieces with borders varying from 3.05 meters to 3.64 meters; and the fact that the *Audience* was in the Mme Ridgway sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 3, 1904, and the Palazzo Labia sale, Venice, April 6–10, 1964.

Another set of six pieces was owned by the comte du Manoir at the Château de Juaye in 1925. It includes the *Audience*, *Astronomers*, *Empress's Tea*, and *Harvesting Pineapples*, with two other subjects, and has acanthus borders.<sup>31</sup> Five pieces, with Chinese-heads borders, were in Schloss Hermsdorf, near Dresden, owned by the Schönburg-Waldenburg family in 1904; they are the *Journey*, *Audience*, *Harvesting Pineapples*, *Empress's Tea*, and *Collation*.<sup>32</sup> All but the last are in the Hermitage, Lenin-grad.<sup>33</sup> A set with the arms of Prince Clement Augustus of Cologne is said to have been sold by a Berlin dealer to a Russian collector shortly before 1914;<sup>34</sup> the *Journey* presumably from this set was in the Baron James de Rothschild sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, December 1, 1966 (no. 104, illus.), and it and the *Emperor Sailing* had been sold at the Hôtel Drouot, December 10, 1948 (nos. 76, 77, illus.).

Individual pieces or sets of from two to four pieces are numerous. The *Audience*, *Journey*, and *Collation* are the subjects most frequently found; the *Empress Sailing*<sup>35</sup> and the *Return from the Hunt*<sup>36</sup> are the least common.

The *Audience* is always a wide tapestry. At Luton Hoo

it is paired with the *Return from the Hunt*, which, except for the figures and an enlargement of the throne, is an exact repetition of the design of the *Audience*. The *Astronomers* and the *Journey* are also found as wide pieces, the other subjects only as square panels or narrow uprights. The *Audience* at Compiègne shows a taller composition. The throne is on a platform raised on three steps; the empress's chariot and the two slaves who pull it are on the ground below the steps. A long-legged bird and a peacock are seen on either side of the rug and a large plant appears in the bottom right-hand corner. The *Audience* with the arms of Fleuriau d'Armenonville probably repeats this design,<sup>37</sup> as does the example in the Munich Residenz, with the addition of a small striped animal at the foot of the steps, between two birds. The Hermitage piece is like the Munich example, but without the parasol from above the pavilion. The Château de Juaye example is wider than 66, showing the complete figure of the woman with her hand on the chariot and the complete table on the right, with another vessel to the right of the large vase.

The *Audience* was woven many times. Individual pieces include one in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco;<sup>38</sup> there are two steps, but the chariot is on the platform and the two slaves seem to bury their heads under the rug, as they do in 66. The peacock is present, but not the two other creatures. Two examples in the Louvre show the chariot below the steps; the two birds, the animal, and the large plant are all included. One piece has a chinoiserie border on three sides, the other has a narrow simple border.<sup>39</sup> A very wide example is owned by the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Paris; there are three people behind the chariot and a standing man beside the table on the right. He also appears on a version that was in the Olive collection, Leningrad, in 1916, but which has only the usual two people behind the chariot.<sup>40</sup> At Luton Hoo, the design is that of the Munich piece, but with an acanthus border.<sup>41</sup> The *Audience* has appeared in many sales, with or without the steps, the animals, and the large plant, and with a small or a large parasol-like structure between the arches of the pavilion. Examples include: Mme Ridgway sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 3, 1904 (no. 120, illus., no borders, with birds, but no animal), later in the Charles de Beistegui sale, Palazzo Labia, Venice, April 6–10, 1964 (no. 579a, illus.), and sold again at the Palais Galliera, Paris, May 30, 1973 (no. 1, illus.); Hermann Ball and Paul Graupe sale, Berlin, March 15, 1933 (no. 66,

illus., from the Baron Albert de Goldschmidt collection, like San Francisco, but with a different border); Hôtel Drouot sale, Paris, March 14, 1933 (no. 104, illus., like Munich, but with an acanthus border and a large parasol); Comtesse de F... sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1959 (no. 132, illus., close to but not identical with Drouot, 1933); Christie's sale, March 19, 1964 (no. 15, illus., from the Roussel sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 25–28, 1912, no. 266, illus., and the Concepción Unzué de Casares collection, Buenos Aires,<sup>42</sup> like Munich, but with an acanthus border). An example in a private collection was exhibited at Caen in 1965;<sup>43</sup> another was in a private collection in 1958,<sup>44</sup> having been sold at Sotheby's, October 31, 1952 (no. 59, illus., much enlarged on either side, with two extra foreground figures);<sup>45</sup> another belonged to Mrs. John A. Logan, New York, in 1922, and another is in the Singraven collection, Dene-kamp, the Netherlands. A piece showing only the group on the left, combined with the peacock and the bowl of fruit, was in the V... sale, Hôtel Drouot, December 2, 1938 (no. 118, illus.). An unusually low example with the upper border cutting through the arches of the pavilion, is in a private collection in Paris;<sup>46</sup> it has borders with grotesque heads (not Chinese) in central medallions on each side. A narrow version with only one person behind the chariot and cut off on the right behind the teapot was in the Paul Morand sale, Palais d'Orsay, Paris, November 17, 1977 (no. 273 bis, illus.).

The design was copied by the Berlin weaver Jean Barraband II in 1713; the composition was reversed and the background greatly simplified. The pavilion, in a much less elaborate form, was also used as a background in some of the six other tapestries that make up Barraband's series, known as the *Mongol Emperor*. A complete set of this series was in Schloss Schlobitten in East Prussia before World War II<sup>47</sup> and one of five pieces was in Schloss Feldsberg, Moravia, owned by Prince Liechtenstein, in 1935.<sup>48</sup> An *Audience*, possibly from one of these sets, was in a private collection in Athens in 1972. Andreas Pirot, the Würzburg weaver, also adapted the pavilion as a background for the *Banquet* in his *Venetian Carnival* series of 1738–50, a panorama of Venice replacing the Chinese landscape of the Beauvais design.<sup>49</sup>

Boucher used the same general arrangement for the *Audience* in his Chinese tapestry series.<sup>50</sup>

The temple with an astronomer standing at the foot of

its steps, seen in some versions of the *Astronomers* and the *Journey*, was copied by the English weaver Joshua Morris on a signed tapestry offered for sale by Viscount Sidmouth at Christie's, April 23, 1953 (no. 155, illus.), and sold by the same owner at Sotheby's, November 23, 1979 (no. 3, illus.).<sup>51</sup>

## HISTORY

In the L. and R. Hamot collection, France, 1911.  
Owned by French & Co., New York, 1925.  
In the William Randolph Hearst collection until 1943.  
Lent to the MMA by Mrs. J. Insley Blair, 1943–48.  
Given to the MMA by Mrs. J. Insley Blair, 1948.

## EXHIBITION

Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1911. *La Chinoiserie en Europe au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Catalogue preface by Jacques Guérin, no. 67. Lent by MM. L. and R. Hamot.

## PUBLICATIONS

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 162, pl. XI, b. As owned by P. W. French & Co. Mark said to indicate completion after Behagle's death.  
MMA *Annual Report* 1943, p. 34. Mentioned as lent by Mrs. J. Insley Blair.  
MMA *Annual Report* 1948. In MMA *Bulletin*, n.s. 8 (1949–50) p. 28. Listed among gifts of 1948.  
Standen, Edith A. *Western European Arts: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to the Collections*. New York, 1964, p. 26, fig. 31. Dated 1722–34.  
Jarry, Madeleine. "Chinoiseries à la mode de Beauvais." *Plaisir de France* 41 (May 1975) p. 56. Mentioned.  
Standen, Edith A. "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series." *MMA Journal* 11 (1976) pp. 103–17, fig. 1. Examples of all pieces of the series listed and illustrated, Vernansal named as the principal designer, first weaving associated with the visit of a Chinese convert to Versailles in 1684.  
Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1970: VI. Some Exotic Subjects." *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 44, fig. 1.

## NOTES

1. Restorations have made these two figures, presumably slaves, hard to interpret, but other variations of the tapestry show that they pull the chariot.

2. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) no. 54, pp. 174–76.
3. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 15, n. 2, as "La Récolte du thé" in a series of six subjects.
4. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 13, 21.
5. Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 170.
6. *Antiquarian* 1, no. 2 (September 1923) illus. p. 2 (said to be in a private collection, New York); *Cicerone* 20 (1928) illus. p. 45 (owned by the dealer Hermann Ball, Berlin); sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, May 30, 1973, no. G, illus.
7. Mary O'Neill, *Les Peintures de l'École française des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Catalogue critique*, Musée des Beaux-Arts (Orléans, 1982) nos. 193, 194.
8. Standen, "Emperor of China," fig. 4.
9. Standen, "Emperor of China," fig. 6. The figure in the tapestries has been taken to represent Father Schall (Oskar Münsterberg, *Bayern und Asien im XVI., XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert* [Leipzig, 1895] p. 11), and it resembles his portrait in Athanasius Kircher, *China Monumentis* (Amsterdam, 1667) pl. facing p. 112 (see Standen, "Emperor of China," p. 106). But he died in 1666 and the figure may be intended for Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), his successor as Director of the Bureau of Astronomy in Peking (Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3 [Cambridge, 1959] p. 444, n.g.). This identification was made by P. A. Jehl in a letter of April 4, 1958.
10. Daniel Wildenstein, *Documents inédits sur les artistes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1966) pp. 157–58.
11. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537–1837*, vol. 1 (London, 1962) p. 255.
12. J. C. Gatty, *Voyage de Siam du Père Bouvet* (Leiden, 1963) pp. LVII, LXXII, LXXIII, 16. The astronomical instruments seen in the *Astronomers* are described (p. LXXII, n. 5) as recognizably those used by the Jesuits in Peking.
13. Henri Bernard-Maitre, *Tapisseries chinoises de François Boucher à Pékin*, Variétés d'Orientalisme, fascicule no. 1 (Paris, n.d.) pp. 3, 4, figs. 1–4.
14. F. J. B. Watson, "The Paris Collections of Madame B. 2: French Eighteenth-Century Objects of Art," *Connoisseur* 155 (1964) p. 73.
15. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 78.
16. Guérin, *Chinoiserie*, p. 9, pls. 2, 3. A *Collation* is captioned (pl. 4) as also in the Hamot collection, but the text states that it belonged to M. Fabre. Though it has the same border, it is 40 cm higher than 66 and probably does not belong to the same set.
17. Standen, "Emperor of China," figs. 15, 18.
18. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 13.
19. Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700–1750)*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1971) p. 1086.
20. Jarry, "Chinoiseries," p. 56, fig. 6.
21. Auguste Moutié and Adolphe de Dion, "Quelques documents sur le duché-pairie de Rambouillet," *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société Archéologique de Rambouillet* 7, pt. 2 (1884–86) pp. 207, 208, 227.
22. "Some Acquisitions in the Department of Decorative Arts, The J. Paul Getty Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984) p. 384.
23. "Sammler und Markt: Vom Amerikanischen Kunstmarkt," *Cicerone* 18 (1926) pp. 271–72.
24. Max Terrier, *Le Palais de Compiègne* (Paris, 1959), p. 34, no. 89, pl. 87 (*Emperor on a Journey*), pl. 89 (*Audience*).

25. Watson, "The Paris Collections of Madame B.," p. 72, illus. in color.
26. Jarry, "Chinoiseries," fig. 5 (one); Standen, "Emperor of China," p. 114.
27. Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939-1945*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1947) p. 354, no. 107, illus.
28. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 21, 78.
29. Hans Toma, Herbert Brunner, and Gerhard Hojer, *Residenz München* (Munich, 1979) pp. 48, 49 (*Collation, Audience, Astronomers, and Harvesting Pineapples* listed, *Audience* illus.); Madeleine Jarry, *World Tapestry* (New York, 1969) illus. p. 226 (detail of *Harvesting Pineapples*); *Bildteppiche aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, exh. cat., Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Hamburg, 1953) no. 61, pl. 39 (*Audience*); Standen, "Emperor of China," fig. 14 (*Collation*).
30. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 26; Standen, "Emperor of China," p. 114.
31. Albert Maumené, "Le Château de Juaye," *Vie à la Campagne* 22 no. 259 (January 1, 1925) pp. 20-23 (illus. *Audience, Astronomers, and Empress's Tea*).
32. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen: 26. Amtshauptmannschaft Dresden-Neustadt* (Dresden, 1904) p. 21, figs. 23 (*Empress's Tea*), 24 (*Collation*).
33. N. Birioukova, *Les Tapisseries françaises de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les Collections de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1974) nos. 57-60.
34. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 221.
35. Examples were in the Leo Spik sale, Bad Kissingen, June 10-11, 1960, no. 245, illus.; the Comtesse da F... sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1959, no. 129, illus.; and a sale at the Palais Galliera, March 7, 1967, no. 152, illus.; Standen, "Emperor of China," fig. 16 (1959 sale example).
36. Standen, "Emperor of China," fig. 3 (example owned by the city of Paris). Another is in the Wernher collection at Luton Hoo (M. Urwick Smith, *The History and Treasures of Luton Hoo, the Wernher Collection* [n.p., 1966] p. 12, illus. on dining room wall). Others were in the Baronne de Gargan sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 6, 1905, no. 70 (in three pieces), and the Comtesse da F... sale, no. 130, illus.; the latter was sold again at the Monte Carlo Sporting d'Hiver, November 11, 1984, no. 155a, illus. One was sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, December 10, 1979, no. 87, illus.
37. It is not illustrated in the catalogue of the Château de Lumigny sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 12, 1937.
38. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) no. 69.
39. Eveline Schlumberger, "La collection Grog ira au Louvre," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 261 (November 1973) pp. 116, 117, illus.
40. A. Troubnikoff, S. Ernst, V. Chambers, and S. Troinitzky, "La collection H. P. et M. S. Olive à Pétrograd" (in Russian), *Starye Gody*, 1916, pt. 1, sec. 2, illus. facing p. 30.
41. Smith, *Luton Hoo*, illus. p. 11.
42. *Exposición de tapices*, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo (Buenos Aires, 1939) cat. no. 78, illus. Christie's catalogue stated that the piece came from the Château de Juaye, but the *Audience* of that set is wider.
43. *Exposition J. B. Blin de Fontenay (1653-1715)*, exh. cat., Hôtel d'Escoville (Caen, 1965) no. 5, illus. (detail).
44. *Le Dix-septième Siècle français*, Collection Connaissance des Arts (Paris, 1958) pp. 136, 228, illus., dated about 1690.
45. Possibly identical with the piece in the Baronne de Gargan sale, no. 69, which is described as enlarged.
46. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 137, illus.; Carl Grommelt and Christine von Mertens, *Das Dohnasche Schloss Schlobitten in Ostpreussen*, Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des deutschen Ostens, ser. B, vol. 5 (Stuttgart 1962) pp. 253-64, *Audience* illus. pl. 205.
47. Hans Huth, "Zur Geschichte der Berliner Wirkteppiche," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 56 (1935) pp. 88-91, *Audience* illus. pl. 1.
48. Winfried Baer, "Ausgewählte Werke des Kunsthandwerks: Erwerbungen der Berliner Schlosserverwaltung in der Nachkriegszeit," *Festschrift für Margarete Kühn*, ed. Martin Sperlich and Helmut Börsch-Supan (Munich and Berlin, 1975) p. 135.
49. Heinrich Kreisel, "Die Würzburger Gobelmanufacture und ihre Erzeugnisse," *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kunst* 4 (1952) p. 167, pl. 8.
50. *China und Europa: Chinaverständnis und Chinamode im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, exh. cat., Schloss Charlottenburg (Berlin, 1973) pp. 286, 287, no. 01, illus. (sketch in Besançon).
51. Edith A. Standen, "English Tapestries 'After the Indian Manner,'" *MMA Journal* 15 (1980) pp. 139, 141, fig. 37.



## 67 Boreas and Orithyia

From a set of scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

French (Beauvais); designed by René Antoine Houasse  
(1644/45–1710) about 1690; woven before 1730.  
Wool, silk, and metal thread.  
11 ft. 9 in. x 14 ft. 10 in. (3.58 m x 4.52 m).  
19–22 warps per inch, 7–9 per centimeter.  
Gift of Francis L. Kellogg, 1977 (1977.435).

### DESCRIPTION

Boreas, who has yellow hair, brown and gray wings, and a dull red costume, has seized Orithyia, who is dressed in blue with a yellow wrap. A piece of pale pink drapery flies out behind and above the couple and a gray dust cloud rises below them. A kneeling girl in pink and lavender grasps an end of the wrap; she has a red ribbon in her fair hair and blue straps to her sandal. Another girl, in pink with a blue drapery, lies prone in front of her. Two more, on the right, hide under a piece of red and pink drapery; one, with fair hair, is in dull orange, the other, who has brown hair, is in a dark blue-gray dress. A white basket full of red and blue flowers with green foliage stands beside them. Two girls flee on the left. One is in green; the other, in blue with a pink belt, holds a dull yellow and brown basket of red, white, and purple flowers. Her sandal straps are red. A third girl, with yellow hair, kneels in front of them and turns to look at the abduction; she has a green and pale yellow dress and a red cloak. Her right hand rests on a brown and pale yellow basket filled with red, pink, and white flowers, with green leaves; a garland in the same colors falls from the top of the basket across her knee.

The elaborate garden architecture in the background is in shades of pale gray and blue; two remote figures in pale pink and blue stand behind a balustrade. There are many pale green and yellow trees. Large trees with brown trunks and green and yellow leaves rise on either side of the central scene. The foreground is in shades of dark green and brown, with many small plants in lighter greens, some with red, white, and pink flowers. A dark gray rock is seen on the right. The sky is pale yellow-gray.

The border has a brown ground, with motifs of canopies, baskets, flaming torches, shells, garlands, bows, rib-

bons, scrolls, quivers, fronds, and animal legs (at the lower corners) in red, pink, blue, yellow, brown, and green. Metal thread, probably originally silver gilt, is used for details. The guards (modern) are dark brown.

### CONDITION

The sky was probably originally blue. There are small areas of repair in the central field. The border, though of the period, may not be original to the tapestry, which has apparently been slightly cut at the top and sides. The border itself has been horizontally cut on both sides about two-thirds of the way up. Some reweaving along the edges and at the corners has been carried out.

### SUBJECT

The story of Boreas and Orithyia is told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (book 6, lines 682–710). Orithyia (or Oreithyia), daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, was loved by Boreas, the North Wind. When he could not persuade her father to favor his suit, he carried her off to Thrace, where he married her. Boreas, as a Wind, is always shown winged.

Five other subjects were certainly included in the series, *Pan and Syrinx*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Alpheus and Arethusa*, *Cephalus and Procris*, and *Diana and Callisto*.<sup>1</sup> The existence of two more subjects is established by a memorandum of 1722.<sup>2</sup> *Diana's Repose*, *Diana and Endymion*, and the *Abduction of Europa* were probably part of the series,<sup>3</sup> which may also have included a *Bacchus and Ariadne*.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A document of August 19, 1690, in which the head of the Beauvais manufactory, Behagle, listed nine sets of tapestries, included one of six pieces of the *Metamorphoses* with large figures designed by Houasse.<sup>4</sup> Another list compiled by a later director, Noël Antoine de Mérou, in 1731, included three sets of *Metamorphoses*, “qui représentent l'Enlèvement d'Orithie par Borée et autres du







même sujet, du dessin du sieur Houasse."<sup>5</sup> The *Alpheus and Arethusa* of the series is related to Houasse's painting of the subject made for the Grand Trianon in 1688 and now exhibited there.<sup>6</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

This series of the *Metamorphoses* had been woven by August 1690; the last recorded weaving was in 1730. In 1732 the cartoons were found to be "fort maltraités et presque effacés."<sup>7</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Though the border of 67 is the one most often used on tapestries of this series,<sup>8</sup> the fact that it has been cut makes it impossible to determine whether other pieces of the same set can be identified.

A set of six pieces, presumably complete, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 6, 1974 (no. 116, 3 illus.). It consists of the six subjects listed above as the certain components of the series. The *Boreas and Orithyia* is wider than 67, including another girl, half-seen among the trees on the right.



Another example of *Boreas and Orithyia* is in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco;<sup>9</sup> it is signed "P. Behagle" and so must have been made before 1711, the date the Filleul brothers took over the manufactory. It is narrower and taller than 67, showing less sky, but including the girl in the trees on the right. She also appears on a version with the Versainville arms, sold at Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1957 (no. 89, illus.); the arms of this set, of which three pieces are known, were designed by de Pape before 1722.<sup>10</sup> The border is similar to that of 67 and the piece is marked "Beauvais." The example in the Neue Residenz, Bamberg, has a border like that of 67 and includes the girl on the right. It may be from the set that Behagle listed as sold to the duke of Bavaria, while he was governor of the Low Countries. This must have been Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria (1679–1726), appointed to that position in 1692.

Wide examples including the girl on the right were in the Baron Léonino sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 18, 1937 (no. 223, illus.), sold again at the same gallery, March 24, 1939 (no. 134, illus.; with a border of acanthus leaves twisting around a central bar), and in a sale at the same auction house, March 15, 1937 (no. 154, illus.; with a framelike border). An example very close to 67, but slightly narrower, the left border cutting through the basket in the lower left corner, was sold at Sotheby's, June 15, 1928 (no. 163, illus.); it was owned by the New York dealers Seidlitz and Van Baarn in 1929. A fragment of another example was exported from France in 1969.<sup>11</sup>

Seven examples have been listed of *Pan and Syrinx*,<sup>12</sup> including those in the Versainville and the Paris 1974 sale sets and one sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, December 2, 1968 (no. 122, illus.). There are at least eight of *Vertumnus and Pomona*, including those in the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth, with the same border as 67, the Versainville and the Paris 1974 sale sets, and one sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, February 23, 1978 (no. 128, illus.). *Alpheus and Arethusa* exists in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, the Versainville and the Paris 1974 sale sets, and three other sales. Three examples of *Cephalus and Procris* are known and two of *Jupiter (or Diana) and Callisto*; both subjects were in the Paris 1974 sale. The *Abduction*

of *Europa* is in the collection of Mrs. Sheldon Whitehouse, New York. *Diana and Endymion* exists in four versions; one is in the Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest, with a *Diana's Repose*, both having the same border as 67.

A tapestry that may belong to the same series is a *Bacchus and Ariadne* that was in the Harry Payne Whitney sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 29, 30, 1942 (no. 41, illus.). Another example of the design with the same border as 67 was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 7, 1977 (without catalogue).<sup>13</sup>

## HISTORY

Owned by John Wanamaker, New York, before 1955.  
Given to the MMA by Francis L. Kellogg, 1977.

## PUBLICATIONS

MMA *Annual Report* 1977–1978, pp. 39, 41. Mentioned among gifts of year.

Jestaz, Bertrand. "The Beauvais Manufactory in 1690." *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976*. San Francisco, 1979, p. 206, n. 38 (as in the Kellogg collection; erroneously said to have been in the earl of Abington's sale, Sotheby's, June 15, 1928, no. 163).

## NOTES

1. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 197.
2. Written by de Pape, a painter at the Beauvais manufactory, listing "augmentations sur du papier en crayon noir" that he had designed for the third, seventh, and eighth pieces of the *Metamorphoses*.
3. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," pp. 197, 198, 201, 204, 206, 207.
4. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 188.
5. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 21.
6. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 201, fig. 16.
7. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 57, 58.
8. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 197.
9. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) no. 67, illus.; Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 10.
10. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 15, n. 1.
11. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 206, n. 37.
12. All the tapestries of the series are reproduced and the known examples of each subject listed in Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," pp. 197, 198, 201, 206, 207, nn. 34–49.
13. Information from Bertrand Jestaz.



## 68 Stag Hunt

French (Beauvais), late seventeenth century.  
Wool and silk.

10 ft. 8 in. x 15 ft. 8 in. (3.25 m x 4.78 m).

18–20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of Thomas Emery, 1953 (53.188).

### DESCRIPTION

The gray and brown stag is attacked by a hound of the same colors and is closely pursued by a woman in a red hat

and coat and a blue skirt. She rides a gray horse, its braided mane and tail tied with pink ribbons; it has a pale yellow and pink saddlecloth. Two brown hounds are partly visible under the horse. A man in a gray hat and a blue coat, holding his sword, gallops up on a white horse with a red ribbon on its head. Four hounds in shades of brown and gray are seen below. To the left are a woman in blue and dull yellow, riding a dark brown horse with a blue and dull yellow saddlecloth, a man in red and yellow on a light brown horse, and another rider in brown.



On the large trees on the right are three brown, blue, white, and pale red birds. A large gray castle, perhaps intended to represent Vincennes, is seen in the background on the left, and a wide landscape with hills and a river in tones of gray, green, and pale yellow on the right. The sky is pale blue and yellow with two small flying birds. Four other birds are perched on the green and yellow trees on the left, or are flying between the boughs; one has a red breast. The foreground is in tones of brown and gray with some large green plants, some with pink or white flowers. There is a jagged brown and gray stump in the lower right corner.

There is an inner band to the border in pale and dark yellow, with a red section in the upper left corner. The main border has a blue ground inside, pale yellow or white outside. A band of brown and dull yellow foliage twists around a central blue core. There are dull yellow fleurs-de-lis on dark blue in the corners. The outer band is dull yellow, brown, and red. The guards (missing at top and bottom) are blue.

#### CONDITION

The colors are somewhat faded and there are small areas of repair.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The fleurs-de-lis in the corners indicate a French manufactory, and stylistic resemblances with several tapestries signed by Philippe Behagle suggest that this was Beauvais. The hound nearest to the stag is found in a *Stag Hunt* from the *Little Hunts (Petites Chasses)* at Azay-le-Rideau, owned by the Service des Monuments Historiques, in which the stag is also very close to the same animal in 68.<sup>1</sup> The jagged tree stump appears in a *Shooting* in the Mobilier National, Paris,<sup>2</sup> and the riders, trees, birds, and foreground plants are very like those in these two tapestries and in a *Hawking* formerly in the Maurice Fenaille collection, which has the same border as the Mobilier National piece.<sup>3</sup> A *Hunting Scene*, signed "Behagle," in the Smidt van Gelder Museum, Antwerp, is also very simi-

lar; there is a near replica of the Antwerp tapestry in the Hermitage, Leningrad, signed "Bechagel."<sup>4</sup>

A set of four pieces called *Petites Chasses et verdure*s is listed in the 1697 addition to the inventory of Louis XIV; it is described as "fabrique de Beauvais, manufacture de Béagle, représentant des paysages."<sup>5</sup> Behagle was director of the manufactory from 1684 to 1711. The costumes of 68 suggest a date shortly before 1700.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A *Hawking* (not the same composition as the Fenaille piece) sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, March 4, 1964 (no. 120, illus.), and a *Wolf Hunt* sold at the same auction house, March 9, 1972 (no. 141, illus.), have the same border and about the same height as 68; they may belong to the same set. The woman and the two men on the far left, with one of the dogs below them, appear on a narrow tapestry that was in the Mme P . . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 4, 5, 1936 (no. 280, illus.).

#### HISTORY

Acquired by Thomas Emery in Paris before 1939.  
Given to the MMA by Thomas Emery, 1953.

#### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1953–June 1954*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 24. Listed as Beauvais, second quarter of the eighteenth century.

#### NOTES

1. *Trois Siècles de tapisseries de Beauvais*, exh. cat., Hôtel de Ville (Beauvais, 1964) no. 8, illus. Signed "Behagle," dated end of seventeenth century.
2. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Les commencements de la manufacture royale de Beauvais 1664–1705," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 64 (1964) p. 338, fig. 3. Signed "Behagle."
3. Badin, *Beauvais*, pl. facing p. x. Not signed. Dated about 1700.
4. N. Birioukova, *Les Tapisseries françaises de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les Collections de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1974) no. 54, illus.
5. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV (1663–1715)* (Paris, 1885–86) vol. 1, p. 363.

## 69 Panel for a fire screen

French (probably Beauvais), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

2 ft. 8½ in. x 2 ft. 1 in. (83 cm x 64 cm).

19 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.212b).

### DESCRIPTION

A bunch of flowers in pale yellow, pale pink, red, white, pale brown, and blue, with blue and blue-green leaves, fills the center of the panel against a blue background. There is a red and white border, curved at the top. On this sit two parrots, the one on the left being largely gray, with a green head and red tail, the one on the right being green with gray wings. Behind the birds is a blue and white trellis on a pink ground. The foreground is in shades of brown and dull green.

### CONDITION

There are a number of areas of repair, especially the head of the parrot on the right.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The style, especially the wide-open tulips and the spray of small blue flowers, is reminiscent of Jean Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699).<sup>1</sup>

### HISTORY

George and Florence Blumenthal collection, New York.  
Bequeathed to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

### NOTE

1. Very similar flowers appear in an oval painting of flowers in a vase by Monnoyer owned by Frost and Reed, London, 1961 ("The Connoisseur's Diary: A Triumph of Flowers," *Connoisseur* 147 [1961] p. 42, illus. p. 43).





## 70 Upholstery panels

### Back and seat for a chair

French (possibly Beauvais), late seventeenth–early eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 3 in. square (69 cm);

seat 2 ft. 1 in. x 2 ft. 5 in. (64 cm x 74 cm).

19–20 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.782).

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a red-brown and dull pale yellow vase stands on a support in the same colors which is ornamented with a lattice in pale and dark blue. The vase is filled with flowers and leaves in red, dull yellow, white, and blue-green; honeysuckle and tulips can be distinguished. The surrounding scrolling forms are in red-brown and dull pale yellow, with details in pale and dark blue. The background is yellow-gray.

The design of the seat is the same as that of the back, with slight differences in coloring.

### CONDITION

Both panels are extensively restored.

### PUBLICATION

De Ricci, Seymour. *Louis XIV and Regency: Furniture and Decoration*. Trans. Prof. W. E. Walz. New York, 1929, pl. 97.

## 71 Upholstery panels

### Back and seat for a chair

French (possibly Beauvais), early eighteenth century.  
Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. (81 cm x 61 cm);  
seat 2 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 6 in. (66 cm x 76 cm).

17 warps per inch, 7 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.50).

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a dull yellow and brown vase stands on a pale blue-green ground, throwing a dark blue-green shadow to the left. It is filled with flowers in shades of red, pale pink, and dull yellow; a wide-open white tulip with dark blue stamens, a fringed red poppy, and pale pink roses can be distinguished. The foliage is blue-green and dull yellow-green. The background is pale blue. The composition is incomplete at the top and sides.

The flowers and foliage on the seat are in the same colors as those of the back. A dull yellow crown imperial, a wide-open red poppy, and pale pink roses can be distinguished. The background is gray.

#### CONDITION

The silk areas are largely rewoven and there are passages with bare warps on the back.

#### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 2, p. 12, pl. 13, no. 1.

Hunter, George Leland. "Decorative Styles of the Louis XIV Period." *Arts and Decoration* 3 (1912-13) p. 233, illus. fig. 1.



## 72 Arms of Joseph Marie, second duc de Boufflers

French (Beauvais); designed by Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), 1733, and woven under the joint direction of Oudry and Nicolas Besnier (fl. 1726–1755), probably in 1740, for the duc de Boufflers.

Designer's name and date.

Wool and silk.

11 ft. x 8 ft. (3.35 m x 2.44 m).

21 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Cecil Mortimer Singer, 1960 (60.101).

### DESCRIPTION

The shield has nine red crosses and three five-pointed flowerlike forms on a cream ground. It is surmounted by a dull yellow and brown coronet with red and blue stones and surrounded by dull yellow and brown scrolling forms. A pale tan tiger with black stripes and a red tongue is seen on either side. On the left is Mars wearing a dull yellow and brown helmet with pink plumes, pale yellow and tan armor, and a dark red cloak lined with pale tan, brown, and black ermine. His leg coverings are pale tan and dark green; his sandals dull yellow, brown, black, and pink. His sword hilt is dull yellow and brown and has an eagle head. Minerva, sitting on the opposite side, has a dull yellow helmet with a winged dragon, a scaled dull yellow breastplate with two snakes, a green and cream dress, and blue drapery over her lap. Her foot is in a dull yellow sandal, and she holds a brown and cream shield with the Medusa head and a brown and cream spear.

Above the shield are banners, red, blue, and cream, with brown or cream fleurs-de-lis. Behind them is an ermine drapery with, on its reverse, red crosses like those on the arms. It is supported by rings in the mouths of two dull yellow and brown lion heads, which are fixed on either side of a gray, green, brown, and tan stone arch. Brown, green, and tan foliage is visible through the arch, on the far right, and at the left corner. The ermine drapery falls behind the shield and appears again below it. Garlands of red, pink, blue, green, purple, and pale yellow flowers and leaves are draped over the frame of the arms and fall from below the left-hand tiger's feet nearly to the base of the tapestry. Here is a pile of military equipment, mostly in shades of brown, gray, dull yellow, tan, and cream. It includes a cannon, a kettledrum with blue drapery, a bombshell, a helmet with dark gray plumes and a breast-

plate, both lined with red, and cannon balls. The sky seen through the arch and in the upper corners is cream.

The foreground is in shades of gray and brown. On the right, under Minerva, is the inscription (reversed) in dark brown-green: *J.B. oudry / 1733* (see detail). The border is in shades of brown, dull red, and tan, simulating a wooden frame. The guards (entirely replaced) are blue.

### CONDITION

There are numerous repaired areas, especially in the banners and in all the silk portions. Bare warps are visible in some parts. There has been considerable fading.

### SUBJECT AND USE

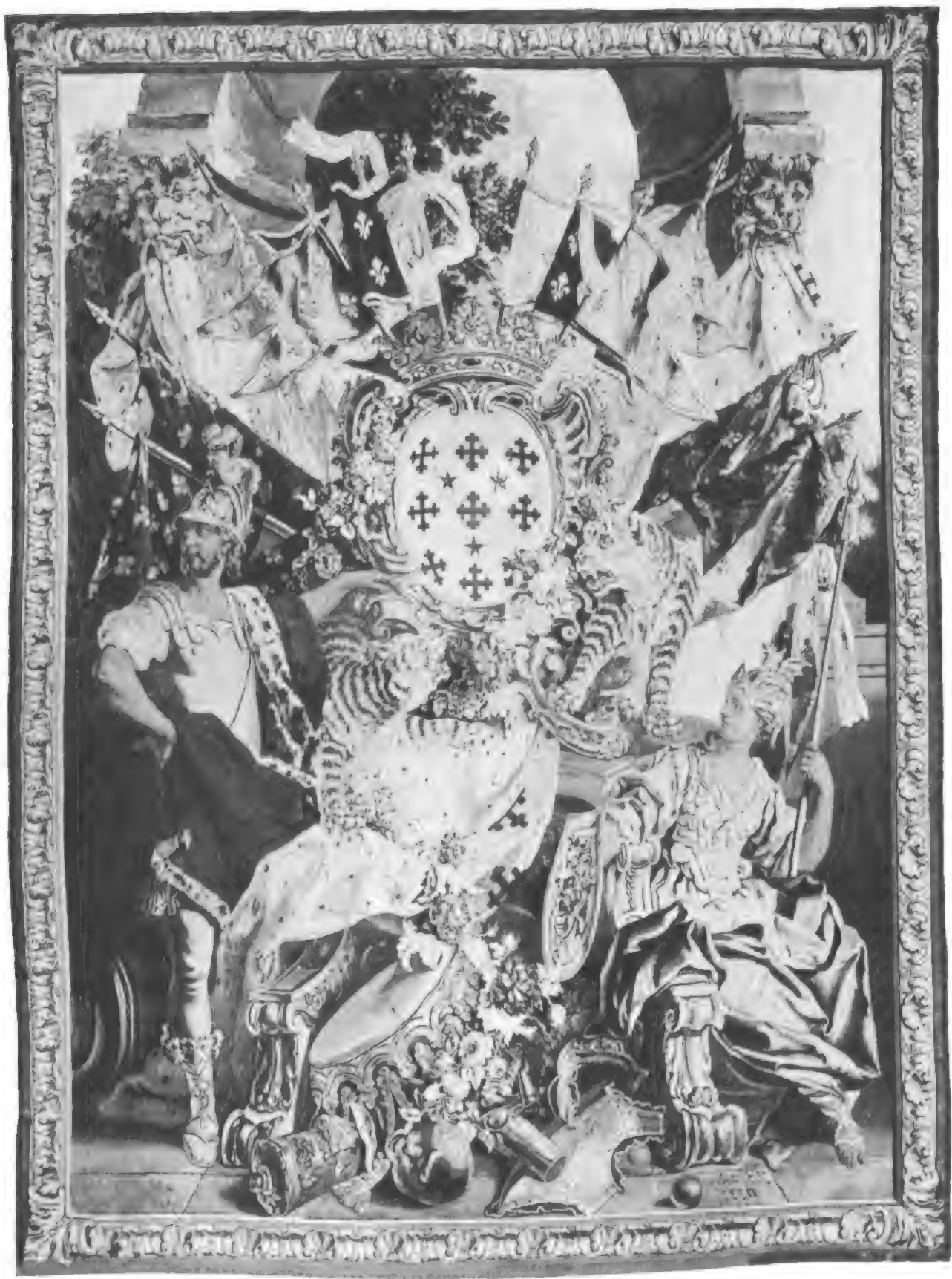
The arms are those of de Boufflers: "D'argent à trois molettes de gueules, accompagnées de neuf croisettes recroisettées au pied fiché de gueules, trois rangées en chef, trois rangées en fasce et trois mises deux et une en pointe."<sup>1</sup> The mullets are shown pierced, as they are the rowels of spurs, and have five points.<sup>2</sup> The date shows that the coat is that of the second duke, Joseph Marie (1706–1747). The tigers (leopards in contemporary usage) are the supporters of the arms. Mars, Minerva, and the pile of armor and weapons refer to the duke's distinguished military career. His father had obtained as a hereditary honor the right to display behind his arms the standards of a Colonel General of Dragoons and the flags of a Colonel of the Gardes Françaises, which are here shown behind the shield.<sup>3</sup> A tapestry with the arms of the first duke, Louis François (1644–1711), shows spotted felines as supporters.<sup>4</sup>

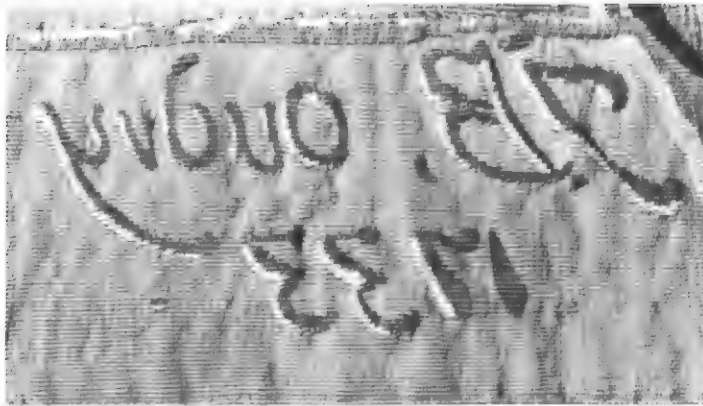
A dais of nine pieces was made at Beauvais for the duc de Boufflers in 1733, the ceiling of a dais in 1738, and eight portieres in 1740.<sup>5</sup> 72 is probably a portiere.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Oudry's signature may be taken as indicating his authorship of the design. The tigers are very similar to the leopards in *Bacchus and Ariadne* from the *Loves of the*







Detail of 72

*Gods* after Boucher (79b), which were probably also designed by Oudry. A painting of a leopard in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, signed and dated 1741, is related to the right-hand tiger in 72 (see 79, fig. 61).<sup>6</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The date 1733 is probably that of the design. At this date, Oudry was associated with Beauvais as a designer.<sup>7</sup> The missing lower guard may have been inscribed "Besnier et Oudry a Beauvais," indicating that the piece was woven between 1734 and 1753, when Oudry and Nicolas Besnier were co-directors of the manufactory.<sup>8</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A companion piece formerly in the Singer collection and now in a French private collection has an inscription on the lower guard: "Besnier et Oudry a Beauvais."

A similar tapestry owned by M. Maillot de Boulay was lent to the fourth exhibition of the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie, Paris, 1874, called *Exposition Rétrospective: Histoire du Costume*.<sup>9</sup> Another was in the Prince Paul Galitzin sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 10, 11, 1875 (no. 218); it is dated 1735. A third, signed but not dated, was in the sale of M. X . . . , Hôtel Drouot, January 25, 1921 (no. 24, illus.); it was bought by Charles Picard. The example lent by Jacques Seligmann and Son, of Paris, to the *Exhibition of Ancient Art Belonging to the International Trade* at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1936 (cat. p. 81, no. 352), may be the piece from the M. X . . . sale, as it is described as signed but not dated. The ceiling of the dais made in 1733 was exhibited at the Beauvais Hôtel de Ville in 1964.<sup>10</sup>

An armorial tapestry with the arms of the second duke and his wife and spotted felines as supporters (quite different from the tigers of 72) was sold at Christie's, London, April 14, 1983 (no. 69, illus.), when it was attributed to the Gobelins manufactory.

A large elaborate tapestry was made at Beauvais for the first duc de Boufflers (1644–1711). It includes the arms of the duke and his wife Catherine de Grammont, whom he married in 1693, with portraits of the pair in medallions. It is signed "Behagle."<sup>11</sup> Two oval tapestry portraits in the Schutz sale, Hôtel Drouot, May 30, 1932 (no. 88, illus.), are described as Gobelins, representing the marquis de Boufflers and his wife.

#### HISTORY

Said to have been acquired, with a companion piece, by Jacques Seligmann from the heirs of the comtesse d'Hallez Claparède and sold to E. Singer in Paris in 1910.<sup>12</sup> Given to the MMA by Mrs. Cecil Mortimer Singer, 1960.

#### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report, 1960–1961*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 20 (1961–62) p. 71. Listed under gifts.

#### NOTES

1. Eugène Olivier, Georges Hermal, and R. de Roton, *Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises* (Paris, 1924–35) vol. 21, pl. 2099.
2. William Berry, *Encyclopaedia Heraldica* (London, n.d.) vol. 1, s.v. "Mullet."
3. Olivier, Hermal, de Roton, *Manuel*, vol. 15, pl. 1523.
4. Known from a drawing in the de Gaignières collection (Joseph Guibert, *Les Dessins d'archéologie de Roger de Gaignières* [Paris, n.d.] ser. III, pl. 20).
5. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 75.
6. Hal Opperman, *J.-B. Oudry*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1982) no. 98.
7. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, pp. 224, 226.
8. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 30.
9. Catalogue, p. 129. It is described as inscribed "J.-B. Oudry, 1750"; as the duke died in 1747, this date is impossible. The date is omitted in the description of the tapestry in Albert Jacquemart, *Histoire du mobilier* (Paris, 1876) p. 167.
10. *Trois Siècles de tapisseries de Beauvais*, exh. cat., Hôtel de Ville (Beauvais, 1964) no. 21. Described as in a private collection.
11. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Les commencements de la manufacture royale de Beauvais 1664–1705," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 64 (1964) p. 337, fig. 2, described as in a private collection; George Leland Hunter, *Loan Exhibition of Tapestries*, Pennsylvania Museum (Philadelphia, 1915) no. 70, lent by Mrs. Archibald Thomson.
12. Information provided by the donor and the Marillier Archive, Victoria and Albert Museum.

## 73 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for two armchairs

French (probably Beauvais), 1735–50.  
Wool and silk.

Backs 2 ft. 3 1/2 in. x 2 ft. (70 cm x 61 cm);  
seats 2 ft. 5 in. x 2 ft. 7 in. (74 cm x 79 cm);  
armrests 11 in. x 6 in. (28 cm x 15 cm).

20–22 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.47a(1–4)  
[73a, b, e, f]; 07.225.47b(1–4) [73c, d, g, h]).

### DESCRIPTION

Each back and seat shows an irregular rocaille cartouche in red, yellow, brown, blue, and lavender, leaning against a gray and yellow architectural structure in a landscape with a light blue sky. The pale brown centers of the cartouches have flowers in containers. The guards are dark blue. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

On seat 73a, a red and yellow bird perches on the cartouche at the upper right; blue and white water pours from a black hole at the base. The flowers in the center are mostly red poppies, with green and blue-green leaves; they stand in a basket which rests on a lavender support.

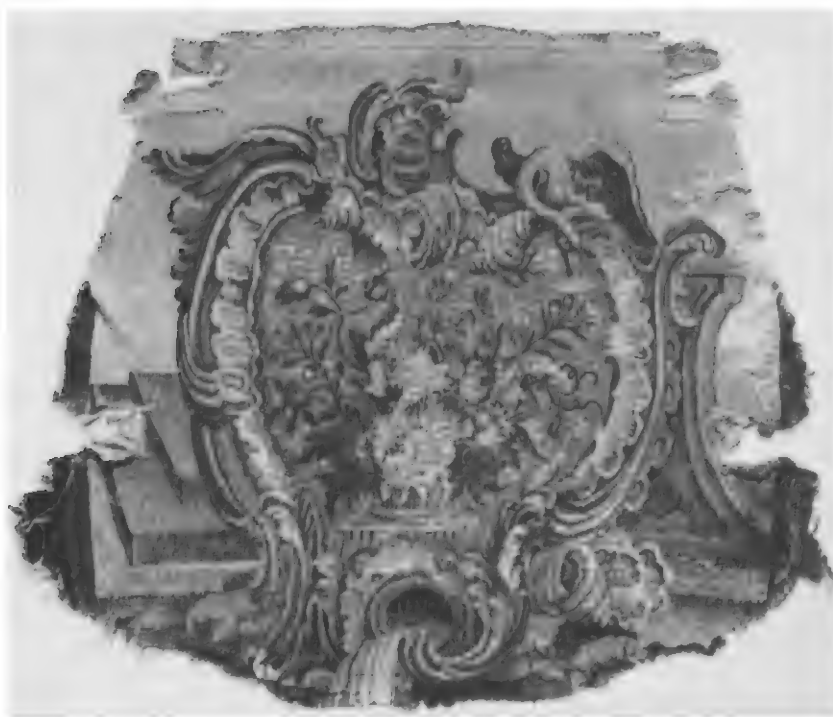
The back 73b shows a red and yellow bird at the base of the cartouche. Blue and white water pours from a brown shell at the upper left and reappears below the cartouche, filling a basin and falling in five streams over the irregular brown rim. A round gray pot with red flowers and blue and green foliage stands on a low pillar to the right. The flowers in the center include red roses and fill a blue fluted vase. The foreground and the interstices of the design have much blue, green, red, and yellow foliage.

On seat 73c, a small red and yellow bird with outstretched wings stands on the cartouche at the lower right. Blue and cream-colored water falls from the cartouche on the left, and many red, blue, and lavender flowers, with green, blue, and yellow leaves, overlap the cartouche, or are silhouetted against the sky. The central flowers, including red poppies, stand in a brown vase.

The back 73d shows a brown and yellow ewer with a red dolphin or dragon curved around it standing above the cartouche; this ends below in a half-seen winged red and yellow sea monster, from whose mouth falls blue and white water. Small trees with green and yellow leaves are



73a



73b



73c



FIG. 47. *Fountain*, by Gabriel Huquier, after François Boucher. Engraving. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.57.15[7]).



73d



visible to left and right and there is much red and green foliage around the central structure. The central flowers, which include red roses, stand in a blue stemmed vase on a purple and lavender support.

The armrest covers (73e–h) all have the same design of three red flowers with blue and green leaves on a pale brown background within an irregular red, yellow, and brown cartouche. The backgrounds are blue.

#### CONDITION

All the colors, originally of great brilliance, have faded or, as in the case of the skies, darkened. All the pieces, especially the seats, are badly worn, with substantial areas of bare warp.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The designs have been attributed to Juste Aurèle Meissonnier,<sup>1</sup> but are actually more closely related to prints after François Boucher (fig. 47).<sup>2</sup> His *Receuil* [sic] *de Fontaines* was mentioned in the *Mercure de France* in April 1736, so the drawings for these prints must have been made when the artist started working for the Beauvais manufactory.<sup>3</sup> The sofa designed by Meissonnier for the comte de Bielski in 1735 is shown in a print<sup>4</sup> as covered with a fabric (probably a brocaded silk) completely symmetrical in design and quite unlike 73.

#### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 3, p. 12, pl. 76. Mounted on chairs. Said to be from prints after Meissonnier or Jacques Lajoue.

Hunter, George Leland. "Decorative Styles of the Louis XV Period." *Arts and Decoration* 3 (1912–13) p. 341, illus. On chairs.

Packer, Charles. *Paris Furniture by the Master Ebénistes*. Newport, England, 1956, p. 29, fig. 29. On chairs. Called Beauvais, after Juste Aurèle Meissonnier.

Packer, Charles. "French Tapestry Chair Coverings." *Connoisseur* 147 (1961) p. 142, fig. 3 (75a, b, on chair).

Standen, Edith A. "Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art." *MMA Journal* 12 (1977) p. 107, figs. 1–4. Said to be more closely related to Boucher's designs for fountains than to Meissonnier.

#### NOTES

1. Packer, *Paris Furniture*, p. 29.

2. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 107, fig. 5.

3. Regina Shoolman Slatkin, *François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art and Art Institute of Chicago (Washington, D.C., 1973) no. 29.

4. *Oeuvre de Juste Aurèle Meissonnier* (c. 1750), introduction by Dorothea Nyberg (New York, 1969) fol. 52.

## 74 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for two sofas and twelve armchairs

French (Beauvais); designed by Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), and woven, 1754–56, under his direction and that of André Charlemagne Charron (fl. 1753–1780) for Baron Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff for his palace in Copenhagen.

Wool and silk.

Sofa backs 2 ft. 4 in. x 6 ft. 10 in. (71 cm x 2.08 m);

sofa seats 3 ft. x 7 ft. 8 in. (91 cm x 2.34 m);

sofa armrests 1 ft. 3 in. x 7 in. (38 cm x 18 cm);

chair backs 2 ft. 5 in. x 2 ft. (74 cm x 61 cm);

chair seats 2 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 11 in. (86 cm x 89 cm);

chair armrests 1 ft. x 8 in. (30 cm x 20 cm).

22–25 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1935 (35.145.1–14).

### DESCRIPTION

All the panels have symmetrical frameworks or surrounds of three-dimensional scrolling or rocaille forms in dull yellow and brown on white or cream-colored grounds. The areas outside these are crimson. A wealth of flowers in shades of lavender, red, pink, blue, and pale yellow, with blue, green, and pale yellow foliage, twines in and out of the scrolling forms in an unsymmetrical manner, leaving irregular medallions in the centers. These are filled with compositions showing animals and birds in landscapes. The two sofa backs are the same, as are their seats, and there are twelve subjects for the chair backs and seats, each being used for both a back and a seat.

Eight of the chair frames and one of the sofas bear the stamp of the maker, Nicolas Quinibert Foliot.

On the sofa backs, the warps are vertical. There are three irregular medallions. The central one shows an owl being tormented or “mobbed” by other birds. A blue bird with a red beak flies above, a brown bird with blue on its wings and tail perches on a branch at the left, and a red parrot is on the right, with a pale blue bird beneath it. A red and pale yellow bird attacks the brown and gray owl as it stands on the dull green and brown broken branch of a tree, holding in its claws a dull yellow bird with a red head and red on its wings and tail. Another tree trunk rises on the right. There is a pool of pale blue water at the lower left and a large green and brown rock under the owl. The

sky is white, the foreground brownish green. The left medallion shows a red bird flying against a background of pale yellow and green foliage, with a green foreground. The right medallion has a blue bird in a similar landscape.

On the sofa seats, the framework is almost identical with that of the backs, but the intertwining flowers and foliage are different, though their basic arrangement and coloring are the same. The central medallion shows a brown stag chased by two white dogs, spotted in black and brown. The sky is white. There are some very pale green distant trees and a pale blue lake fringed with blue-green rushes. The foreground is in shades of dull green and pale brown. Both side medallions show a brown and black animal, perhaps a fox or a wolf, in a landscape similar to that of the center; the one on the left includes a large tree in shades of dull green and pale yellow.

The sofa armrests have two roses, one red and pink, the other yellow, with red and pink small flowers and blue and green foliage within the inner white areas enclosed by the framework. The yellow outer areas have blue and white cornflowers.

On the chair backs and seats the warps are horizontal. All the backs have similar surrounds of scrolling forms, flowers, and foliage, with some variations in design and coloring. The flowers include a scarlet poppy on the lower right, blue cornflowers at the top, pink and red roses, and cream-colored roses and poppies. The seats have similar surrounds, with variations in design and coloring. There are cream-colored narcissus with yellow centers on the right. Pieces have been cut out for the support of the arms and backs of the chairs.

The central medallions comprise twelve designs, each of which appears on a back and, with more space around it, on a seat. The twelve designs are:

*Two Swans:* The swans are white, with brown beaks. Blue reeds are seen on the right. The background is pale blue above and gray below.

*Two Squirrels:* The squirrels are cream colored and brown; one is climbing a dull green and pale yellow or brown tree, the other eating a red berry. There is dark



Sofa and sofa seat



Chair back, *Two Swans*; seat, *Dog Catching a Bird*

green foliage at the base of the tree and green grass around it. The background is pale blue above, with distant trees in pale green and yellow. The foreground is in shades of green, yellow, and brown. The seat of this design has on the back a linen tag inscribed "No. 6," and a pencil mark "1."

*Two Parrots:* A large blue parrot spreads its wings and a smaller red one perches on a brown and dull green branch. The large tree is in shades of yellow, green, and brown; the distant trees are pale yellow and green. The sky is blue above, cream colored below. The foreground is pale green and cream colored.

*Three Birds:* The birds are pale gray and brown; the lowest one has red around its eye. The foliage on the left is in shades of green and brown. The sky is pale blue above, pale gray below.

*Two Rabbits:* Both rabbits are pale and dark brown;

the one on the left has red eyes. The nearer foliage is green, the distant trees, pale yellow and pale green. The sky is pale blue above, cream colored below. The foreground is in shades of tan, brown, green, and cream.

*Parrot and Marmot:* A red and yellow parrot with blue on its wing sits on the brown and yellow branch of a broken tree, which has blue, green, and yellow leaves and red berries. The marmot is brown, yellow, gray, and cream colored. The background is pale gray above, pale yellow and green below. The foreground is brown and green.

*Fox and Cock:* A brown and cream-colored fox has caught a cock of the same colors with red comb and wattles and a blue tail. The sky is pale blue and cream colored. There are yellow and pale green trees in the background and the foreground is yellow and dull green. The back has the number 6 or 9 on the reverse in pencil.

*Two Pheasants:* The birds are black, brown, and cream colored with red details. The sky is cream colored, the distant trees yellow and pale green. The vegetation is in shades of green, blue, and brown, with black. The foreground is in shades of green, yellow, and brown. A linen tag on the reverse of the back is inscribed "No. 6," and there are pencil marks reading "VIII/III." A pencil mark on the reverse of the seat reads "2."

*Dog Chasing a Duck:* The dog is cream colored with a black nose and eye; the duck is in shades of brown and black with a blue head and red tongue. The sky is cream colored and the distant trees are yellow and pale green. There is a pale blue pond below the duck with blue and green reeds on either side. The foreground is yellow, cream colored, and dull green. A pencil mark on the reverse of the back reads "4."

*Two Ducks:* The ducks are brown, black, and cream colored, with blue spots on their heads and wings. There is a blue and green pond below them, with black and brown rocks. The land and the reeds are in shades of green and blue. The sky is pale blue above, cream colored below. A pencil mark on the reverse of the seat reads "VIII."

*Dog and Pheasant:* The dog is cream colored with brown details; the pheasant is brown and black with a blue neck and a red patch around the eye. The tree by the dog is in shades of dull green, pale brown, and yellow. The sky is pale blue above, cream colored below. The foreground and the vegetation is in shades of yellow, dull



green, and pale brown. Pencil marks on the back read "I, III."

*Dog Catching a Bird:* The black, brown, and cream-colored dog leaps to seize a brown, blue, and gray bird with one red leg. There are some dull green areas below the dog and some reeds in greens and blues on the left. The background is cream colored above, yellow below and on the right. A linen tag attached to the reverse of the back is inscribed "II.7."

#### CONDITION

There are slight repairs on one of the sofa backs. One sofa seat is extensively repaired, the other, worn and faded, with some repair. All armrests are worn; some have holes and bare warps, others are much repaired.

The condition of the chair backs and seats is as follows:

*Two Swans:* The central medallion of the back is badly faded and almost illegible; the seat is much repaired.

*Two Squirrels:* The back is slightly faded, and the seat is much repaired.

*Two Parrots:* The back is slightly repaired; the seat is much repaired, especially in the front.

*Three Birds:* The back is faded, and the seat is much repaired, especially in the front and the sky.

*Two Rabbits:* The back is somewhat repaired; the seat is much repaired, with bare warps in the central medallion and on the lower part of the surround.

*Parrot and Marmot:* The back is slightly repaired, and the seat faded and somewhat repaired.

*Fox and Cock:* The back is slightly faded; the seat is much repaired, especially in front.

*Two Pheasants:* The back is slightly faded and is torn at the upper right edge; there are worn areas and bare warps in the upper left center, but no repairs. The seat, badly worn with areas of bare warps in the sky and the foreground, is faded, with some slight repairs.

*Dog Chasing a Duck:* The back is slightly faded, and the seat is much repaired.

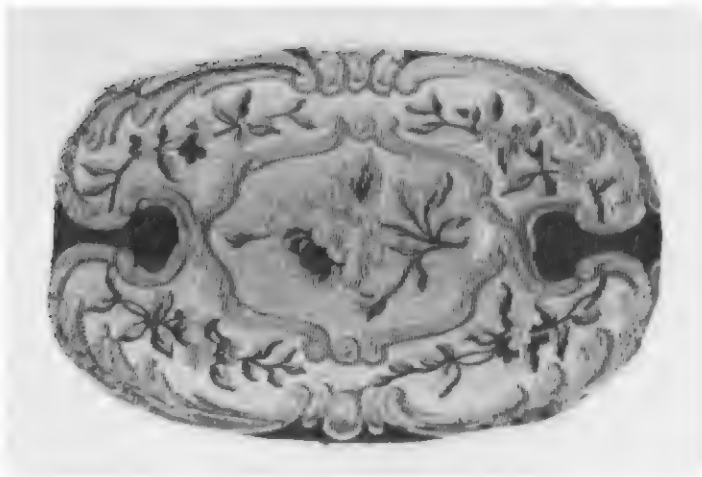
*Two Ducks:* The back is slightly faded; the seat is faded and badly worn, with areas of bare warps, especially toward the front, and some repair.

*Dog and Pheasant:* The back is somewhat torn and faded; the seat, badly worn in front, has areas of bare warps here and in the sky to the left of the dog.



Chair back, *Two Squirrels*; seat, *Two Swans*

Chair seat, *Two Squirrels*



Chair armrest

FIG. 48. *A Squirrel*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry or his son. Drawing, detail. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.112).



FIG. 49. *A Spaniel among Reeds; a Squirrel*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.156).

Chair seat, *Two Parrots*

*Dog Catching a Bird*: The back is slightly faded. Some slits have opened, but there are no conspicuous repairs. The seat is much repaired, with areas of bare warps in the sky.

#### SUBJECTS

Only the sofa backs can be said to have a subject, the owl pestered by other birds. When an owl, which normally hunts at night, ventures to appear by day, it may be treated in this way. The “mobbed” owl was given a sym-



FIG. 50. *Two Flying Birds*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.152).

bolic meaning in the Middle Ages, and the subject has been frequently represented in art.<sup>1</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Joachim Wasserschlebe, secretary to Baron Bernstorff, wrote about Oudry's part in the set that “la garniture de

Chair seat, *Three Birds*







Chair seat, *Parrot and Marmot*



Chair seat, *Two Rabbits*

canapés et de fauteuils” was “d’après ses propres cartons.”<sup>2</sup> Some of the designs can be related to drawings in an album in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, thought to be a compilation made by Oudry about 1750 of about 112 of his own drawings, including some copies of works by other masters and of earlier drawings probably by his own hand. To these a later artist, probably his son Jacques Charles Oudry, added twenty drawings, most of them birds taken from his father’s paintings.<sup>3</sup> Two of the Oudry drawings (figs. 48, 49) show one each of the *Two Squirrels*,<sup>4</sup> the two uppermost birds of the *Three Birds* are found on another (fig. 50),<sup>5</sup> and the *Two Rabbits* on a third (fig. 51).<sup>6</sup> The last also appear on an engraving for La Fontaine’s fable *Les Lapins* (bk. 10, 14) in a book published 1755–59, with illustrations based on drawings made by Oudry between 1729 and 1734.<sup>7</sup> The rabbits, however, go back to works by François Desportes. The one with its back turned is found, reversed, in a painting in the National Museum, Stockholm (fig. 52), and both of them are in one attributed to Desportes’s workshop that was in the sale of the Bensimon collection at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 18, 19, 1981 (no. 20, illus.), and a painting attributed to Jean Baptiste Monnoyer owned by the London dealer Richard Green in 1969.<sup>8</sup> They were also used on a panel of a Savonnerie screen designed by Desportes about 1718, of which there are examples in the Huntington Collection, San Marino; Waddesdon Manor; the Swedish National Collection; and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.<sup>9</sup> They appear, with a third rabbit, on a Sèvres porcelain plate, dated 1789, in the British Royal Collection, having been copied from a Desportes study in the museum of the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (fig. 53).<sup>10</sup>

The *Two Pheasants* are on a Fogg drawing (fig. 55); they also appear on a painting by Oudry of 1725–32 at Fontainebleau and, in reverse, on one of 1748 in the Wallace Collection, London, as well as in a *Chien à l’arrêt devant deux faisans* in a private collection in Paris.<sup>11</sup> They are seen on a *Hounds and Pheasants* panel of the *Verdures fines* Beauvais tapestry series after Oudry, first woven in





FIG. 51. *Two Hares*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.126).



FIG. 52. *Three Rabbits*, by François Desportes. Oil painting. National Museum, Stockholm (inv. no. NM 797).

1735.<sup>12</sup> But they are apparently derived from Desportes, since they are found on a painting by him dated 1711 that was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 26, 1983 (no. 450, illus.).

The dog, with the reeds from which it emerges and the duck that it pursues, in the *Dog Chasing a Duck*, is seen in two Fogg drawings (figs. 49, 56); a comparable Oudry painting is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, dated 1732.<sup>13</sup> The *Two Ducks* are also found in two Fogg drawings (figs. 57, 58), though the one that turns its head does not spread its wings in the drawings.<sup>14</sup>

The dog that turns sharply to look at a game bird, as in the *Dog and Pheasant*, is frequently found in Oudry's works,<sup>15</sup> but its pose and that of the bird in this design come from such Desportes paintings as the overdoor made for Marly in 1714, now in the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris,<sup>16</sup> or the *Chien braque en arrêt sur un faisan* in the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (fig. 59).<sup>17</sup>



FIG. 53. *Rabbits and a Guinea Pig*, by François Desportes. Oil painting. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.



Chair back, *Fox Catching a Cock*

The pheasant is related to one of the birds in the *Two Pheasants* and to one on a Savonnerie screen in the Metropolitan Museum (III).

The *Fox and Cock* has the same composition as a painting by Jacques Charles Oudry in the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature (fig. 54).<sup>18</sup> A similar group appears in a painting by the same artist sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, November 29, 1976 (no. 58b, illus.).

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Bernstorff's order for Beauvais wall hangings (see 79) and upholstery was placed in April 1754, and the completed tapestries were delivered to his representative in Paris, Baron de Thiers, in the summer of 1756.<sup>19</sup> The manufactory was then directed by Oudry (until his death in April 1755) and André Charlemagne Charron.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Sets of sofas and armchairs with similar upholstery are in the Cleveland Museum of Art,<sup>20</sup> the Wallace Collec-



FIG. 54. *Fox Catching a Cock*, by Jacques Charles Oudry. Oil on canvas. Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris. Photo: Agraci.

Chair seat, *Fox Catching a Cock*

tion, London,<sup>21</sup> the Quirinale Palace, Rome,<sup>22</sup> and the Patiño collection, Paris.<sup>23</sup> Another was in the S. B. Joel sale, Christie's, May 29, 30, 1935 (no. 137, illus. sofa and two chairs). The floral surrounds of the chair backs in the Cleveland set are like those of 74, but those of the seats and sofa covers differ. The Wallace and Quirinale surrounds are the same, but those in the Patiño set are different. The Joel sofa covers have the same surrounds, but those of the chairs are different.

The sofa back with the "mobbed" owl and the two birds in the side medallions is found on sofas in the Wallace Collection (inv. no. F192), the Quirinale, and the Joel sale. Another example is on a sofa sold at Parke-Bernet, March 19, 1942, from the Marquis Dautrimaux collection (no. 619, illus.), later in the C. Ledyard Blair sale at the same auction house, June 10, 1950 (no. 310, illus.), and in the Wildenstein sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 25, 26, 1979 (no. 15, illus.). A sofa in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, from the Alexis Godillot bequest, has the same back. The same subject with different designs was used for a Gobelins sofa back that was in the collection of Baron Gustave de Rothschild in 1907<sup>24</sup> and for Aubusson sofa backs sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 17, 1943 (no. 118, illus.), and at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 18, 1939 (no. 134, illus.). The sofa seat with the hunted stag and animals in the side medallions is on sofas in the Wallace Collection (inv. no. F191) and in the Cleveland, the Quirinale, and the Wildenstein sets.

The *Two Swans*, *Two Squirrels*, and *Two Parrots* are on Wallace Collection and Quirinale chairs; the swans are also on a chair sold at Sotheby's, London, December 2, 1983 (no. 49, illus.), the squirrels also on a Patiño chair, and the parrots on a chair in the Joel sale. The *Three Birds* are on a Cleveland chair and a Quirinale stool and the *Two Rabbits* on Wallace, Quirinale, and Patiño chairs. The *Parrot and Marmot* are on Wallace, Cleveland, Patiño, and Joel sale chairs, and on a chair sold at Christie's, London, July 5, 1984 (no. 34, illus.); a chair in the Ephrussi de Rothschild museum, Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat, also shows them on a plain ground with no floral surround.<sup>25</sup> The *Fox and Cock* is on Wallace, Cleveland, and



FIG. 55. *Two Pheasants*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.110).

Quirinale chairs. The *Two Pheasants* are on a Wallace chair and fill the left medallion on the Cleveland sofa back; they were included in a tapestry panel in the Mme Abeille sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 3, 4, 1903 (no. 227, illus.).<sup>26</sup> The *Two Ducks* are on 76, the chair sold at Christie's, July 5, 1984, and a Wallace chair; they also appear on the right half of the central medallion of the Cleveland sofa back. The *Dog Chasing a Duck* fills the left half of the medallion; they also are found on Wallace and Quirinale chairs, as are the *Dog and Pheasant* and the *Dog Catching a Bird*. The last is also seen on a Cleveland chair.

#### HISTORY

The set, mounted on French frames, was commissioned by Baron Bernstorff in 1754 with four pieces of the *Loves of the Gods* series of wall hangings (see 79). It was shipped to Copenhagen in the summer of 1756 and placed in the Tapestry Room in his palace, which was finished in the spring of 1757.

Its subsequent history is the same as that of 79, until it was sold by King George of Greece, probably to the London dealer Charles Wertheimer; it was acquired from him by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1902. At the time of Morgan's death in 1915 it was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, but it was returned to his heirs in 1915 and sold to Duveen Brothers. The tapestry upholstery was then placed on modern frames and the set was bought by John D. Rockefeller in 1919. He gave it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1935. The original frames of all the furniture were eventually located and the tapestries replaced on them.<sup>27</sup>

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York, MMA, 1914. *Loan Exhibition of the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*, cat. pp. 108, 109, pls. facing pp. 103 (part of set in gallery), 110 (sofa). Described as "from the collection of the Kings of Denmark, to whom they are said to have been presented by the French monarch."

New York, MMA, 1920. *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*. Listed in leaflet *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, Loans and Special Features*, p. 11, as lent anonymously.



FIG. 56. *A Duck*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing, detail. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.150).

Chair back, *Dog Chasing a Duck*



Chair seat, *Two Ducks*

FIG. 57. *A Duck*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing, detail. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.124).



New York, MMA, 1970. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, cat. no. 314, illus. (two chairs). Identified as from Bernstorff's set, after Oudry.

PUBLICATIONS

Wasserschlebe, Joachim. "Notices biographiques et historiques sur les peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs." Manuscript in Royal Library, Copenhagen, written after 1755. Mentions, under Oudry, the tapestry set (79) and "la garniture de canapés et de fauteuils d'après ses propres cartons" (quoted from Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*, vol. 2, p. 204).

Molinier, Emile. "Le mobilier français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les collections étrangères." *Les Arts*, March 1902, p. 26, illus. Two chairs in Charles Wertheimer collection. Called Beauvais, *Fables of La Fontaine*.

Molinier, Emile. *Royal Interiors and Decorations of the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIII<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Paris, London, Berlin, n.d., vol. 1, n.p., illus. Two chairs (same as last publication) in Charles Wertheimer collection. Set said to have been "given to a foreign sovereign by Louis XV."

FIG. 58. *A Duck and Another Bird*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Drawing. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1953.75.116).





Chair seat, *Dog and Pheasant*

FIG. 59. *Chien braque en arrêt sur un faisan*, by François Desportes. Oil on canvas. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.



Friis, Aage. "Den Bernstorffske Gobelinsal." *Tilskueren* 25 (1908) pp. 871–80. Account of Tapestry Room in Bernstorff Palace.

Badin. *Beauvais*, p. 68. One sofa and twelve armchairs listed as made for the baron de Thiers in 1754.

E. R. [Edward Robinson]. "The J. Pierpont Morgan Collection." *MMA Bulletin* 9 (1914) p. 38. Part of set seen in first room of exhibition.

J. B. [Joseph Breck]. "French Decorative Art and Sculpture of the Eighteenth Century." *MMA Bulletin* 15 (1920) p. 134. Described as twelve chairs and two sofas upholstered in Beauvais tapestry with scenes from La Fontaine's *Fables*, "formerly in the collections of the Kings of Denmark and of J. Pierpont Morgan," no owner named; p. 133, illus., as displayed in Gallery of Special Exhibitions.

Krohn, Mario. *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse i det 18. Aarhundrede*. Copenhagen, 1922, vol. 1, pp. 75, 76, 213, pl. 12; vol. 2, p. 204. Account of Bernstorff's purchases of Beauvais tapestry; view of his Tapestry Room with five chairs visible.

Hannover, Emil. Review of *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*. *Kunst og Kultur* 11 (1923) p. 10, illus. p. 5 (view of Tapestry Room).

De Salverte, François. *Les Ebénistes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, 1923, p. 115. Furniture listed as formerly in the collection of Charles Wertheimer, London. Repeated without change in 4th ed. (1953) pp. 117–18, and 5th ed. (1962) p. 121.

Elling, Christian. *Palaeer og Patricierhuse fra Rokokotiden*. Copenhagen, 1930, pl. 20 (view of Tapestry Room in Bernstorff Palace).

Grandjean, Bredo L. *En Byggnings Historie: Det Bernstorffske Palae, 1752–1952*. Copenhagen, 1952, pp. 11–13, 16–18, 22, 26, 27. History of Tapestry Room in Bernstorff Palace, p. 14, illus., view of room showing one sofa and eight chairs.

*French Cabinetmakers of the Eighteenth Century*. Collection *Connaissance des Arts*: "Grands Artisans d'Autrefois." [Paris], 1965, p. 138, figs. 1, 2 (sofa and two chairs).

Sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 23, 1971, addendum, nos. 623A–D. One sofa and six chairs from the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offered for sale on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Sofa and one chair illus. Said to be Beauvais upholstery after designs by Oudry from a set of twelve fauteuils and two canapes ordered in 1754 by the baron de Thiers for Count Johann Bernstorff; subsequent history related; short bibliography. Bought in.

Rosasco, Betsy Jean. "Jean-Baptiste Oudry et une Suite de Garniture de Sièges en Tapisserie de Beauvais." Term paper, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1971, pp. 9, 12–18, figs. 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27–30 (eight chairs and a sofa). Relationship with drawings in Fogg Art Museum established.

Chair back, *Dog Catching a Bird*

Parker, James. "Eighteenth-Century France Recreated in the 'Cold, Barbarous Country': The Tapestry Room from the Bernstorff Palace, Copenhagen," *Burlington Magazine* 115 (June 1973) pp. 368, 371–73, figs. 13, 14 (views of Bernstorff Tapestry Room, showing sofa and ten chairs), 16, 19 (chairs), 20 (sofa). Detailed history related, bibliography for Bernstorff Palace given.

Parker, James, and Le Corbeiller, Clare. *A Guide to the Wrightsman Galleries at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1979, pp. 38, 39 (illus one sofa), 77 (illus. chair with two ducks on back), 78.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: V. Rococo and Neo-Classicism." *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 41, fig. 11 (chair with two squirrels on back, two swans on seat).

Verlet, Pierre. *Les Meubles français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 2nd ed. Paris, 1982, pl. 161 (chair with two squirrels on back, two swans on seat).

#### NOTES

1. Heinrich Schwarz and Volker Plagemann, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt et al., vol. 6 (Munich, 1973) s.v. "Eule," cols. 268, 278, 305, 311.
2. Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*, vol. 2, p. 204.
3. Hal N. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972 (New York and London, 1977) vol. 1, pp. 145–49.
4. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, D689, D747.
5. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, D914.
6. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, D748.
7. Rosasco, "Jean-Baptiste Oudry," p. 12, fig. 16. See also 98.
8. Advertisement, *Apollo* 90 (December 1969) p. vii.
9. Pierre Verlet, *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection* (London, 1982) p. 230, no. 15, fig. 206 (Waddesdon example), figs. 211, 212 (Swedish National Collection examples); Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1977) no. 45, illus.
10. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Sèvres Artists and Their Sources I: Paintings and Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 122 (October 1980) p. 675, fig. 1.
11. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, D902, P252, P263; idem, *J.-B. Oudry*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1982) no. 46 (several examples listed).
12. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, P252.
13. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, D689, D913, P215.
14. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, D903, D906. The duck in the foreground is said to be after an oil study by Pieter Boel at Compiègne.
15. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, P240, P286, D622, etc.
16. From the Sotheby's, London, sale, June 27, 1962, no. 79, illus.

Chair seat, *Dog Catching a Bird*



17. *L'Atelier de Desportes*, exh. cat., Louvre (Paris, 1982) no. 12.
18. Jean Cailleux, "M. Oudry le Fils ou Les Avatars de la Paternité," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (July 1982) advertisement supplement following p. 476, p. iii, fig. 5.
19. Parker, "Eighteenth-Century France," p. 368.
20. *Catalogue of the John L. Severance Collection* (Cleveland, 1942) p. 44, nos. 74–80, pl. XXI (sofa).
21. F. J. B. Watson, *Furniture*, Wallace Collection Catalogues (London, 1956) pp. 101–03, nos. F185–F192, pls. 30, 31 (two chairs, two sofas).
22. Chiara Briganti, *Curioso Itinerario delle collezioni ducali parmensi* (Parma, 1969) p. 68, illus. pp. 39, 51, 62, 63, 66, 67.
23. From the Double sale, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1881, no. 406, illus. (engraving of chair) facing p. 89, and the Joseph E. Widener sale, Samuel T. Freeman & Co., Philadelphia, June 20–24, 1944, no. 477, illus. (sofa and six chairs).
24. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4 (1907) pl. facing p. 380.
25. Olivier Le Fuel, "L'extravagante villa-musée de la belle Madame Ephrussi," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 121 (March 1962) p. 77, illus.
26. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, P596.
27. Parker, "Eighteenth-Century France," pp. 372–73.



## 75 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for three armchairs

French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

Backs 2 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 10½ in. (64 cm x 57 cm);

seats 2 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 7 in. (69 x 79 cm);

armrests 9 in. x 5 in. (23 cm x 13 cm).

21–24 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of Mary Ann Payne Foundation, Inc., 1962 (62.224

[75a]); Gift of Mary Ann Robertson, 1964 (64.145.9, 10  
[75b, c]).

### DESCRIPTION

Each chair has a bird in a landscape on the back cover and an animal in a landscape on the seat. The central scenes are surrounded by scrollwork in shades of brown and dull yellow, intertwined with leaves and flowers in red, pink, blue, purple, and dark green. The ground outside the scrollwork is brown. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

The armrests are all alike, having central medallions of a pink rose with yellow and green foliage on a pale blue ground.

On the back of 75a, a large bird with a yellow beak, blue head and neck, red and blue wing, tan body, and red legs stands in a landscape. There are pale blue hills in the distance and some blue, brown, and dull green trees and bushes. The foreground is in shades of dull green and brown. The sky is blue above, white below. On the seat, a stag in shades of brown with a red tongue stands by a large gray and brown rock. The foreground is in shades of dull green and brown. The sky is pale blue.

On the back of 75b, a hawk in shades of brown and pale tan swoops down onto a field in the same colors. There are clumps of trees in pale green, blue, and yellow on the horizon. The sky is blue above, cream colored below. On the seat, a greyhound in shades of gray and brown stands in a landscape. There are pale blue hills in the distance and some pale yellow and green trees. The foreground is in shades of dull green and brown. The sky is pale blue.

On the back of 75c, a parrot with a pale brown body, but with wings and tail in red, blue, green, and dull yellow,



75a



75b

holds a red fruit to its beak as it perches on the pale brown branch of a small tree with a brown and gray trunk. The distant landscape is in shades of pale blue and gray, with some dull red-brown foliage in the middle distance. The sky is blue above, white below. On the seat, a small animal (perhaps a marmot, though its ears are too large) in shades of brown and gray is about to eat a dark green and brown leafy plant. There is dark green vegetation in the background. The foreground is in shades of dark green and brown. The sky is pale blue.

#### CONDITION

The panels have been slightly cut to fit the frames, but there are no substantial areas of repair.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The hawk is close to one in a drawing, *Hawks Attacking a Family of Partridges and a Young Rabbit*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry, dated 1746, which was in the sale of Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, Hirsch, Munich, November 26, 1921 (no. 439, illus.).<sup>1</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A fourth armchair of the set to which 75a, b, and c belong was with them in the Lelong and Blumenthal collections. It was in the Baroness von Wrangel sales, Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1970 (no. 106, illus.), and May 19, 1972 (no. 70, illus.); in both cases it was described as formerly owned by the late George Blumenthal. The back shows a parrot standing on a branch, the seat has an animal in a landscape.

The armchair covers in a set of a sofa and six armchairs in the E. Joseph sale, Christie's, May 6–June 13, 1890 (no. 1945, sofa and two armchairs illus.), have single large birds or animals in the same borders as 75.

## HISTORY

In the Mme C. Lelong sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 11–15, 1903, vol. 2, no. 884, illus. (two armchairs).

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York, from before 1930.

One armchair given to the MMA by the Mary Ann Payne Foundation, Inc., 1962.

Two armchairs given to the MMA by Mary Ann Robertson, 1964.

## PUBLICATIONS

Rubinstein-Bloch, Stella. *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*. Vol. 6, *Furniture and Works of Art*. Paris 1930, pl. xxx (one armchair). Set of four armchairs; tapestries called Beauvais, probably after Oudry and Desportes, inspired by La Fontaine's *Fables*.

*MMA Annual Report 1962–1963*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 22 (1963–64) p. 84. One listed as “armchair, walnut, covered in French tapestry of the period of Louis XV . . . [gift of the Mary Ann Payne Foundation, Inc.,] subject to a life interest in Mrs. Ralph K. Robertson.”

## NOTE

1. Hal N. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972 (New York and London, 1977) vol. 2, suppl. D669A, fig. 444.



75c

## 76 Upholstery panels

Back and seat for an armchair

French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. x 1 ft. 10 in. (61 cm x 56 cm);

seat 2 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 7 in. (66 cm x 79 cm).

20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.42).



### DESCRIPTION

On the back, two pale gray and brown ducks with blue heads stand on dark green grass with two dark gray and brown pebbles in front of them. Behind them rise blue-green reeds. The group is supported by a dull yellow and brown console, resting on scrollwork in the same colors. Similar scrolls rise on either side of the panel, intertwined with red and blue flowers and blue-green leaves. The background is pale blue above, dull pale yellow below. The areas outside the scrollwork are gray.

Scrollwork on the seat similar to that on the back surrounds an area of flowers and leaves in red, blue, and green, now almost indecipherable owing to repair.

The armrests are modern.

### CONDITION

Both back and seat are heavily repaired, especially in the centers. All silk passages appear to be modern, as well as the areas outside the scrollwork. The back is torn and the seat shows extensive stretches of bare warps.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The two ducks are found on drawings in the Fogg Art Museum, attributed to Oudry or his workshop (see 74, figs. 57, 58).

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The two ducks are found on a chair back and a chair seat in 74 as well as on chairs in the Wallace Collection and the Cleveland Museum of Art (see 74).

The same surrounds are seen on a set of twelve armchairs and a sofa in the Edward T. Stotesbury sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 18, 1944 (nos. 27–33, sofa and two chairs illus.); they were called Aubusson and were said to have come from the collection of the duke of Sutherland.

### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. P. Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.



## 77 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for four armchairs

French (probably Beauvais), about 1750.

Wool and silk.

Backs 2 ft. 1 in. x 2 ft. (64 cm x 61 cm);

seats 2 ft. 5 in. x 2 ft. 8 in. (74 cm x 81 cm);

armrests 9½ in. x 6 in. (24 cm x 15 cm).

18–21 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.987 [77a]; 64.101.988

[77c]; 64.101.989 [77b]; 64.101.990 [77d]).

### DESCRIPTION

Each back has a different central medallion, but the floral surrounds of 77a and d are basically the same. The seats of 77a and c are after a single design, as are those of 77b and d. The armrests are fragments of tapestry similar to the surrounds of the medallions and were not specifically woven for their present use. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

On the back of 77a, a lion in shades of yellow, tan, and brown, with a red mouth, is seen in a landscape. There is a large gray rock at the left. The sky is pale gray and the distant trees are pale yellow and blue-green. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, and dull green. One small plant has white flowers, another has red. The surrounding flowers are in shades of red, white, yellow, pink, purple, and blue, with foliage in blue, blue-green, and green; a large pale yellow tulip is seen on the lower right, a red double poppy with a bud at the upper right, and purple honeysuckles above the lion.

On the seat, a thin tree with pale green and yellow leaves rises from a bank on the right. Behind it is a church with a pale brown spire and a dark blue striped roof; other distant buildings with pale red roofs are seen on the left. The sky is pale blue above, pale gray below. The foreground is in shades of green and brown. The surrounding flowers are in shades of pink, blue, and dull yellow, with green and blue foliage. A yellow sunflower is seen on the left, with pink roses above it.

On the back of 77b, a pale dull tan and brown bitch with several pale yellow puppies crouches behind a broken brown stone wall under a brown roof. There are blue and brown sticks under her and a brown bowl with blue water in front. A seated gray and brown bitch faces her. The sky



77a



is pale gray and there are some distant trees in pale yellow and blue. The foreground is dark green and brown, with some small white flowers. The surrounding flowers are in shades of red, pink, white, blue, and yellow with blue and green foliage; there are large pink roses at the lower left, a red double poppy at the upper right, and several very large tulips.

On the seat, a broken tree in dull yellow and green rises from the lower left; its sparse leaves are dull pale yellow and green above, dark green below. Other trees in the same colors are seen in the background. The sky is pale gray, with a distant landscape in tones of brown and green. The surrounding flowers are in shades of dull red, dull yellow, white, and pink, with green, blue-green, and blue foliage, on a red-brown and black ground.

On the back of 77c, a hawk in shades of brown, tan, and gray stands on a dark blue supine bird in a landscape. Tall trees on the left are in pale yellow and shades of green. The sky is pale blue above, with white and pale gray clouds below. The foreground is in shades of blue, blue-green, and pale yellow. The surrounding flowers are in shades of red, pink, blue, and pale yellow, with green and blue foliage; wide-open poppies in red, pink, and pale yellow are conspicuous.

The design of the seat of 77c is the same as the seat of 77a, though more buildings are visible in the distance.

On the back of 77d, a blue and pale yellow-gray bird with a red mouth and legs is about to alight on a branch of a tree with red flowers and green leaves; the knobby trunk is in shades of green, yellow, and brown. In the distance on the left is a gray building with pink roofs and there is a line of green trees in the background. The sky is pale blue above, gray and pale yellow below. The foreground is in shades of green and brown. The surrounding flowers are in shades of red, lavender, pale yellow, pink, and blue, with green, blue-green, and blue foliage; striped red and yellow tulips, red double poppies, and red honeysuckle and rosebuds are conspicuous.

The design of the seat of 77d is the same as the seat of 77b, but the landscape is clearer and the colors of the flowers stronger.

#### CONDITION

All the pieces were enlarged to fit their present frames. The back of 77a has many small repairs, and the seat is

much worn, with areas of total repair and others of bare warps.

On 77b the top of the head of the dog on the left is a replacement. The black wefts are worn and there are many small repairs throughout.

The hawk's left wing on 77c is almost entirely renewed, and the sky is much repaired. The seat has large bare areas and much repair.

Both back and seat of 77d have many small areas of repair and there are bare passages on the seat.

#### SUBJECT

The subject of the back of 77b is La Fontaine's fable *La Lice et sa Compagne* (bk. 2, 7). The bitch, who has usurped another bitch's shelter, is shown with her small puppies, which, she says, are too young to be moved. The attitude of the lion on the back of 77a is like that of the angry beast





in the fable *Le Lion et le Moucheron* (bk. 2, 9), but there is no fly and no spider's web. The bird of prey and its victim on the back of 77c could be from the fable *Le Milan et le Rossignol* (bk. 9, 18), but no fable has been identified for which the back of 77d could be an illustration.



#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Oudry's illustration to *La Lice et sa Compagne* shows the same general arrangement as the back of 77b, especially the roof of the lean-to and the broken wall, but it depicts a later moment of the story, the last visit of the ousted bitch when the puppies are full-grown and can defy her. Oudry painted the subject in 1747 for the Dauphin's apartment at Versailles.<sup>1</sup>

Oudry's painting *Le Lion et le Moucheron*, in the National Museum, Stockholm, shows a lion very similar to that of 77a; the painting is signed and dated 1732.<sup>2</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Another example of the back of 77b is in the Hermitage, Leningrad, mounted as a round panel. The surrounding wreath is not the same.<sup>3</sup>

#### HISTORY

Acquired on modern frames by Irwin Untermyer before 1958. Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1964.

#### EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1977. *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection of English and Continental Decorative Arts*, cat. no. 144 [77b and d], illus. [77b].

#### PUBLICATIONS

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English Furniture with Some Furniture of Other Countries in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 31, figs. 143–46, pls. 116–19. Called Beauvais.

Coleridge, Anthony. *Chippendale Furniture*. London, 1968, p. 192, fig. 182 [77b]. Called Beauvais.

#### NOTES

1. Robert Genaille, "Les Fables de La Fontaine en tapisserie de Beauvais au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences et Arts du Département de l'Oise* 27 (1933) p. 441.
2. Hal Opperman, J.-B. Oudry, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1982) no. 86.
3. N. Birioukova, *Les Tapisseries françaises de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les Collections de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1974) no. 65, illus.



## 78 Italian Village Scenes

A complete set of eight pieces

- a *The Charlatan and the Peep Show*
- b *The Gypsy Fortune-Teller*
- c *The Collation*
- d *The Gardener*
- e *The Hunter*
- f *Girls with Grapes*
- g *The Parrot*
- h *The Egg Seller*

French (Beauvais); designed by François Boucher (1703–1770), 1734–46, and woven in 1762 under the direction of André Charlemagne Charron (fl. 1753–1780) for the Boulard de Gatellier family, for their Château de Gatellier (Loire).

Designer's name on 78a and 78c.

Wool and silk.

78a 9 ft. 3½ in. x 13 ft. 4½ in. (2.83 m x 4.08 m);

78b 9 ft. 7 in. x 6 ft. 7½ in. (2.92 m x 2.02 m);

78c 10 ft. 10 in. x 8 ft. 6 in. (3.30 m x 2.59 m);

78d 9 ft. 2½ in. x 6 ft. 1 in. (2.81 m x 1.85 m);

78e 9 ft. 5 in. x 2 ft. 10 in. (2.87 m x 86 cm);

78f 9 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 8½ in. (2.82 m x 83 cm);

78g 9 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft. 9 in. (2.79 m x 53 cm);

78h 9 ft. 1 in. x 2 ft. 6 in. (2.77 m x 76 cm).

21–23 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Gift of Mary Ann Robertson, 1964 (64.145.1–8).

### DESCRIPTION

The orange-brown borders imitating wooden frames are modern, the tapestries having been woven to be inserted into boiseries.

### SUBJECT

The contemporary titles of the series were *Fêtes italiennes* and *Fêtes de village à l'italienne*.<sup>1</sup> Only the *Charlatan and the Peep Show* (apparently always woven together) can be described as a festival, as they show activities at a village fair. The classical ruins and statues that appear in the backgrounds of most of the subjects are the only indi-

cation that the setting is Italian, unless some of the trees are umbrella pines.

The subjects of the series not included in this set have been published as the *Girl Fishing*, the *Dance*, *Music*, the *Shepherdess*, and the *Innkeeper* (*Cabaretier*).<sup>2</sup> No tapestries corresponding to the titles of the *Shepherdess* and the *Innkeeper* have been identified; these were probably alternate names for the *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* and the *Collation*.<sup>3</sup>

There are also several groups of two or more people that are sometimes found as separate subjects, as well as in combination with the main scenes. These include the three seated people with music books, usually combined, as in 78a and 78j, with the *Charlatan* and the *Peep Show*, where they are extremely incongruous, and a peddler, his customers, and a boy with a box for a marmot, generally found, equally inappropriately, with the *Dance*. This group must surely have been intended to be combined with the *Charlatan* and the *Peep Show*; the marmot box and the *curiosité* (peep show) were both standard equipment for wandering young Savoyards, who made their living by displaying them.<sup>4</sup> The boy holding a wreath over a girl's head in the *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, though not found alone as a tapestry, does not appear on the painting of the subject.<sup>5</sup> As many as four of the subjects could be combined to make a single tapestry, as in the example in the Philadelphia Museum (the *Charlatan*, *Peep Show*, *Girls with Grapes*, and *Hunters*);<sup>6</sup> on the other hand, a single figure could be taken from a group to appear alone on a narrow tapestry, as was the hunter of 78c.

The series as a whole has no subject, except that it shows attractive young people engaged in agreeable outdoor activities. In the *Charlatan*, *Peep Show*, *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, *Hunters*, *Girls with Grapes*, and *Girl Fishing*, at least some of the actors could be taken for country people; in the other four tapestries, they are clearly gentlefolk amusing themselves in the open air.<sup>7</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Boucher's designs for the *Fêtes italiennes* were listed in a Beauvais inventory of 1754: "Les desseins en quatre tableaux des *Fêtes italiennes* peint par le sieur Boucher . . .

contenant, avec les bordures, quatorze aunes de cours. . . . Une seconde suite des *Fêtes italiennes*, peinte par le sieur Boucher par ordre de Monsieur Fagon, . . . contenant, avec les bordures, quatorze aunes [*sic*] de cours.”<sup>8</sup> There were thus nearly a hundred and ten running feet of paintings; if the second set was also of four pieces, each of the eight paintings was about thirteen feet wide, corresponding closely to the width of a fairly large tapestry of this series, such as 78a. The *Charlatan* of this set is signed and dated 1736, which is also the date of the first weaving, a set of three (unnamed) pieces. The *Collation* is not recorded as having been woven before 1745, unless it is identical with the *Innkeeper* of 1742. The *Girls with Grapes* first appears in 1742, the *Dance* in 1744, *Music* in 1745, and the *Gardener* in 1746. The *Parrot* and the *Egg Seller* were first made in 1762 for the set 78a–h.<sup>9</sup> Their compositions were probably taken from other Boucher designs on hand at the manufactory; it is not possible that Boucher would have been available to make new subjects for Beauvais at this late date.

Though the various groups could be separated or combined with great freedom, it is possible to suggest what the original cartoons might have contained, if the unidentified titles, the *Innkeeper* and the *Shepherdess*, are considered to be alternates for the *Collation* and the *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*. The first set of four cartoons could have been the *Charlatan* and the *Peep Show* combined; the *Hunters* and the *Girls with Grapes* combined; the *Girl Fishing*; and the *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*. The second four would then be the *Dance*, the *Collation*, *Music*, and the *Gardener*. The first four were certainly painted by 1736, the second possibly not before 1742, the date of the first weaving of the *Innkeeper*. Two paintings, called *Le Goûter sur l’herbe* and *Danse champêtre*, signed and dated 1738 and said to have been owned by Mme de Pompadour, were sold in Paris, March 22, 1857;<sup>10</sup> though nothing is known of the compositions of these paintings, it is possible that they correspond to the *Collation* and the *Dance* of this series.

A painting, 1.6 meters square, in the Musée Baron Martin, Gray, shows the design of the peddler and his customers, with a seated boy leaning on his marmot box behind the group and steps and a fountain in the distance.<sup>11</sup> A tapestry after this painting was in the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 24, 1936 (no. 115, illus.), and was sold again at Christie’s Geneva, May 8, 1973 (no. 116, illus.).<sup>12</sup> The scene also

appears combined with the *Dance* in the M. X . . . sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 23, 1927 (no. 1, illus.),<sup>13</sup> and combined with the *Gardener* and the *Dance* in the Comte Greffulhe sale, Sotheby’s, London, July 23, 1937 (no. 62, illus.). A painting of the *Girl Fishing* and the fountain above her was in the Watel Dehayin sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 12, 1973 (no. 4, illus.), and later in a private collection in New York.<sup>14</sup> Drawings by Boucher for three figures in *Music* are in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, and a private collection in Paris.<sup>15</sup> For paintings, drawings and prints connected with the compositions of 78, see discussions of the individual pieces.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

M. Boulard de Gatellier commissioned a set of eight pieces, certainly 78a–h, in 1762. At this time, the manufactory was under the direction of André Charlemagne Charron.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Only one other set of as many as eight pieces is recorded. It was made in 1750 and placed in storage. It consisted of six of the same subjects as 78a–h and 78i (the *Charlatan*, *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, *Hunter*, *Collation*, *Gardener*, and *Dance*), as well as the *Girl Fishing* and *Music*. All the other listed sets were smaller.

Some tentative identifications can be made of sets known from the records of payments to the weavers.<sup>16</sup> A set finished in 1738, the *Charlatan*, *Girl Fishing*, and *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, with coats of arms, can be presumed to be the three pieces with the Rohan-Soubise arms in the Philadelphia Museum and the collection of the prince de Ligne, Beloeil, Belgium. One of five pieces in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (from the San Donato sale, Florence, March 15, 1880, no. 36), may be that made for Président Masson in 1739. The subjects are the same, the *Charlatan* and the *Peep Show* as one piece, *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, *Hunters*, *Girl Fishing*, and one recorded at the factory as “Les 2 figures à qui on presente du fruit” and in the sale as “les Vendanges”; this is a narrow version of the *Girls with Grapes*. But an addition (“rallonge”) is listed as made for the *Charlatan*, with a dog and a parrot; these do not appear on the tapestry. A set of four pieces in the Sir Anthony de Rothschild sale, Christie’s,

London, June 13, 1923 (no. 89), had the same subjects (the *Charlatan*, *Girl Fishing*, *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, and *Hunters*) as sets made for Mme Croizat and M. de la Chabrierie in 1740 and as one put in the warehouse in 1745. A set of six pieces was in the M. X . . . sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 23, 1927 (nos. 1–6, all illus.); it consists of the *Dance*, *Music*, *Hunters* and *Girls with Grapes* combined, the *Gardener*, and the three people with music books in the *Charlatan*. A set of five pieces is recorded as having been in the Château de Balleroy, Calvados, near Bayeux; it consists of a large version of the *Dance*, the *Collation*, the *Girl Fishing*, *Music*, and a small *entrefenêtre*. No publication of it is known; it was given by Louis XV to Charles Auguste de la Coeur and was sold in 1925.<sup>17</sup> No sets of even as few as four pieces are in a private collection.

The *Girl Fishing* is known from examples in the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino; the Palazzo Venezia, Rome; the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris; and the collection of the prince de Ligne, as well as in some sales catalogues.<sup>18</sup> *Music* is found in the Abbaye de Chaalis, owned by the Institut de France, and a very wide version, formerly owned by Sir George Cooper, was sold at Christie's, London, July 1, 1982 (no. 10, illus.); there are several smaller examples.<sup>19</sup> Two small pieces with the boy and the girl from the extreme left of the widest version are in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (nos. 993, 994).<sup>20</sup> A weaving of the *Dance* is at the Metropolitan Museum (78i).

A sofa and six armchairs were upholstered with suitable Beauvais designs for Boulard de Gattellier to harmonize with his wall coverings; they are now in the Louvre.<sup>21</sup> The figure subjects on the upholstery were taken from Boucher's *Noble Pastorale* series.

## HISTORY

The set remained at the Château de Gattellier (also called Gâtellier, with other variations) until 1898, when it was bought by the dealer Joel Duveen. The borders were woven at this time by Aubusson workmen under the direction of Georges Pluyette.<sup>22</sup> From early photographs, it can be determined that the *Charlatan* and the *Peep Show* was between two doors on a wall of a room facing the window; the *Gardener* and the *Parrot* on an end wall, the latter nearest the window, with a fireplace between them; the *Collation* and the *Hunter* on the opposite wall, the latter nearest the window, with a mirror

between them.<sup>23</sup> The *Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, *Girls with Grapes*, and the *Egg Seller* may have been on the window wall, though the faded condition of the *Girls with Grapes* suggests that it was exposed to the light. The strong colors of the *Gardener*, *Collation*, and *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* show that they were more protected.

Acquired by R. W. Hudson, Great Marlow, England, 1900.

Acquired by George Blumenthal, about 1928.

Repaired by French & Co., New York, 1954.

Given to the MMA by Blumenthal's widow, Mary Ann Robertson, 1964.

## EXHIBITION

London, Frank Partridge, 1925.

## PUBLICATIONS

Badin. *Beauvais*, p. 60. Listed as eight pieces (*L'Opérateur*, *La Bohémienne*, *Les Chasseurs*, *Les Filles aux raisins*, *La Collation*, *Le Jardinier*, *Le Perroquet*, *Le Marchand d'oeufs*) made for M. Boulard de Gatillon [sic] in 1762; pl. facing p. 36, room in the Château de Gattellier (Loire), showing the *Collation* in a carved wooden frame and (reflected in a mirror) the *Parrot*.

Fenaille, Maurice. *François Boucher*. Paris, 1925, p. 96. Said to be in the Desmarais collection, from the Château de Gattellier. *Connoisseur* 72 (May 1925) p. ix, advertisement, illus. [78c].

"Current Art Notes: Superb Tapestries." *Connoisseur* 72 (June 1925) p. 122. Notice of exhibition at Mr. Frank Partridge's galleries; said to have been at the Château de Beaulieu on the Loire "until about twenty years ago."

"A Set of Beauvais Tapestries." *Country Life* 57 (May 9, 1925) p. 750, illus. [78a]. Said to be from the collection of the comte de Gattellier [sic], Château de Beaulieu on the Loire; on exhibition at Frank Partridge's, King Street, London.

Marillier, H. C. "Christie's" 1766–1925. London, 1926, p. 205. Mentioned as from "the Château of the Gattelliers on the Loire and belonging to the late Mr. Hudson, the 'Soap King,'" exhibited "during the summer of 1925 at a London Gallery."

Rubinstein-Bloch, Stella. *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal*, New York. Vol. 6, *Furniture and Works of Art*. Paris, 1930, pls. LXVII–LXXII. Called four panels and four *entrefenêtres* from the suite *Les Fêtes italiennes*, woven originally for M. Boulard de Gatillon [sic] in 1762, later in the Château de Gattellier, and subsequently in the collection of M. Hudson. Some other versions listed.

MMA *Annual Report* 1965–1966. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 25 (1966–67) p. 97. Listed as gift of Ann Payne Robertson.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Eighteenth Century in France*. Trans. George Savage. Rutland, Vt., 1967, p. 60, pl. 89 (room in Château de Gatellier).

Parker, James. "The Hôtel de Varengeville Room and the Room from the Palais Paar: A Magnificent Donation." *MMA Bulletin* n.s. 28 (1969-70) p. 145, mentioned; fig. 26, gallery showing *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* and (in mirror) the *Collation*.

Jarry, Madeleine. "The Wealth of Boucher Tapestries in American Museums." *Antiques* 102 (1972) p. 223, set mentioned; cover, illus. color, detail of 78e; p. 226, pl. 1, color illus. [78c].

Schwartz, Marvin D., and Wade, Betsy. *The New York Times Book of Antiques*. New York, 1972, p. 97, illus. [78c].

*MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965-1975*. New York, 1975, p. 292, illus. [78c].

Fowles, Edward. *Memories of Duveen Brothers*. London, 1976, pp. 8, 9. Account of sales to Joel Duveen and R. W. Hudson.

Ananoff, Alexandre. *François Boucher*. Lausanne and Paris, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 254-64, nos. 128-41 (78b, c, d, e, f, h mentioned), figs. 459, 474, 483-85 [78a, b, c, d, h]. Related paintings, drawings, prints, and some tapestries listed and illustrated. The author is not convinced that 78h is the *Marchand d'oeufs* of this set.

Standen, Edith A. "Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art." *MMA Journal* 12 (1977) pp. 107-30, figs. 6-8, 10, 11, 13, 20, 23-27, 30, 32, 33, 36. History of series given, all subjects discussed, related paintings cited, tapestries of all subjects listed; all pieces of 78a-h and 78i illustrated; 78g and h said to be only distantly related to Boucher.

Shoolman Slatkin, Regina. "The Fêtes Italiennes: Their Place in Boucher's Oeuvre." *MMA Journal* 12 (1977) pp. 130-39, figs. 41-57. Related prints and drawings illustrated and discussed.

Sutton, Denys. *François Boucher*. Exh. cat., Wildenstein, New York, 1980, p. 35, no. 5. Set mentioned.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520-1790: V. Rococo and Neo-Classicism." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 39-41, figs. 5, 6 (*Charlatan* and detail), 7, 8 (*Gypsy* and detail), 9, 10 (*Collation* and detail).

*MMA Guide*. New York, 1983, p. 224, no. 65, illus. [78c].

## 78a *The Charlatan and the Peep Show*

### DESCRIPTION

The dark-skinned charlatan, wearing a white turban, a dull pink undergarment, and a dull blue-green, fur-trimmed loose coat, stands on a platform under a dark pink canopy, supported by brown shafts and ropes and a broken, fluted, pale gray column. He holds a flask with a red liquid in his right hand and places his left on a pale brown cupboard; its top shelf is filled with gray and white bottles and a pestle and mortar. In front of it sits a young woman with red ribbons in her fair hair, a white petticoat, pink dress, and loose blue coat. She holds a pale yellow wand in her left hand. To the left, a young man blowing a yellow trumpet sits on the edge of the platform which is covered with a red cloth. He wears a dark blue shirt and a dull lavender overgarment and shoes. Six spectators stand on the left. The most prominent is a girl with her hair tied in a knot; she wears a red bodice laced up the back, pink sleeves and overskirt, and a dull lavender petticoat, and holds a brown and dull yellow basket. A child behind her has a red jacket and dark green and yellow skirt. Partly seen behind this pair is a woman in brown with a white collar. Three figures are visible between this trio and the trumpeter. One, with very fair hair, holds a yellow coin in her left hand. Another, with a wide-brimmed hat with blue ties and bunches of ribbons at her ears, holds a basket. Part of a boy's head appears behind her.

In the center, below the platform, are four people grouped around a blue cylinder with a white clocklike top, inscribed in black: XII I II III. A horizontal arrow or needle in the center of the clockface is held by a boy in a gray shirt and red short pants. Another boy, in dull pink and white, holding a long stick, leans over his shoulder. A smaller boy in dark pink holds a white coin in his left hand and places his right on a group of the bobbinlike objects (*plaisirs* or *oublies*, rolled wafers) that lie on the clockface between the numerals. A seated girl in a bright red cap, bodice, and underskirt, with yellow sleeves and overskirt, holds a white coin in her outstretched right hand. By her side lies a small child in blue, pink, and white, holding a white cake or biscuit to his mouth. By her knee is a brown and pale yellow basket, holding a blue-striped cloth and a number of red and pink flowers and dark green leaves. Behind this group are three figures, a girl in front with blue ribbons in



her hair, a dull blue-brown dress, and yellow sleeve; the head of another girl is seen behind her, as well as that of a boy with a gray hat. He holds a rope, the other end of which is tied to a brown monkey, which jumps down from the cupboard behind the charlatan. Under the monkey's feet are some white documents with dangling seals.

To the right of these groups is a young man operating a blue peep show, supported on wooden trestles. He wears a pale yellow shirt, pink breeches, gray stockings, pale yellow shoes, and a blue cloak, as he manipulates the yellow

strings that change the pictures in the peep show. On top of the large box is a smaller blue one, with a gray protruding tube terminated by a yellow ring; it has a cylindrical chimney with vertical slits, topped by a conical, fluted lid, both in dull yellow-gray. Beside it is a tilted brown and yellow basket, a walking stick, and a piece of dark pink drapery. Three of the four peepholes are covered by sliding panels. One is open, and a young woman looks through it. She has a pale pink bodice, a white sleeve and apron, a gray underskirt, and a yellow overskirt, mostly



tucked up, and supports a half-nude baby boy in pink with a white undergarment. Behind her is a standing woman dressed in blue, with blue flowers in her hair, holding a baby wrapped in a dark pink blanket. The head of a boy is seen above the stooping woman and the hair of another child appears on the right.

Below and to the right of these figures is a seated group of three people. A young man in the foreground is dressed in dark pink with a white shirt showing at the waist, white stockings and shoes with blue bows and red heels, his hair tied with a blue ribbon. He leans against his bright red cloak and holds a brown guitar as he looks at a large open

music book in front of him. Behind him is a girl with red and blue ornaments in her hair and a blue dress with white cuffs, holding an open music book on her lap. A young man beside her has a red bow in his hair and is dressed in dull lavender with a blue cloak.

In the background on the left are a ruined classical arch and a broken fluted column, in tones of gray, brown, and dull yellow. One of the large stone blocks below the column is inscribed in brown in reverse: BOUCHEP / 1736. Behind the charlatan are broken columns and a small ruined circular classical temple on a high foundation. There are a number of dark green and yellow bushes, one





growing in a gray pot. On the right, behind the peep show, is a tree, probably an umbrella pine, growing on the temple foundation, and other vegetation. A dimly seen statue of a man on a pedestal rises above a mass of yellow foliage. The sky is pale gray, with clouds in darker gray and dull yellow, and a flying bird on the right. The foreground on the left shows a pile of classical architectural fragments in grays, browns, and dull yellows, partly overgrown with plants in the same colors and dark green. There are some purple and pink flowers. On the right is a rocky gorge, chiefly in shades of brown, with a blue stream flowing through it; there are reeds and large-leaved plants in browns, dull yellows, and dark blue-green. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

#### CONDITION

The sky has lost its colors and is much repaired. Some small silk areas have perished, revealing the bare warps. The greater amount of fading, compared with the other tapestries of the set, must have been caused by the position of the tapestry in the Château de Gatellier, on a wall facing windows.

#### SUBJECT

The charlatan, selling his nostrums with the aid of a trumpeter, a pretty girl, and a monkey, is identified as an exotic figure by his dark skin, his turban, and his fur-trimmed costume. The papers with seals attached, trodden on by the monkey, are presumably testimonials to the efficacy of his wares.

The group below the charlatan's platform are gambling for *oublies*, also called *plaisirs*. The sellers of these rolled wafers carried their wares in metal containers with a *tour-niquet*, or numbered disc, on the lid. A central arrow could be twirled on a pivot; the digit at which the point came to rest indicated the number of *oublies* the purchaser would receive for his money.<sup>24</sup>

On the right is a *boîte à curiosité*, or peep show. The usual *curiosité* was a plain box, with one or more peep-holes, and strings hanging outside by which the pictures shown inside could be changed; the very large type seem to have been more common in Italy than in France.<sup>25</sup> Both here and in a Sèvres soft-paste biscuit group called *La Curiosité*, or *La Lanterne magique montrée à la foire par*

*le Savoyard* (by Falconet after Boucher),<sup>26</sup> the structure on the top of the box shows the characteristic chimney and pointed, fluted lid of the peep show that used a candle instead of daylight. The protruding tube suggests that this machine was also a magic lantern.<sup>27</sup>

These three groups are carrying on characteristic activities of a country fair, but the trio on the right has no connection with such an occasion and, indeed, has chosen an extremely noisy place in which to make music. It seems probable that they were associated in Boucher's cartoons with the subject called *Music*. Perhaps the original right-hand group of the village-fair design was the young peddler and his customers.





FIG. 60. *Woman Holding a Music Book*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry, after François Boucher. Drawing. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The round temple is reminiscent of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli.

Several drawings have been associated with this tapestry. One in the National Museum, Stockholm, is for the girl on the left with a basket on her arm and for the child behind her. One formerly in the J. P. Heseltine collection, London, is for the young woman selling the *plaisirs*. A *Young Girl* in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, is close to a figure watching the charlatan, and the man operating the peep show resembles a drawing from the collection of Mrs. Frederick C. Havemeyer, sold at Sotheby's, London,

November 28, 1962 (no. 33, illus.).<sup>28</sup> A sheet of studies of hands from the David Daniels collection, sold at this auction house, April 25, 1978 (no. 66, illus.), includes those of the *plaisirs* seller and some of her customers. A drawing for the seated woman holding a music book in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin (fig. 60), is considered a copy by Oudry after Boucher.<sup>29</sup>

A print dated 1740 by Charles Nicolas Cochin  *fils*, called the *Foire de campagne*, shows the peep show and the group around the *plaisirs* box, as well as the round temple and leaning tree in the background, but the charlatan and his companion are different. It is said to have been engraved after a poor copy of a Boucher sketch.<sup>30</sup> Another print by P. Aveline, *La Musique*, includes the woman of the music-making trio; it is said to be after a painting of 1737.<sup>31</sup> Prints by J. J. de Boissieu after Karel du Jardin, showing comedians and charlatans, have also been associated with the composition as a whole, and prints by Gilles Demarteau and Louis Bonnet after Boucher are related to individual figures.<sup>32</sup>

A Boucher painting in the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London, called *A Man Offering Grapes to a Girl*, includes the seller of *oublies*, reversed; it is signed and dated 1768.<sup>33</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Charlatan* is recorded as having been woven twelve times between 1738 and 1762 (78a). Only once is the *Peep Show* named as having been woven with it, in a set made in 1739 for Président Masson. The *Peep Show*, as a separate tapestry, appears in the records only once, in a set woven in 1759 for M. de l'Orme, which did not include the *Charlatan*. But the published tapestries all show both subjects combined and the music-making trio added to the right. Examples include one in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (from the San Donato sale, no. 36);<sup>34</sup> it is longer and narrower than 78a, showing two columns on the far left and more vegetation on the right, but cut off at the top just above the head of the statue. The name Boucher is not reversed and the framelike borders have fleurs-de-lis in the corners. One in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, from the Willy Blumenthal collection, Paris, is very close to 78a.<sup>35</sup> It has only a guard for a border, with the mark A.C. for André Charron, showing that it was made after 1753, though no *Charlatan* except 78a is recorded as



woven at such a late date. The example in the Huntington Collection, San Marino, acquired in 1927 and previously in the Anthony de Rothschild sale (no. 89), is wider and shorter than 78a, showing a large tree trunk on the far right; the name Boucher is not reversed and there is no date.<sup>36</sup> The tree trunk and the two columns also appear on the borderless example owned by the Hillwood Museum, Washington.<sup>37</sup> 78j has two columns on the left, but ends on the right immediately beyond the girl with a music book. Two other subjects, the *Girls with Grapes* and the *Hunters*, were added to the right of the example in the Philadelphia Museum, making it nearly twenty-five feet wide. It was acquired in 1929 and had been sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 21, 1928 (not numbered, illus.). The elaborate borders have the arms of the prince de Soubise; the name Boucher is not reversed. An example in the Paul Dutasta sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 3, 4, 1926 (no. 193, illus.), is like 78a, except that it is greatly extended on the right, showing the tree trunk and several smaller trees, with a pond below them; the name Boucher is reversed. The name is not on a piece in the François Coty sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 30–December 1, 1936 (no. 110, illus.), which has a stretch of foliage and foundations to the left of the two columns; it is also higher than 78a, showing all the ruined roof of the round temple behind the charlatan. The date is 1737. An example formerly owned by the earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, was sold by Christie's in the house, May 22, 1984 (no. 1766, illus.); it is close to 78a, but the name Boucher is not reversed.

The music-making trio was woven at least once as a separate panel, the tapestry now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, previously in the Ogden L. Mills sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 2, 1938 (no. 538, illus.), and the M. X . . . sale, 1927 (no. 8, illus.).<sup>38</sup> The background includes the classical statue.

## 78b *The Gypsy Fortune-Teller*

### DESCRIPTION

The young woman has bare feet and wears a white and blue kerchief, tight orange-red sleeves, and blue underskirt, tattered at the hem, a lavender tucked-up robe, and a pink wide-sleeved jacket, with a red zig line at the shoulder and a pale blue stripe. On her back is a baby in white,

wrapped in a dark yellow blanket. She holds the hand of a seated shepherdess, who is in very pale pink with a yellow overskirt and blue shoes. She has blue ribbons in her hair, around her neck, and at her elbow, and holds a pale gray *houlette* with a blue bow at the top. Behind the raised bank on which she sits is a partially seen young woman with a red ribbon in her hair, wearing a lavender-pink dress with a blue scarf visible at the back of her neck.

To her right is a seated girl holding a swag of red, pink, yellow, white, and blue flowers. She has a small red cap, a blue-and-white striped scarf, a red bodice laced across her bosom, a pink overskirt, a dark yellow underskirt, and a blue and white petticoat. A young man, with a white shirt and blue coat, holds a wreath of red, white, blue, and pink flowers with dark green leaves over her head. In the lower right corner are six sheep in pale tans, grays, and brown.

In the background on the left are rocks in pale grays and browns, with much blue-green vegetation. A large male caryatid supports a capital, with a ruined building behind it. In the upper center is a contorted ancient tree trunk, from which grow large branches with green and yellow foliage; from one of these hang two blue wreaths and a panpipe on a dull red ribbon. On the right is a curved tree. The sky is pale blue at the top, white and gray below. The foreground is in tones of tan, brown, and dull pale yellow, with large plants in dark blue-green, and white flowers. Behind the sheep is a bunch of blue-green and white reeds.

### CONDITION

There are a number of small areas of repair, especially in the distance and in the foreground.

### SUBJECT

The woman having her fortune told is identified as a shepherdess by the *houlette* she holds.<sup>39</sup> The kerchief, bare feet, ragged skirt, and wrapped-up baby on the back indicate that the fortune-teller is a gypsy.<sup>40</sup> The reclining couple on the left does not seem to be connected with the principal group, but the pair is always found in this position on tapestries of this subject and never separately or combined with other groups.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A painting of part of the design reversed, attributed to Boucher, was in the Watel Dehayin sale, Palais Galliera,



Paris, June 12, 1973 (no. 5, illus.), and later in a private collection in New York;<sup>41</sup> only the gypsy and the shepherdess are present, there are no rocks or caryatid, and the background is different. A print by Claude Duflos after Boucher, called *Hommage champêtre*, shows the boy crowning the girl, and one by P. Aveline, called *La Bonne Aventure*, has the same couple, with the trees and the herm. There is also a fortune-teller, though he is an old man, and the shepherdess is standing, but she bears some

resemblance to the seated figure on the tapestries; a small painting with this composition was in the Irwin Laughlin collection, Washington, and was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 10, 1959 (no. 35).<sup>42</sup> In 1979, it belonged to the New York dealer Schweitzer and was attributed to Jean Baptiste Le Prince. The gypsy and her baby are derived from a sketch in the Robert Witt collection in the Courtauld Institute, London.<sup>43</sup>

Detail of 78b



## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* is recorded as having been woven thirteen times between 1738 and 1762 (78b). If it is identical with the *Shepherdess*, it was woven four more times from 1751 to 1754. The example in the Huntington Collection was acquired in 1920 from the collection of Count Harrach, with a combined *Hunters* and *Girls with Grapes* and a *Collation*.<sup>44</sup> It is shorter and narrower than 78b, with the top edge immediately above the capital and the right side cutting through the group of sheep. Examples in private collections include one owned by the prince de Ligne, Beloeil, Belgium, with the Rohan-Soubise arms; it is taller and wider than 78b, showing sky above the central tree and the whole of the tree on the right, with another behind it.<sup>45</sup> Another was owned by Mme L. Barzin, Paris, in 1967.<sup>46</sup> One in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a square panel, extended on the right to include the whole of the curved tree.<sup>47</sup> The piece in the Palazzo Venezia (from the San Donato sale, no. 36, illus., engraving) is close to 78b, but has a border with fleurs-de-lis at the corners. That in the Sir Anthony de Rothschild sale (no. 89, illus.) is nearly twelve feet wide, including three more sheep on the left and two on the right, in an extensive landscape. The square panel in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco is like the London example, but has a modern border.<sup>48</sup> The example in the L. and A. Satori sale, Kende, Vienna, February 24, 1926 (no. 115, illus.), is close to 78b, but is slightly taller and wider, showing the whole curve of the tree on the right; it was previously sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 5, 1923 (no. 119, illus.). The piece in the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 24, 1936 (no. 104, illus.), sold again at Christie's, May 8, 1973 (no. 116, illus.), includes on the left two figures from the *Girl Fishing* and the vase and fountain behind them; it is signed by Besnier and Oudry, and so must have been made before the end of 1753 when Besnier retired.<sup>49</sup> A nearly square panel, from the collection of Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, New York, was in the Gustave Pierre Bader sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 27, 1957 (no. 386, illus.), and was sold again at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 3, 4, 1958 (no. 298, illus.), and at Christie's, Rome, October 14, 1982 (no. 25, illus.); it is wider and lower than 78b and has no borders. French & Co. lent an example to the exhibition *Age of Elegance: The Rococo and Its Effect*, at the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1959 (cat. no. 156, detail

illus. p. 51). A short and narrow borderless version, ending above the capital at the top and close behind the child on the right, was in the C. Ledyard Blair sale, Parke-Bernet, June 10, 1950 (no. 322, illus.), and was sold again as coming from the Baronne Eugène de Rothschild collection at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 24, 1976 (no. 118, illus.). A small panel showing the upper part of the shepherdess, holding a bird and without her *houlette*, with the head and shoulders of the girl behind her, was in the Georges Hoentschel sale, Galerie Georges Petit, March 31–April 2, 1919 (no. 364, illus.).

A much altered version, reversed, and with a different background was woven at Beauvais in the nineteenth century; an example was in the Mrs. Grace T. Tobey sale, Parke-Bernet, November 21, 22, 1941 (no. 446, illus.). The gypsy and the shepherdess are found on a silk tapestry woven by Jean Fousadier, after a cartoon by Philip Rice, in the workshop of William Baumgarten and Co., New York, before 1905, that was in the Mrs. Jacob H. Schiff sale, American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, December 7–9, 1933 (no. 593).

## 78c *The Collation*

### DESCRIPTION

A young woman standing in the center has a blue ornament in her hair, a white kerchief and ruffles at her elbow, and a pink-lavender dress; she holds a pink parasol with gray spokes. In front of her, a young man bends to offer a small gray round tray with a foot; on it are two tall glass containers, one filled with red wine, the other with a pale liquid, and a wineglass. He wears a red and pink bow in his hair, white cravat and sleeves, and an orange coat, and has a white napkin over his shoulder. Seated on the ground below him is a young man, his hair tied in a blue bow, with another at his throat. He is dressed in a white shirt, pale yellow-gray waistcoat with pink turned-back cuffs, a short-sleeved blue coat lined with pink, red-orange breeches, and gray stockings and shoes with blue bows. He holds a string of pale yellow ring-shaped *gimblettes* (hard biscuits). A white cloth lies on the ground at his feet. At his back is a pale yellow-gray hat decorated in pink. On the right, holding out a hand to receive the tray, is a young



woman in a blue dress with blue and white sleeves. She has a gray and pink striped petticoat, blue stockings with pink clocks, and gray shoes with red heels. A seated young man leans against her, holding a flask with red wine in his right hand and a wineglass with red wine in his left. His hair is tied with red bows and there is another at his throat. He has a white shirt, pink waistcoat with blue stripes and turned-up blue cuffs, a short-sleeved yellow coat with a blue lining, gray stockings and shoes, with red heels and bows, and a red bow at his knee. A white cloth lies across his lap. To the right is a gray and brown spaniel with a red mouth (see detail).

To the left of the group is a blue table; on it are a white cloth, a shallow basket filled with red fruit, and a gray bucket with the neck of a bottle of red wine protruding from it. Behind the table is a building with an open door in grays and pale browns. A blue and gray scalloped canopy is supported by slanting poles and a blue-green vine extends across the wall beneath it. In the distance on the right is an irregular wooden enclosure in dull yellow and blue. The background is formed by a dense wood in blue-greens and pale yellows. The sky is pale blue at the top, shading to pale gray and white below. The foreground is gray and white in the center, with a stretch of dark browns, greens, and dark yellows below, as if the party were sitting in a sandy patch. On the left, in dark brown on dark green is inscribed in reverse: *F. Boucher*. A squared stone or box is seen above the signature and a blue-green plant. On the right, below the dog, the ground and a number of plants are blue-green. Some pieces of wood are visible on the far right behind the dog.

#### CONDITION

There are a number of small areas of repair, especially in the foreground, and a row of nail holes in the sky at the top.

#### SUBJECT

The deferential young man with the tray is not in the livery of a servant, but he does not seem to be part of the company. His costume is more conventional than that of the two gentlemen, whose loose, short-sleeved jackets are unusual, though found in other works by Boucher.<sup>50</sup> The napkin over his shoulder suggests that he is a waiter. In

this case the building might be an inn, and the title of the *Innkeeper* could very well have been given to the subject. In the wider version in the Guy de Rothschild collection, the complete building and another conventionally dressed attendant support this suggestion. The hat on the ground looks like a woman's but it is found in other works in circumstances that show that it is a shepherd's.<sup>51</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A drawing very close to the young man holding the *gimblettes* and also, in a lesser degree, to the young man with a fish in the *Girl Fishing*, is in the Louvre.<sup>52</sup> He is also in the Louvre painting *Les Charmes de la vie champêtre* and in a print by Claude Augustin Duflos, *Les Amours pastorales*.<sup>53</sup> The servant, in a different pose, is seen in a drawing in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>54</sup> The spaniel appears in several paintings and drawings by Boucher, such as *Spring* in the Wallace Collection, London, dated 1745.<sup>55</sup>



Detail of 78c





#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Collation* is recorded as having been woven thirteen times between 1745 and 1762 (78c and another). If it is identical with the *Innkeeper*, it was woven twice more, in 1742 and 1754. The example in the Huntington Collection, acquired in 1920 from Count Harrach, is shorter and narrower than 78c, the top edge being only slightly above the canopy and the left edge cutting through the white cloth on the table.<sup>56</sup> One in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, shows the upper edge almost touching the canopy and the left edge touching the basket on the table.<sup>57</sup> An example owned by the Paris dealer Benavada in 1971 may be that lent from a private collection to the exhibition *Trois Siècles de tapisseries de Beauvais*, at Beauvais, 1964 (cat. no. 22, not illus., no dimensions given); it may also be identical with the piece that was sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, February 23, 1978 (no. 119a, illus.). This, though said to be folded, appears to be very narrow, the left edge passing through the reclining man's right foot. An example in the collection of Baron Guy de Rothschild, formerly in the Château de Ferrières-en-Brie, is enlarged on the left to show more of the building and a birdcage on the wall; a hut is visible on the right and there is more sky.

The figures, except for the dog, are seen under the canopy and round temple from the *Charlatan* on a silk tapestry woven by Jean Fousadier after a cartoon by Philip Rice in the workshop of William Baumgarten and Co., New York, before 1905.<sup>58</sup> It was in the Schiff sale (no. 592, illus.).

## 78d *The Gardener*

#### DESCRIPTION

A young woman with a red ribbon in her hair sits on a low pale gray stone wall, wearing a blue dress with white sleeves, and a white overskirt with a lavender stripe. A child in a yellow dress, red sleeveless bodice, orange stockings, and gray shoes, leans against her, holding up a white apron, which is filled with red, yellow, and blue flowers and leaves. To the right is a boy sitting on the ground, holding a large gray and brown watering can. He wears a gray hat with a red string around it, a dull lavender long sleeveless coat, and dull yellow sleeves, with a blue undergarment showing at his neck, shoulders, and wrists.

Behind the woman is a gray statue on a high pedestal, representing a young male god (possibly Bacchus), nude except for a piece of drapery thrown over his shoulder and a fig leaf; beside him, on a block of stone, is a carved bearded mask. On the right, above the boy, is a gray and dull yellow statue of Hercules with his lion skin over his shoulder, holding his club; the pedestal is encircled by dark blue-green creepers. A flight of stone steps in gray and dull yellow rises behind the figures, with large vases at top and bottom. Beyond it, a woman with a pale pink parasol and a child are partly visible. Behind the statue on the left is a blue trellis, with blue and white leafy bushes and trees seen below and above it. A large green and yellow tree trunk appears in the far left. The sky is pale blue above, with gray clouds, fading to white and gray below. In the foreground on the left are large blue-green and dull yellow plants, one rising behind the stone wall having red and dark purple flowers. The ground is in shades of gray, tan, and green. On the right below the watering can are a gray and brown rake and some dull yellow bunches of dried leaves. Some large pebbles are seen in the foreground.

#### CONDITION

Areas of repair are visible along the left edge and at the bottom. A row of nail holes is seen in the upper part of the sky.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The vase at the foot of the steps is seen in a painting, *Les Charmes de la vie champêtre*, owned by the dealer J. Böhler, Munich, in 1954.<sup>59</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Gardener* is recorded as having been woven eleven times between 1746 and 1762 (78d).

Another example is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu;<sup>60</sup> it was previously in the Mills sale, 1938 (no. 537, illus.), and the M. X . . . sale, 1927 (no. 5, illus.). It is much narrower than 78d, ending on the left immediately behind the woman and on the right behind the boy, so that both statues are missing. The *Gardener* is combined with the *Dance* as well as the peddler with his customers in a tapestry twenty-two feet long in the Comte Greffulhe sale,





Sotheby's, July 23, 1937 (no. 62, illus.). A similar combination, but not including all the peddler on the right, is in the Baron Guy de Rothschild collection, formerly in the Château de Ferrières. The Paris dealer Benavada had an example of the subject in 1971, possibly the one sold at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, February 23, 1978 (no. 119b, illus.). This, though described as folded, appears to be very narrow, the right edge almost touching the boy's left arm.

## 78e *The Hunter*

### DESCRIPTION

A young man, wearing a dark bow tie at the back of his neck, a white shirt, pale yellow waistcoat, brilliant red coat with pink-lined cuffs, orange breeches, and gray leg coverings and shoes, sits on a grassy bank. He holds a gray, pale yellow, and brown hunting gun and caresses a white dog. Under the dog's paw are two dead pale tan rabbits. In the background is a broken wall and a cottage with a thatched roof, both in tones of pale pinkish gray. Part of a pond in pale blue and dark green is seen on the left and a large pale brown and tan twisted tree rises on the right. Other trees with green and pale yellow foliage are seen behind it and dark blue pointed trees beside the cottage. The sky is pale blue above, fading to gray below. The ground is in shades of green, dull yellow, brown, and tan.

### CONDITION

There are a number of small areas of repair and others, especially in the sky, where the silk wefts have perished.

### SUBJECT

The published examples of this subject show that the single figure of 78e is taken from a larger group. In the complete composition, there is a large fountain on the right with a ruined temple behind it, two horses held by a groom, one drinking, and two more dogs. The group is usually found combined with the *Girls with Grapes*.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Hunters* is recorded as having been woven seven-



Detail of 78d

teen times between 1738 and 1762 (78e). Except as otherwise noted, all the examples listed below are combined with the *Girls with Grapes*. One in the Huntington Collection was acquired in 1920 from the collection of Count Harrach;<sup>61</sup> it does not show the fountain on the right. The piece in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris, came from the M. X . . . sale, 1927 (no. 3, illus.);<sup>62</sup> it does not show the complete fountain. The *Hunters* forms the right-hand side of the huge tapestry of the *Charlatan*, the *Peep Show*,



the music-making trio, and *Girls with Grapes* in the Philadelphia Museum; the fountain and the temple behind it are gigantic structures. The example in the Palazzo Venezia (from the San Donato sale, no. 36) is a narrow panel and does not include the *Girls with Grapes* or the landscape on the left, which is replaced by a single large tree; there are trees instead of a temple behind the fountain. A tapestry sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 12, 1973 (no. 147, illus.), is close to the Huntington example; it was previously in the Hatian collection and the J. Doucet sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 8, 1912 (no. 345, illus.).<sup>63</sup> Another was in the Henry Say sale, Galerie Georges Petit, November 30, 1908 (no. 28, illus.); the Alfred Sussman sale at the same gallery, May 18, 19, 1922 (no. 152, illus.); and the Mills sale (no. 151, illus.); it shows the whole fountain. The example in the Sir Anthony de Rothschild sale (no. 89), though twelve feet wide, may not have included the *Girls with Grapes*, which is not mentioned in the description. A wide piece formerly in the F. F. Utheman collection in Saint Petersburg<sup>64</sup> shows a great deal of the fountain and the temple. An example owned by the London dealer S. Franes in 1970 may be the Doucet or the Mills piece. One in the Mme Dubernet Douine sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, April 11, 12, 1946 (no. 151, illus.), has a modern border and is signed in the field "Besnier & Oudry à Beauvais," showing that it was made before 1753 when Besnier retired. A piece with both subjects in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Castagnola, shows the complete fountain, but only one column of the temple; it has no borders.<sup>65</sup> Another owned by Baron Guy de Rothschild, formerly in the Château de Ferrières, has the huge fountain on the right and the complete large red poppy in the lower left corner and a narrow example owned by Mme B., Paris, does not include *Girls with Grapes* or the right side of the fountain.<sup>66</sup>

## 78f *Girls with Grapes*

### DESCRIPTION

The foremost of the two girls sitting on a bank of earth has a blue ribbon in her hair, a white blouse, blue bodice, yellow skirt, white apron, pale blue stockings, and pink slippers. The girl reclining on her lap holds a stick with a

grapevine twisted around it; the grapes are red and white, the leaves dark green and yellow. She wears a pale pink bodice ornamented in blue and a pink skirt and sleeves. By her side, on a white cloth, is a pale brown basket holding orange and pale yellow apples and grapes with blue-green leaves. On the bank in front of the girls are red, pink, blue, and white flowers. The landscape background is in shades of gray, pale yellow, and pale green, with some darker green trees on the right. To the left is part of a small building raised on stilts, with a large arch on a hill behind it. In the center is a bridge with a railing; faintly seen trees rise above it. The sky is pale blue at the top, fading to gray below. On the right, between the grapes on a stick and the basket is a stretch of pale blue water. The foreground is in shades of brown, dull yellow, tan, and green, with some large plants.

#### CONDITION

The colors are much faded. There are areas of repair, especially in the sky. A row of nail holes is seen at the upper edge.

#### SUBJECT

The published examples of this subject show that the two figures of 78f are taken from a group of three. In the complete composition, the handle of the basket of fruit is held by a crouching woman, who extends her other hand to the two girls. The small hut over the bridge in the background and the path leading up to it are elsewhere seen in their entirety. The group is usually found combined with the *Hunters*.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Girls with Grapes* is recorded as having been woven three times in 1739, 1742, and (78f) in 1762. But it is found combined with the *Hunters* on tapestries in the Huntington Collection, the Jacquemart-André Museum, the Doucet sale (1912), the Mills sale (1970), the Sir Anthony de Rothschild sale (1923), the former Utheman collection, and the Baron Guy de Rothschild collection. A weaving as a separate subject was in the Norton Simon Foundation sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 7, 8, 1971 (no. 231, illus.); this contains the three figures, the



78f

525

78g



entire hut on the bridge, and a large rock with tall trees in the background on the right. This background is also seen in the huge tapestry in the Philadelphia Museum, where the *Girls with Grapes* is combined with the *Charlatan*, *Peep Show*, the music-making trio, and the *Hunters*. A narrow tapestry in the Palazzo Venezia (from the San Donato sale, no. 36) does not include the *Hunters* and has a tall, thin tree at the far left. A small panel showing only the busts of the two girls was sold at the Palais Galliera, March 21, 1969 (no. 45, illus.).

## 78g *The Parrot*

### DESCRIPTION

A red parrot with blue wing feathers is perched on a branch of a large tree. Tree trunks, branches, and leaves in shades of brown, blue, gray, green, and yellow fill most of the tapestry, though some pale blue and yellow sky is visible at the top and some green and yellow reeds at the bottom. The blue-green leaves above these have some small red flowers or berries.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The reeds and trees were probably adapted from other tapestries of the series, such as the larger versions of the *Girls with Grapes* and the *Hunters*. There is no reason to believe that Boucher was personally concerned with this design.

## 78h *The Egg Seller*

### DESCRIPTION

A girl, holding a yellow and brown basket filled with yellow straw and pale gray eggs, sits on the ground in the foreground. She wears a white blouse, pink bodice, red skirt, and yellow-brown petticoat. Facing her is a seated boy, his hair tied with a dark pink bow, wearing a pink



cravat, white shirt, and blue coat. Large yellow-gray columns, some broken, rise behind the couple, with a yellow-gray vase ornamented with swags and rams' heads on a pedestal. Much green and yellow foliage is seen in the ruins. The sky is pale blue above, pale yellow below. Behind the girl is a bunch of green and yellow reeds with small blue and white flowers. In the brown and green foreground are a large gray-brown log and some green plants.

#### CONDITION

A row of nail holes cuts across the capital of a column and the sky.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The vase is an adaptation of one in the *Joueur de flute* in the *Noble Pastorale* series, first woven in 1755.<sup>67</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

An *entrefenêtre* in the set of the *Noble Pastorale* formerly owned by Sir George Cooper that was sold at Christie's, London, July 1, 1982 (no. 8, illus.), and was owned by the Munich dealer Bernheimer later the same year, shows the same design as far as the top of the vase. It is slightly wider than 78h, so that the tree trunk in the lower left corner and the flowers to the right of the vase are completely seen.

#### NOTES

1. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 31.
2. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 60.
3. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 110–13.
4. Edgar Munhall, "Savoyards in French Eighteenth-Century Art," *Apollo* 87 (1968) pp. 86–94.
5. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 116.
6. Joseph Downs, "A Beauvais Tapestry," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin* 24 (March 1929) pp. 4–7.
7. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 120.
8. Roger-Armand Weigert, "La Manufacture royale de tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1933, p. 232.
9. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 60, list of sets.
10. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 1, p. 261.
11. A. P. de Mirimonde, "Musée de Gray: un carton de tapisserie de Boucher," *Revue des Arts*, 1955, pp. 124–27. The author does not believe the painting to be entirely in Boucher's hand; Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," fig. 38.



78h

12. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," fig. 18.
13. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," fig. 15.
14. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 116–17, fig. 21.
15. Slatkin, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 137, 138, figs. 55–57.
16. Records of these payments were transcribed by Hubert Delesalle.
17. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 60, note; Henry Soulange-Bodin, *Châteaux de Normandie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1928) pp. 10, 16.
18. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 126, fig. 12 (example owned by Dario Boccara, Paris).
19. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 129–30, figs. 16, 17.
20. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 136/8, fig. 482.
21. Pierre Verlet, "Un mobilier par Delanois couvert en tapisserie de Beauvais," *Bulletin des Musées de France* 11 (1946) pp. 13, 14.
22. Information provided by Edward Fowles.
23. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," figs. 25, 26.
24. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 122, 123, figs. 27, 28.
25. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 123. A drawing, called "Chardin (?)," sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, March 27, 1965, no. 3, illus., also shows a large *curiosité* mounted on a trestle.
26. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," fig. 31.
27. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 123. A similar structure is seen in an etching after Edmé Bouchardon, 1737–42 (A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People*, MMA [New York, 1971] fig. 203). A late eighteenth-century portable magic lantern in the Science Museum, London, has the same fluted pointed roof as the machine in 78a (*From Today Painting is Dead*, exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum [London, 1972] no. 8).
28. Slatkin, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 133–35, figs. 43, 44, 46, 48.
29. Hal Opperman, *J.-B. Oudry*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1982) p. 156, fig. 74b.
30. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 123, 124.
31. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 144/1, fig. 486.
32. Slatkin, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 131–34, figs. 41, 42, 45, 47.
33. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 652, fig. 1701.
34. Mercedes Viale and Vittorio Viale, *Arazzi e tappeti antichi* (Turin, 1952) p. 120, no. 121, pl. 104, as in the Borghese Gallery; Touring Club Italiano, *Roma* (Milan, 1960) vol. 1, p. 30, fig. 20, as in the Palazzo Venezia.
35. *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond, 1966) p. 129, no. 248, illus.
36. Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, Calif., 1961) pp. 67, 68, fig. 1.
37. "Living with Antiques: Hillwood, the Home of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert A. May," *Antiques* 82 (1962) p. 265 (on wall of drawing room); Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pl. XI,d (detail).
38. Pierre Verlet, "Furniture and Objets d'Art," in J. Paul Getty, *The Joys of Collecting* (New York, 1975) p. 155, illus., in part, on wall of gallery. Called *La Musique*.
39. See 23, note 1.
40. François de Vaux de Foletier, "Iconographie des 'egyptiens': précisions sur le costume ancien des tsiganes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 68 (1966) pp. 165–72.
41. Standen "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 116, fig. 19.
42. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, nos. 81/1, 150/1, figs. 354, 461, 462.
43. Slatkin, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 136, fig. 54.
44. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, pp. 67, 68, fig. 3.
45. Solange Thierry, "Beloeil, un château en Belgique," *L'Oeil*, no. 290 (September 1979) p. 18, fig. 3 (on wall of Salon des Maréchaux).
46. *The Finest Rooms in France* (New York, 1967) p. 90, illus. (on wall of room).
47. *Exhibition of Important Tapestries 1480–1780*, V. & C. Sternberg (London, 1965) no. 50, illus. Called *La Bergère*.
48. Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) no. 70.
49. Sutton, *François Boucher*, no. 5, fig. 5. Lent anonymously.
50. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 127.
51. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 126, 127, fig. 34.
52. Slatkin, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 136, fig. 51.
53. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 1, p. 266, no. 147, figs. 476, 477, 490.
54. Slatkin, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 136, fig. 52.
55. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," p. 126, fig. 37.
56. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, pp. 67, 68, fig. 6.
57. *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* 27, no. 6 (March 1975) illus.
58. "The House of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff," *Architectural Record* 18 (1905) p. 39, illus. (on wall of drawing room).
59. Hermann Voss, "Boucher's Early Development—Addenda," *Burlington Magazine* 96 (1954) p. 209, fig. 21.
60. Anne Marian Jones, *A Handbook of the Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1965) p. 13, no. A-11.
61. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, pp. 67, 68, fig. 4.
62. *Les Fastes de la tapisserie*, exh. cat., Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, 1984) no. 35.
63. Badin, *Beauvais*, pl. facing p. 24 (erroneously called after Oudry).
64. Alexandre Benois, "La collection de M. Utheman à St. Pétersbourg," *Starye Gody*, 1908, pt. 1, pl. facing p. 196.
65. Adolf Feulner, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*: vol. 3, *Plastik und Kunsthandwerk* (Lugano-Castagnola, 1941) p. 177, no. 595, pl. 80. It was sold from the collection of Mme O . . . at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 27, 1932, no. 84, illus.
66. F. J. B. Watson, "The Paris Collections of Madame B. 1: The Furniture," *Connoisseur* 155 (January 1964) color pl. 1 (seen in part on wall); "2: French Eighteenth-Century Objects of Art," (February 1964) p. 73. Called *Autumn* or *La Chasse* from *Les Nouvelles Chasses* after Oudry.
67. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, pp. 68, 69, fig. 11.

## 78i The Dance

### From a set of the *Italian Village Scenes*

French (Beauvais); designed by François Boucher (1703–1770), 1736–44, and woven probably between 1744 and 1753, under the direction of Nicolas Besnier (fl. 1726–1755) and Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755).  
Wool and silk.  
10 ft. 7 in. x 7 ft. 11 in. (3.23 m x 2.41 m).  
21–23 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.  
Gift of W. Bayard Cutting, 1942 (42.34).

### DESCRIPTION

Five young people are performing a rustic dance. The man on the right has a red coat, yellow waistcoat and

breeches, with a pink bow at the knee, white stockings, and shoes with red heels. The man on the left has a white hat with a pink ribbon, pink coat, very pale yellow waistcoat and breeches, with a pale pink bow at one knee, a very pale pink sash with blue ornamentation, very pale pink stockings, and very pale yellow shoes. The girl between them has blue ribbons in her hair and at her shoulders and elbows; she wears a white blouse and ruff, her bodice is blue with a pink flower stuck in it, her underskirt striped in pink and blue, her tucked-up overskirt yellow, her apron white, and her shoes very pale yellow with red bows. The head of another girl is seen behind her. The girl on the right has blue flowers in her hair, a pink bodice, striped sleeves in very pale pink and white, a red and yellow striped sash, a very pale pink skirt, and red shoes.

To the left of the dancers are three girls sitting on the ground. The one on the right has a white blouse and a blue dress, with a blue and white ribbon tied around the upper arm. The girl on the left has a red kerchief and is dressed in very pale pink and yellow, with pale blue ribbons. The head of a third young woman is seen between these two. A young man stands behind the group, proffering a pale yellow basket filled with yellow grapes, red apples, and a yellow pear; he has a blue waistcoat and pale lavender-pink coat. A child in red and pink with a white apron sprawls on the ground beside the group. On the far left is a young musician, holding a pipe to his mouth with his left hand; a very pale yellow *tambourin de Béarn*<sup>1</sup> with a pink bow is supported by his left shoulder and arm and he holds a red stick for striking its strings in his right hand. His hat is pink with blue ribbons. He wears a white cravat and shirt, a wide blue cape, a loose lavender-pink cuff on his left arm, lavender-pink breeches with dangling ribbons, and white stockings.

The background is formed by blue, blue-green, and very pale yellow trees and foliage. The sky is very pale blue and white. The foreground is in very pale grays and yellows, with blue patches of shadow. On the left are two bundles of straw in very pale yellow and a log with some leaves in shades of blue. Some blue plants are seen on the right. In the lower right is an inscription in brown on pale yellow silk, purporting to be the name F. Boucher and the date 1756 in reverse.

The border, imitating a carved wooden frame, is in shades of brown, red-brown, and yellow. The guards are replacements.

#### CONDITION

The entire tapestry is very badly faded. A horizontal line near the bottom and a vertical one passing through the man in a red coat show where it has been folded. Many of the slits have opened and some have been coarsely sewn up. There is much puckering of the surface. The yellow patch with the signature and date is an insertion, as is clearly apparent on the reverse; no example of the *Dance* is recorded as having been woven as late as 1756.

#### SUBJECT

The widest version of the design shows a huge vase to the left of the musician and a woman with two children seated below it, a herm leaning against its other side; on the right is a group of a peddler showing his wares to three women sitting on the ground, with a parasol beside them, and a Savoyard boy leaning on his marmot box. A flight of steps leading to a wall fountain is in the background of this group.<sup>2</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A painting, reversed, for the woman with two children found on wide versions of this subject is in the Louvre.<sup>3</sup> The leaning herm is seen on a print by Claude Augustin Duflos, *Les Amours pastorales*, and a related drawing.<sup>4</sup> The little girl on her hands and knees is taken from a print by Liotard after Watteau, *Entretiens amoureux*.<sup>5</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The *Dance* is recorded as having been first woven in 1744, when the manufactory was under the direction of Nicolas Besnier and Jean Baptiste Oudry; the last weaving was in 1753, the year at the end of which Besnier retired.<sup>6</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Dance* is recorded as having been woven thirteen times. The last commission included four borders for the *Dance* and the *Collation*, suggesting that the two subjects were combined.

The example in the M. X . . . sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 23, 1927 (no. 1, illus.), is wide, showing the woman with two children on the left and the peddler with





his customers on the right, but not the boy with the marmot box.<sup>7</sup> That in the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, November 24, 1936 (nos. 115–17, illus.), sold again at Christie's, May 8, 1973 (no. 116, illus.), is in three parts, one showing the woman with two children, the musicians, and the boy bringing fruit to the ladies; the second, the five dancers with the parasol from the peddler group; the third, the peddler with his customers and the boy with the marmot box.<sup>8</sup> The tapestry in the Comte Greffulhe sale, Sotheby's, London, July 23, 1937 (no. 62, illus.), is twenty-two feet long and shows the complete scene combined with the *Gardener*; a similar combination is in the Guy de Rothschild collection, formerly in the Château de Ferrières. The *Dance* is a large tapestry in the Château de Balleroy set. An example was exhibited by the dealer Stefanovitch at the Brussels Antiques Fair in 1972; it shows the woman and children on the left and part of a large temple on the right, behind the dancers.<sup>9</sup>

A nineteenth-century copy made by R. and L. Hamot at Aubusson shows the dancers and the parasol only.<sup>10</sup>

#### HISTORY

In the collection of Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting from before 1919. Given to the MMA by W. Bayard Cutting, 1942.

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York, MMA, 1919. *Special Exhibition of Tapestry and Lace*. Lent by Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting.  
New York, Museum of French Art (French Institute in the United States), 1919. *Second Annual Loan Exhibition of French Art*, cat. no. 266, illus. Called *Fête champêtre*. Lent by Mrs. William Bayard Cutting.  
Baltimore Museum of Art, 1959. *Age of Elegance: The Rococo and Its Effect*, cat. no. 157.

#### PUBLICATIONS

"A Summer Exhibition of Tapestry and Lace." *MMA Bulletin* 14 (1919) p. 130. Mentioned, as *The Dancing Lesson*.  
J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "Tapestries in the Summer Loan Exhibition." *MMA Bulletin* 14 (1919) p. 158. Date read as 1756.  
*MMA Annual Report* 1942, p. 28. Mentioned. Said to have once hung in the Petit Trianon.<sup>11</sup>  
Phillips, John G. "A Tapestry after Boucher." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 1 (1942–43) pp. 204–05, illus. Said to have come from the Petit Trianon.

Standen, Edith A. "Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art." *MMA Journal* 12 (1978) pp. 128–29, fig. 14.

#### NOTES

1. The *tambourin de Béarn* is a stringed drum or zither with heavy gut strings vibrated by a stick (information from Emanuel Winternitz).
2. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," figs. 15, 18.
3. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 134/3, fig. 473. Called *modèle de tapisserie*.
4. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, nos. 159/4, 159/2, figs. 515, 516.
5. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," pp. 117, 120, fig. 22.
6. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 60.
7. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," fig. 15.
8. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes," fig. 18.
9. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 185, illus.
10. Gabriel Mourey, "Le Salon des Industries du Mobilier," *Les Arts*, October 1902, p. 35, illus.
11. No set of the *Italian Village Scenes* is known to have been woven for the king.

## 78j The Charlatan and the Peep Show

From a set of the *Italian Village Scenes*

French (Beauvais); designed by François Boucher (1703–1770), 1736, and woven 1736–52 under the direction of Nicolas Besnier (fl. 1726–1755) and Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755).  
Designer's name.  
Wool and silk.  
10 ft. 7½ in. x 13 ft. 8 in. (3.24 m x 4.17 m).  
19–22 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter.  
The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.119).

#### DESCRIPTION

The design is the same as 78a, except that it extends farther on the left, taking in another column of the temple, the corners of the stone blocks on which it rests, and some vegetation below. It is very slightly cut at the top, the upper border passing through the tip of the canopy over the charlatan, but is larger at the bottom, showing some green reeds and leaves below the man with a guitar. It is narrower on the right, the border touching the skirt of the woman with a music book. The borders are in shades of

red-brown and dull yellow. The colors are the same, except that the charlatan has a gray-blue undergarment and his cupboard is dull yellow. The man blowing a trumpet has a yellow shirt and shoe, with blue drapery over his legs. The girl with a basket is in pink with a blue underskirt, the child behind her has a blue skirt, and the woman next to her is in yellow. The monkey is yellow, gray, and black and the woman at the peep show is entirely in yellow.

#### CONDITION

The sky has lost its original color; the statue and bird are almost invisible. The dark brown passages have numerous small repairs and areas of bare warps, especially near the bottom on the left. Small areas of repair are visible on most of the costumes and draperies.

#### HISTORY

In the Jules S. Bache collection before 1919.

Received by the MMA with the Jules S. Bache Collection, 1949.

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York, MMA, 1919. *Special Exhibition of Tapestry and*

*Lace*. Lent by Jules S. Bache.

New York, MMA, 1943. *The Bache Collection, a Loan Exhibition*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

"A Summer Exhibition of Tapestry and Lace." *MMA Bulletin* 14 (1919) p. 130. Mentioned, as *The Quack Doctor*.

J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "Tapestries in the Summer Loan Exhibition." *MMA Bulletin* 14 (1919) p. 158. Mentioned, as *The Quack Doctor* and *The Peep Show* from the *Fêtes italiennes* set.

"La Collection Jules Bache à New-York." *Museion* 11, vol. 39-40 (1937) p. 220. Mentioned, as *L'Optique*.

Roberts, Mary Fanton. "The 'Bache Collection'—A Great Gift to New York City." *Arts and Decoration* 48 (May 1938) pp. 15, 16. Mentioned, as in the French salon of the Bache house in New York.

Wehle, Harry B. "The Bache Collection on Loan." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 1 (1942-43) p. 286. Mentioned as *L'Opérateur* from the *Fêtes italiennes* series designed by Boucher for the Beauvais manufactory.

Ananoff, Alexandre. *François Boucher*. Lausanne and Paris, 1976, no. 128/9.

Standen, Edith A. "Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art." *MMA Journal* 12 (1977) p. 124. Mentioned.



## 79 The Loves of the Gods

Two tapestries from a set of four

- a *Vulcan Presenting Arms for Aeneas to Venus*
- b *Bacchus and Ariadne*

French (Beauvais); designed by François Boucher (1703–1770), 1749, and woven under the direction of Jean Baptiste Oudry (1685–1755) and André Charlemagne Charron (fl. 1753–1780) in 1754–56 for Baron Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff for his palace in Copenhagen. Designer's name and date on 79a; name of manufactory and name and initials of weavers on both.  
Wool and silk.  
79a 14 ft. x 17 ft. 10 in. (4.27 m x 5.44 m);  
79b 12 ft. x 17 ft. 6 in. (3.66 m x 5.33 m).  
23–25 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.  
From the Collection of James Stillman, Gift of Dr. Ernest G. Stillman, 1922 (22.16.1,2).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces have dark blue guards, inscribed on the lower left in yellow OUDRY, and on the right, also in yellow, A.C.C. BEAUVAIS, preceded by a fleur-de-lis. They were made without borders to be inserted into boiserie panels.

### SUBJECT

The series includes seven other subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: the *Rape of Proserpine* by Pluto, *Amyclone Rescued from a Satyr* by Neptune, *Jupiter and Antiope*,<sup>1</sup> *Mars and Venus*, the *Rape of Orithyia* by Boreas, the *Rape of Europa* by Jupiter, and *Apollo and Clytie* (also called *Apollon dans sa gloire*). It was never woven as a whole.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Boucher's nine paintings are listed in the inventory of the manufactory, made in 1754: "Six tableaux des *Amours des Dieux*, peint par ledit sieur Boucher . . . contenant vingt aunes de cours avec les bordures. Une suite des *Amours des Dieux*, peint en trois autres tableaux, contenant, avec les bordures, dix aunes de cours et, en outre, un grand rapport fait pour la pièce de *Vénus et de Vulcain*."<sup>2</sup> Paintings, cut into strips for basse-lisse weav-

ing, were listed again in the inventory of 1820: "Ariadne et Bacchus.—6 bandes . . . Vénus chez Vulcain.—4 bandes."<sup>3</sup> The date of one of the paintings, 1749, is given on 79a and other examples of the same subject.

A painting for the *Rape of Europa* (shown in the Salon of 1747) is in the Louvre.<sup>4</sup> Two drawings are known for *Jupiter and Antiope*, two for the *Rape of Proserpine*, four for *Neptune and Amyclone*, and four for *Mars and Venus*.<sup>5</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

All the subjects had been woven by 1750, except *Vulcan and Venus*, which is not listed until 1752; however, the date 1749 on 79a shows that it had been designed earlier. The date of weaving of the set to which 79 belongs can be established from the names of the co-directors on the outer guards; Oudry and Charron assumed these positions on February 1, 1754, but Oudry died on April 30, 1755. As this is the only set recorded as made in the year of the two directors, it can be identified with Baron Bernstorff's commission, which, however, was not shipped to Copenhagen until 1756.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The other two pieces of the set are *Neptune and Amyclone* and the *Rape of Europa*.<sup>6</sup> They were sold with 79 from the Bernstorff Palace and in 1919 were owned by the New York dealers French & Co.;<sup>7</sup> they were still with them in 1929.

The largest set recorded was eight pieces made in 1750 for the Infante Don Felipe (without *Vulcan and Venus*). The usual number of pieces in a set was three, four, or six. A total of more than thirty sets, about a hundred individual pieces, are listed as made between 1749 and 1772.<sup>8</sup> The set made for Frederick the Great in 1765 is listed as "Ariane et Bacchus, Vulcain, Neptune, enlèvement d'Europe, la joueuse de castagnettes, Jupiter en raisin."<sup>9</sup> The first four are owned by Prince Heinrich of Prussia and are in the Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin.<sup>10</sup> This museum also has an *entrefenêtre* showing the two figures of girls on the right of *Le Vannier* from the *Psyche* series bought by



Frederick in 1764. All the pieces have Greek fret borders with the Prussian eagle at the top. An *entrefenêtre* with these borders and arms, showing the satyr only from *Jupiter and Antiope*, was in the liquidation sale of the Galerie van Diemen, Paul Graupe, Berlin, May 3, 4, 1935 (no. 704, illus.); it may well be the "Jupiter en raisin" of Frederick's set. The *Castanets Player* was presumably an *entrefenêtre* of the bacchante with cymbals from the same tapestry subject. Four pieces made for Prince Esterházy in 1752 with his arms were formerly in Budapest, but were lost in World War II; they were *Mars and Venus*, *Vulcan and Venus*, the *Rape of Europa*, and *Bacchus and Ariadne*.<sup>11</sup> Four pieces with the French royal arms were in the Alexis Polovtsoff sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 2–4, 1909 (nos. 241–44, all illus.): *Bacchus and Ariadne* combined with *Jupiter and Antiope*, *Mars and Venus*, *Boreas and Orithyia*, and *Vulcan and Venus*. The first of these is now in the Kunstindustrimuseum, Copenhagen.<sup>12</sup> These subjects, with *Apollo and Clytie* and *Neptune and Amymone*, made up a set of six delivered to the comte de Florentin in 1766, having been ordered by the king;<sup>13</sup> possibly the Polovtsoff pieces belong to this set. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Jupiter and Antiope*, *Mars and Venus*, and *Boreas and Orithyia* from the set of eight ordered by Don Felipe, ruler of Parma, are now in the Quirinale Palace, Rome; they are signed by Besnier and Oudry.<sup>14</sup>

Examples in public collections of the subjects not in 79 include: *Apollo and Clytie*, Minneapolis Institute of Arts<sup>15</sup> and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge;<sup>16</sup> *Boreas and Orithyia*, Chartres museum; *Rape of Europa*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art;<sup>17</sup> *Jupiter and Antiope*, Calouste Gulbenkian Collection, Lisbon,<sup>18</sup> and the Hillwood Museum, Washington, D.C.<sup>19</sup> (combined with *Bacchus and Ariadne*), J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu,<sup>20</sup> and Chartres museum; *Mars and Venus*, Cinquantenaire museum, Brussels,<sup>21</sup> and Musée des Gobelins, Paris;<sup>22</sup> *Neptune and Amymone*, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad,<sup>23</sup> and the collection of the city of Paris;<sup>24</sup> *Pluto and Proserpine*, Chartres museum, and a New York collection.<sup>25</sup>

## HISTORY

The set, with a suite of furniture upholstered in Beauvais tapestry (see 74) and some overdoor panels,<sup>26</sup> was commissioned by Baron Bernstorff. Louis Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers, acted as his representative in Paris and wrote to him on April

20, 1754:

Enfin le Sr Oudry est revenu de Beauvais, après avoir remis sur le métier toute votre comition sur les dernières mesures. Voicy cy desous les 4 sujets—Venus chez Vulcain—Ariane et Bacus—l'enlèvement d'Europe—Neptune et Amimonne.

The tapestries and furniture were shipped in the summer of 1756 and the Tapestry Room in Bernstorff's palace in Copenhagen was finished in the spring of 1757.<sup>27</sup>

The room remained essentially unchanged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bernstorff died in 1772; his nephew, who inherited the house, in 1797. The house passed through several hands and was the residence through much of the nineteenth century of Prince Frederick Ferdinand and his wife Crown Princess Caroline. On her death in 1881, the house was bought by King George of Greece, who sold the tapestries and Beauvais-upholstered furniture early in the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup> The tapestries were apparently in France, probably owned by a Paris dealer, in 1906.<sup>29</sup>

In the collection of James A. Stillman, New York, who died in 1918.<sup>30</sup>

Given to the MMA by his son, Dr. Ernest G. Stillman, 1922.

## EXHIBITION

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1950. *The Eighteenth Century Art of France and England*, cat. no. 118 [79a].

## PUBLICATIONS

Wasserschlebe, Joachim. "Notices biographiques et historiques sur les peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs." Manuscript in Royal Library, Copenhagen, written after 1755. Mentions, under Oudry, "la dernière tenture qu'il y [Beauvais] fait exécuter se trouve à Copenhague à l'Hôtel de M. le Baron de Bernstorff. Ce sont quatre morceaux d'une beauté parfaite d'après les tableaux de Boucher, et la garniture de canapés et de fauteuils d'après ses propres cartons" (quoted from Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*, vol. 2, p. 204).

F. M. [Frédéric Masson]. "Tapisseries de Beauvais sur les cartons de F. Boucher." *Les Arts*, no. 51 (March 1906) pp. 14, 15. Both pieces illus. with no information as to location.

Friis, Aage. "Den Bernstorffske Gobelinsal." *Tilskueren* 25 (1908) pp. 871–80. Account of Tapestry Room in Bernstorff Palace. *Vulcan and Venus* illus. pp. 873, 876, on wall of room, photograph of about 1887 and painting of 1882. *Bacchus and Ariadne* illus. p. 877, from painting of room.

Badin. *Beauvais*, p. 61. Set listed as made for Baron de Thiers, 1754, consisting of *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Rape of Proserpine* [an error], *Neptune and Amymone*, and *Vulcan and Venus*.

MMA Annual Report 1922, p. 18. Mentioned.

J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "An Anonymous Gift." *MMA Bulletin* 17 (1922) pp. 51–54, both illus. Identified as from the *Amours des Dieux* set made for Baron de Thiers, 1754, from the collection of the late James Stillman; he is said to have owned a third piece of the set, a *Pluto and Proserpine*. This set did not include this subject; probably the reference is to the Stillman *Boreas and Orithyia* with the French royal arms.

Krohn, Mario. *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse i det 18. Aahundrede*. Copenhagen, 1922, vol. 1, pp. 73, 75, 77, 213, pl. 12. Account of Bernstorff's tapestry purchases.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 173, 174, pl. XI,e. Both pieces mentioned, 79b illus.

Hunter, George Leland. "America's Beauvais-Boucher Tapestries." *International Studio* 85 (November 1926) p. 26. Both pieces mentioned, 79a illus.

Saxe, Eleanor B. "A Boucher Tapestry." *MMA Bulletin* 23 (1928) p. 15. Both pieces mentioned in account of *Boreas and Orithyia* with French royal arms lent by James A. Stillman.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 227. Both pieces mentioned, 79b erroneously described as combined with *Jupiter and Antiope*.

Louchheim, Aline B. "Five Thousand Years of Art." *Art News Annual*, 1945–46 (Diamond Jubilee of the MMA), p. 82, illus. [79b].

Grandjean, Bredo L. *En Byggnings Historie: Det Bernstorffske Palae, 1752–1952*. Copenhagen, 1952, pp. 11, 12, 13–18, 22, 26, 27. History of Tapestry Room in Bernstorff Palace; p. 14, illus., view of room showing *Bacchus and Ariadne* on wall with 1829 carpet. Location of tapestries and furniture said to be unknown.

Jones, Mary Eirwen. *British and American Tapestries*. Hadleigh, Essex, 1952, p. 79, illus. [79b].

Zahle, Erik. "François Boucher's dobbelte billedvaevning." *Det Danske Kunstindustrimuseum, Virksomhed, 1959–1964*. Copenhagen, 1964, pp. 59, 68, 69. Bernstorff tapestries said to have been sold by King George of Greece in 1904 and to be now in America. Both pieces mentioned as in MMA, but not identified as from the Bernstorff set.

Parker, James. "Eighteenth-Century France Recreated in the 'Cold Barbarous Country': The Tapestry Room from the Bernstorff Palace, Copenhagen." *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973) p. 368, fig. 14 (photograph of Tapestry Room taken about 1887, with 79b on wall), 15 [79a]. Identified as Bernstorff tapestries.

Ananoff, Alexandre. *François Boucher*. Lausanne and Paris, 1976, nos. 344/9, 350/10. Both pieces listed.

Sutton, Denys. *François Boucher*. Exh. cat., Wildenstein, New York, 1980, p. 39, no. 16. 79b mentioned.

## 79a *Vulcan Presenting Arms for Aeneas to Venus*

### DESCRIPTION

Vulcan has a yellow ribbon in his yellow and dark brown hair. He is nude except for a red drapery thrown over his loins and shoulder. He holds a hammer in his right hand above some dull green drapery and points with his left at an elaborate yellow and gray helmet with a blue plume lying on a yellow and gray animal skin at his feet. He looks up wistfully at Venus, who reclines on a pale yellow cloud just above him. She has a scanty pale yellow costume and pink sandals, with a pink drapery, and holds the ends of the blue ribbon that fastens her yellow hair. Behind her is her pale yellow and blue chariot, with pale lavender and pink draperies and two white doves. To the right are three nude girls on a pale yellow cloud; the foremost has a blue and pink drapery across her lap. The one on the left has a pink ribbon in her hair. Cupid sits on a cloud below, raising an arrow in one hand and placing the other on two billing doves. He has a yellow loincloth and a pale blue and yellow quiver at his side.

On the ground below are two of Vulcan's workmen. One, standing, holds a yellow and brown shield with a Medusa head, supporting it on a yellow-gray anvil, with a pair of tongs at its base; he wears a bunch of blue, pink, and yellow drapery over his hips. The other crouches beside him with his hands on a red object; he has a blue band in his hair. Farther to the right are four men working in a forge in a blaze of light; they have yellow, blue, and brown drapery. Yellow-gray rocks rise above them and metal bars lie on the ground in front of them, with a gray and brown basket filled with tools and a large hammer; a piece of red drapery lies behind the basket.

To the left, beyond Vulcan, a kneeling man with dark yellow-brown drapery holds a yellow-gray bundle of rods; he has a blue band around his head. On the ground beside him are a pale pink quiver with a yellow-gray fur lining, filled with arrows with pale blue feathers, a long-handled ax, a sword, and pieces of armor. Another man raises a yellow and brown helmet with pink plumes and a pink quiver with a yellow tip, fur lining, and arrows; he has pale yellow drapery and a hammer at his waist. The head of another worker, holding a blue piece of armor, is



79a

visible, and another, with a blue cap, bends to remove a yellow and brown ewer from an open gray box. He has brown and red drapery and a pale blue and yellow turban. A blue ribbon falls over the end of the box, partially hiding the inscription in dark brown: *F. Bouche / 1749* (reversed). On a truncated gray-green wall with pale green and yellow plants growing on it beyond the standing man are a yellow shield with a pink border, an ax, and a black and brown ring. On the ground below are pale yellow fascies, a brown shield, and a yellow and brown helmet with a dull red plume. Trees and bushes with green and

yellow foliage are seen on the far left, with a large-leaved plant in the foreground. The sky is very pale yellow-blue above, pale yellow below; the foreground is in shades of green, brown, gray, and yellow.

#### CONDITION

The silk areas, especially the sky and the yellow light of the forge, are badly faded and show many breaks, some repaired. A very small piece in the lower right corner is a replacement. There are small areas of repair near the lower corners.

## SUBJECT

Venus is apparently returning to Vulcan's smithy to collect the arms that he has made for Aeneas, her son by Anchises, rather than, as in 57c, wheedling him into making them. Vulcan's workers are not here shown as one-eyed Cyclopes.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Boucher repeated the subject many times over more than thirty-five years, including two later designs for Gobelins tapestries. An upright painting in the Louvre with large figures of Vulcan and Venus is dated 1732; it shows him seated on the ground looking up at her in the clouds, with a piece of classical armor, a helmet, and a quiver of arrows at his feet very like the same objects in the tapestry. In a painting in a private collection in New York, he is seated with a hammer in one hand, much as in the tapestry, but Venus is behind his shoulder. A grisaille sketch in the Louvre is close enough to the tapestry (without the "grand rapport") to be considered a study for it, though there are some differences; the basket, with the hammer beside it, and the classical armor and quiver of the tapestry are not in the painting.<sup>31</sup> Other versions of the subject are later than 1750. The three nymphs in the sky of the tapestry are close to a similar group in the 1749 *Vénus désarmant l'Amour* in the Louvre.<sup>32</sup>

The upper part of a drawing in the Rhode Island School of Design is related to the man holding the bundle of rods on the left, and a drawing of three nudes in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco can be compared to Venus's three attendants in the sky.<sup>33</sup> A drawing of the head of Vulcan is in a private collection in London and one exists for Venus; drawings showing the worker at the forge holding a hammer are in the Poitiers museum and the National Museum, Stockholm.<sup>34</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design was woven at least sixteen times between 1752 and 1772, five pieces being made for the king. These may be presumed to be those with the French royal arms in the upper borders; one from the Polovtsoff sale, 1909 (no. 244, illus.), was in the Château de Fleury-en-Bière sale, Galeries Georges Petit, Paris, December 5, 6, 1927 (no. 206, illus.). There is the same inscription on the box

as in 79a, but the composition was extended on the left, to show the trunk of the tree, and slightly on the right. Another, very similar, but with the arms differently placed in the border, is owned by Daniel Wildenstein, New York.<sup>35</sup>

The example in Frederick the Great's set ends at the wall on the left and shows only part of the Cyclops furthest to the right. It is signed "F. Boucher" on the box. Prince Esterházy's piece is square, ending on the left just beyond the shield hung on the wall and on the right at the basket with tools. The Esterházy arms in the upper border are wreathed with flowers that touch the top of Venus's chariot.<sup>36</sup> An example sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 19, 1970 (no. 106, illus.), is less high and less wide than 79a and has the added arms of the Terray family in the center of the upper part of the sky; there are no borders. It must be one of the set ordered by the king for the Abbé Terray, the Contrôleur Général, in 1771.<sup>37</sup>

Some examples are known with an addition in the center, between Vulcan and the man holding the bundle of rods; it shows two swans drawing Venus's chariot, two cupids behind Vulcan's back, one raising an arrow, a man handing them an arrow-filled quiver, a seated man with a shield, and a second helmet on the ground. This may well be the "grand rapport" mentioned in the 1754 inventory. It is found on an example in the Mobilier National, Paris (inv. no. GOB 861), which is narrower and less high than 79a; it has no border and is signed and dated 1749.<sup>38</sup> A second piece with this addition is in the Los Angeles County Museum, also signed and dated 1749;<sup>39</sup> it has a very narrow border and is extended on the right beyond the forge to show more rocks and a hillock in the foreground and on the left to include the tree trunk. A third piece with the central addition, also signed and dated 1749, finishing just beyond the wall on the left, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 17, 1943 (no. 50, illus.); it was later in the Louis Guiraud sale at the Palais Galliera, Paris, December 10, 1971 (no. 126, illus.), and was sold again at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris, December 12, 1978 (no. 120, illus.).

A narrow panel, ending on the left at the shield hung on the wall and on the right at the man holding a helmet, omitting the forge entirely, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 23, 1983 (no. 133, illus.), and at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 25, 26, 1983 (no. 312, illus.).

A small panel with only the four men at the forge, was in the D . . . sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 13,



1929 (no. 96), and an Hôtel Drouot sale, December 7, 8, 1931 (no. 276). It is probably one of the “4 petites pièces des Amours des Dieux . . . à M. Bertin, Ministre,” listed by Charron in 1774;<sup>40</sup> they include “Vénus chez Vulcain” and “les forgerons.”<sup>41</sup>

An adaptation of the design, probably woven in Brussels, is in the Abbaye de Chaalis; the composition is reversed.

## 79b *Bacchus and Ariadne*

### DESCRIPTION

The seated god, nude except for a brown-spotted pale yellow leopard skin, wears a wreath of pink and yellow flowers with green leaves and has a pink and yellow strap over his shoulder. He holds a flower-trimmed yellow stick. Ariadne is dressed in pale yellow with blue drapery. A small pale brown, pink, and red chest with a curved lid and a hinged door stands between the couple, with a pair of cymbals with red, pink, and blue ribbons beside it. On the left, a girl in yellow with dark pink drapery and a pale pink sandal proffers a pearl necklace and a blue ribbon to Ariadne; a nude child is asleep beside her. Two other girls are seen above, largely concealed by a huge pink drapery falling from a blue-green and pale yellow pine tree; the foremost holds a bunch of blue and yellow grapes, the other is in blue. Below the drapery and the lowest branch of the pine is a gray and yellow stone slab, with a relief of a nude child, and an overturned stone vase, partly hidden by a tilted slab of green and yellow rock with blue flowers growing on it. To the left are two nude children, one raising a bunch of yellow grapes, with a piece of pink drapery below.

Bacchus's chariot stands on the right beside him; it is pale brown and yellow, lined with pink, and has a relief of three nude children on the side. A striped pale pink and gray cloth hangs over the back and a nude child with dark pink wings sprawls across it, holding a bunch of yellow grapes. Another, with blue wings, behind the yellow pole of the chariot, raises the blue reins of the two brown-spotted pale yellow leopards attached to the vehicle. A dark-haired kneeling man, nude except for a piece of blue drapery, holds a bunch of dull yellow grapes and red and yellow leaves as he places a restraining arm across one leopard; a nude child, also carrying yellow grapes, reclines

upon the red drapery that separates the animals. A pale yellow-gray ruined temple rises behind the group, with two nude yellow-winged children, holding sprays of red flowers and green leaves, frolicking in the air near its top. On the ground to the right is a kneeling child in red holding a yellow-gray cloth and a yellow dish; a tall yellow-brown ewer with the handle in the form of a standing animal is seen behind him and an overturned dull yellow vase beside him.

Behind Bacchus is a yellow-gray stone pedestal supporting a sculptural group of two nude winged boys, now scarcely discernible, playing with a huge dolphin, of which only the gray tail and brown eye are now visible. Trees with green and yellow trunks and foliage are seen on the far right and left. The sky is pale yellow and yellow-gray; the buildings on a distant shore and Theseus's ship, seen to the right of the ruined temple on other examples, are no longer perceptible. The foreground is in shades of green, gray, brown, and yellow with, on the left, large dark green and dull yellow plants and a yellow and brown tambourine.

### CONDITION

There are introduced patches on the upper left side, at the corner, and between the branches of the tree; one is a clear blue. Only all-wool areas, such as flesh and some of the foliage, are undamaged; elsewhere the surface is extensively repaired. The wefts have perished over large areas of the sky, almost all of Ariadne's costume, the lighter parts of the foreground, and elsewhere; the warps in these areas are held together by coarse stitching.

### SUBJECT

Bacchus has evidently just arrived on Naxos and is comforting the still-weeping Ariadne. In other versions, the background landscape of buildings along the coast is more clearly visible and Theseus's departing ship can be seen in the remote distance.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Drawings for the reclining girl on the left with a sleeping child and for the head of Ariadne are in the Louvre;<sup>42</sup> one for the kneeling child with a dish is in the Albertina.<sup>43</sup> A



79b

design for a fanleaf in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, shows all the elements of the composition somewhat differently arranged and very freely treated.<sup>44</sup> The leopard on the right is close to the tiger on the right of 72 and to a painting by Oudry in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin (fig. 61). The latter is based on a quick sketch, made from life in the menagerie at Versailles, in the same museum.<sup>45</sup> It may be supposed that Oudry designed both animals in 79b.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design was woven at least seventeen times between 1749 and 1769, seven pieces being made for the king. The example with the French royal arms from the Polovtsoff set is in the Kunstindustrimuseum, Copenhagen;<sup>46</sup> *Jupiter and Antiope* is joined to it on the right. The tree on the right of 79b is omitted, the design is less high and slightly cut on the left. A similar piece, with *Jupiter and Antiope*



FIG. 61. *Leopard*, by Jean Baptiste Oudry. Oil on canvas. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.

and the royal arms, was in the Cibiel sale, Hôtel Drouot, June 30, 1919 (no. 22, illus.); the border corners are different from those of the Polovtsoff set. The example in the set made for Frederick the Great is of *Bacchus and Ariadne* only; the kneeling child holding a dish is omitted. That in the Esterházy set includes *Jupiter and Antiope*; the tree on the right between the two scenes is present.<sup>47</sup> It ends on the left just after the overturned vase and is less high than 79b.

The subject alone, without *Jupiter and Antiope*, is



Detail of 79b



found in the Quirinale Palace, Rome;<sup>48</sup> this shows slightly more of the trees and shrubs on the left and does not include the tree on the right, ending at the large dish held by the child. A square version is in the Hillwood Museum, Washington;<sup>49</sup> the composition includes half the carved stone slab on the left, the lowest branch of the pine tree above, and the vase with the animal handle on the right. The example in the Los Angeles County Museum<sup>50</sup> (from the Mrs. Evelyn Saint George sale, Sotheby's, London, July 24, 1939, no. 88, illus.) is close to 79b, but narrower, omitting the tree on the right, and less high; Theseus's ship is visible in the distance. An example owned by Wildenstein & Co., New York, in 1982 ends on the left just before the child behind the rocks; the right edges cut through the dish held by the kneeling child. It is slightly less high than 79b.<sup>51</sup>

All the other known examples are combined with *Jupiter and Antiope*. One in the Chartres museum ends on the left at the child behind the rocks and does not include the tree on the right; the ship is visible. The example in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, does not include the child behind the rocks or the tambourine on the left. One, without a border, sold at Sotheby's, June 4, 1971 (no. 10, illus.), does not extend beyond the toppled vase on the left and is lower than 79b. Another, with the mark A.C.C., is in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart.<sup>52</sup> It does not extend beyond the vase on the left and the upper border touches the top of the ruined temple.

#### NOTES

1. The French title is *Jupiter en raisin* or *Jupiter changé en raisin*. It has been suggested that the subject is the Roman feast of the Vinalia; sacred to Jupiter (Ovid, *Fasti*, bk. 4, lines 889–900), instead of Jupiter disguised as a satyr, approaching Antiope (Glória Guerreiro, "Tapeçarias da Coleção Calouste Gulbenkian," *Colóquio* 41 [December 1966] p. 7). Possibly Jupiter has been confused with Bacchus, who disguised himself as a bunch of grapes to deceive Erigone.
2. Roger-Armand Weigert, "La Manufacture royale de tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1933, p. 233. The large addition for *Vulcan and Venus* may well be the added central part found on the examples of this subject in the Mobilier National and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which is entirely in Boucher's style and could hardly have been invented without his assistance.
3. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 105.
4. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 350, listing twelve related drawings, five prints, and five paintings, including copies, figs. 1018, 1019, 1021–30.
5. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, nos. 344/2 and 3, 345/1 and 2, 346/4,

5 and 6, 348/2 and 6, figs. 1001, 1002, 1004, 1006, 1007, 1009, 1014, 1015.

6. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 61, set made in 1754 for Baron de Thiers (who was acting as agent for Baron Bernstorff); the *Rape of Proserpine* is erroneously listed instead of the *Rape of Europa*. Friis, "Bernstorffske Gobelinsal," pp. 872, 879 (c. 1887 photographs of palace interior showing *Neptune and Amyclone* and the *Rape of Europa*). The Ajalbert extracts (see note 8) give the titles of the set made for "M. le baron de Thiers" as "Vulcain, enlèvement d'Europe, Ariane, Neptune."
7. Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*, pp. 77, 213.
8. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 61, 62; list all weavings. This is the primary source for all dates and purchasers, and the subjects included in each set. It is not possible, however, to reconcile this list with that given on Badin's pp. 84–85, which is one compiled by Charron of tapestries woven for the Affaires Etrangères and by order of the king from 1754 to 1779. To the eighty pieces listed on pp. 61–62 must be added at least twenty more given on pp. 84–85. Further information has been obtained from a typescript copy of some of the registers of production at Beauvais compiled by Jean Ajalbert and now in the library of the Département des Objets d'Art at the Louvre. I am indebted to Pierre Verlet for the privilege of consulting these extracts.
9. Ajalbert extracts.
10. *Charlottenburg Palace*, Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten (Berlin, 1973) p. 63, pl. 27. (*Bacchus and Ariadne* and the *Rape of Europa* seen on wall of gallery); Badin, *Beauvais*, pl. facing p. 68, *Rape of Europa*; Paul Seidel, *Les Collections d'oeuvres d'art françaises du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle appartenant à sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Allemagne Roi de Prusse*, French trans. by Paul Vitry and Jean J. Marquet de Vasselot (Berlin, 1900) p. 191, no. 224 (listed; said to have been received in 1766 and to be in the royal palace, Coblenz).
11. Maurice Vaucaire, "Les tapisseries de Beauvais sur les cartons de Boucher," *Les Arts*, no. 7 (August 1902) pp. 12, 13, 16, 17 (*Vulcan and Venus*, *Bacchus and Ariadne* combined with *Jupiter and Antiope*) illus.; Emöke Laszló and Corvina Kiadó, *Flemish and French Tapestries in Hungary* (Budapest, 1981) p. 33.
12. Zahle, "François Boucher's dobbelte billedvaevning," pp. 57–69.
13. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 84.
14. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 61; Chiara Briganti, "Le raccolte d'arte del Quirinale," in *Il Palazzo del Quirinale* (Rome, 1974) p. 225, pl. xx (*Mars and Venus* and *Jupiter and Antiope* seen on walls of first imperial room); Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 236 (*Boreas and Orithyia*).
15. "A Beauvais Tapestry by Boucher," *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 32 (1943) pp. 31–34, illus.
16. Carl Winter, *Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Forty-First Annual Report for the Year 1949*, Cambridge, pp. 2–5 illus. From the Bernard Eckstein sale, Sotheby's, London, February 16, 1949, no. 157.
17. *Bulletin of the Art Division*, Los Angeles County Museum 4, nos. 2–3 (Summer 1952) pp. 14, 15, illus.
18. Guerreiro, "Tapeçarias," p. 5, illus.
19. Hunter, "America's Beauvais-Boucher Tapestries," frontispiece, as in the collection of Mrs. Edward F. Hutton (later Mrs. Merriweather Post).
20. Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1977) no. 76.
21. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries*, Musées



- Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels, 1956) no. 111, pls. 114, 115.
22. Juliette Niclausse, *Le Musée des Gobelins 1939* (Paris, 1939) p. 47, no. 48, not illus.
  23. *Fransua Bushe* (François Boucher), exh. cat., Hermitage (Leningrad, 1970) no. 82, p. 80, illus.
  24. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) no. 63, not illus.
  25. Sutton, *François Boucher*, no. 17, fig. 16. Another example was in the Paul Dutasta sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 3, 4, 1926, no. 194, illus., and the Charles d'Hencqueville sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, March 25, 1936, no. 181, illus.
  26. A Beauvais memorandum of 1784 mentions "8 dessus de portes, dessins de Boucher" (Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 90, pl. facing p. 76).
  27. Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*, p. 75.
  28. Grandjean, *Bygnings Historie*, pp. 16–18, 22, 26, 27.
  29. F.M., "Tapisseries du Beauvais," pp. 14, 15.
  30. James A. Stillman also owned a *Boreas and Orithyia*, which was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, May 10–13, 1944, no. 667, illus.; it has the French royal arms in the upper border and so could not have belonged to the Bernstorff set.
  31. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, nos. 85, 303, 351.
  32. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 331.
  33. Regina Shoolman Slatkin, *François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art and Art Institute of Chicago (Washington, 1973) nos. 37, 64.
  34. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, nos. 351/1 and 2, figs. 1033, 1036, no. 302/2; Per Bjurström, *French Drawings, Eighteenth Century*, National Museum (Stockholm, 1982) no. 858A.
  35. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, nos. 351/11, fig. 1031.
  36. Vaucaire, "Tapisseries de Beauvais," illus. p. 12.
  37. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 62, 70, 85 and n. 15. The first reference lists *Jupiter and Antiope* and *Mars and Venus*; the second *Venus and Vulcan*, *Apollo and Clytie*, and the *Rape of Europa*. He also received Beauvais tapestry upholstery in 1770 and 1771.
  38. *Louis XV, un moment de perfection de l'art français*, exh. cat., Hôtel de la Monnaie (Paris, 1974) no. 375, illus.
  39. Previously in the A. Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 22, 1937, no. 23, illus.; sold again at the same auction house, March 24, 1939, no. 136, illus.
  40. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 85.
  41. Ajalbert extracts.
  42. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, vol. 2, p. 42, figs. 1000, 998.
  43. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 344/4, fig. 996.
  44. Slatkin, *François Boucher*, no. 62.
  45. Hal Opperman, J.-B. Oudry, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1982) nos. 97 (drawing), 98 (painting).
  46. Zahle, "François Boucher's dobbelte billedvaevning," figs. 21–23, pl. 4.
  47. Vaucaire, "Tapisseries de Beauvais," pp. 16, 17, illus.
  48. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 234; Guliano Briganti, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale* (Rome, 1972) pl. xxvi.
  49. Hunter, "America's Beauvais-Boucher Tapestry," illus. p. 28, as in the collection of Mrs. Edward F. Hutton (later Mrs. Merriweather Post).
  50. *Bulletin of the Art Division*, Los Angeles County Museum 6, no. 3, supplement (Summer 1954) p. 37, illus.
  51. Sutton, *François Boucher*, no. 16, fig. 15.
  52. "Berichte der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen: Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 12 (1975) pp. 379, 380, fig. 15.

## 80 Vertumnus and Pomona

From the series *Scenes from Operas*

French (Beauvais); designed by François Boucher  
(1703–1770), 1757, and woven under the direction of  
André Charlemagne Charron (fl. 1753–1780), 1758–76.  
Designer's name and date.  
Wool and silk.  
10 ft. x 6 ft. 9 in. (3.05 m x 2.06 m).  
21–22 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.  
Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.708).

### DESCRIPTION

Vertumnus, disguised as an old woman, wears a pale yellow head covering, dress, and sandals, with a pink cloak. Pomona has blue ribbons in her hair and a yellow costume; she holds red, pink, and yellow roses and reclines on a piece of blue drapery. Two nude winged children frolic on clouds above the couple, one holding an arrow, the other having a quiver at his side. To the right, a yellow-gray statue of a woman holding a wreath stands on a high stone pedestal; to the left is a huge yellow-gray vase, filled with blue-green and yellow leaves, with a satyr's mask and garlands on the lower part. It stands on a yellow-gray stone support above a stone table. Vertumnus's yellow-gray stick leans against the table, which is covered with yellow grapes, red-edged vine leaves, and red and yellow apples. Part of a pale gray flowerpot is visible. On the side of the table in dark brown is the inscription: *f. Boucher · / 1757*.

The background on the left is formed by pale green and yellow trees and bushes. The sky is pale blue-gray above, pale yellow-gray below. A blue and pale yellow trellis appears behind the statue, with pink roses in front of it; a yellow basket filled with pink and yellow flowers, with a pink bow on the handle, lies at Pomona's feet. Part of a yellow-gray rake is seen in the lower right corner. The foreground is in pale shades of green, gray, brown, and yellow, with plants, flowers, and fruits; these include yellow grapes, red and yellow apples, red-edged vine leaves, and a large green and yellow melon.

Some of the original colors can be deduced from the painting, which seems to have been followed closely in the tapestry. In this case, Pomona should be in a yellow dress

over a white undergarment, with blue ribbons in her hair, and Vertumnus should be in purple with an orange-red cloak; his white head covering has blue stripes. The cupids have pink drapery, with a blue ribbon on the quiver.

### CONDITION

The tapestry is badly faded; the statue, the flying draperies of the cupids, and some distant trees are barely perceptible. There are extensive areas of repair in the silk passages of the upper part, especially the sky and the entire background of the cupids, where large expanses are now yellow. No new photography is possible and the illustration shows damage to the existing negative.

### SUBJECT

The contemporary title of the series, *Fragments d'Opéra*, indicates that the subjects are taken from operas. It was customary to combine separate acts of different operas or ballets in a single performance, calling them "fragments."<sup>1</sup> The four subjects of the series are the *Dream of Rinaldo*, *Apollo and Isse*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, and *Venus and Cupids*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Dream of Rinaldo* is from the opera *Armide* by Philippe Quinault and Jean Baptiste Lully, first performed in 1686 and revived in 1743; Rinaldo is shown asleep in Armida's enchanted garden. *Apollo and Isse* is from *Issé* by Destouches and Lamotte, first performed in 1697 and revived in 1742 and 1750. Apollo, disguised as a shepherd, with his *houlette*, approaches the sleeping Isse; there are two cupids with a basket of flowers beside her, a dog, and six sheep in a wooded landscape. *Pomone*, with music by Robert Cambert and a libretto by the Abbé Perrin, was the first French opera, presented in Paris in 1671. It is not listed as having been revived and a more probable inspiration for the tapestry is the "ballet opéra" *Les Eléments*, with words by Roy and music by Lalande and Destouches; the fourth act, "Earth," tells the story of Vertumnus and Pomona. It was first performed in 1721 and the fourth act was played at Versailles in 1749, with Mme de Pompadour

as Pomona.<sup>3</sup> In the tapestry Vertumnus is in his final disguise as an old woman, persuading her to return his love. The fourth tapestry of the series, *Venus and Cupids*, could be from any of a number of French operas concerned with Venus. She holds an arrow and has a winged cupid with a quiver at her knee; another cupid, sitting on the ground at her feet, aims an arrow. There are three lightly clad nymphs and five other cupids, a half-draped statue, a stone sphinx, doves, and Venus's chariot in a wooded landscape.

A fifth subject, *Castanets* ("les Castagnettes") has been listed, but with no record of a weaving. The name appears in the Beauvais records,<sup>4</sup> but in a set that combined a known piece from the *Loves of the Gods* with *Scenes from Operas*; the set was commissioned by M. La Billardie in 1768 and consisted of *Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Apollo and Isse* (called "le Sommeil d'Issé"), "les Castagnettes," and *Jupiter and Antiope* (called "Jupiter en raisin") from the *Loves of the Gods*. *Castanets* is found again in a *Loves of the Gods* set made for Frederick the Great in 1765, called "la joueuse de castagnettes." The *Jupiter and Antiope* of this set shows only the god disguised as a satyr, without the woman with cymbals that is usually part of the design. It is highly probable, therefore, that *Castanets* was the name given to this figure when it was woven as a separate piece and it should not be considered as one of the *Scenes from Operas* series.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Boucher's painting is in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (fig. 62);<sup>5</sup> it does not include the large vase and table at the left side of the tapestry and shows a space between the melon and the lower edge, but in other respects has been very closely copied. It does not include the dolphin fountain seen on the right of wider versions of *Vertumnus and Pomona*; this may in fact have been adapted from the similar fountain in the *Dream of Rinaldo* in this series. It is also seen in a painting dated 1749 in the Columbus Museum of Art;<sup>6</sup> the two main figures and some details here are very close to 80, but there is a cupid holding a mask between Vertumnus and the large vase, and the fountain replaces the statue. This is the composition of a 1765 print by Augustin de Saint-Aubin after Boucher made for the Abbé Banier's edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>7</sup>

The painting for 80 was kept at the manufactory, as is known from a memorandum of 4 Frimaire an 2 (1794) that lists among the "tableaux remis à la Nation par M. de Menou" [then the director] "3 fragments d'Opéra . . . 1 tableau *Vertumne et Pomone*." The cartoon cut up for the weavers is included in the inventory of 1820 among the *Tentures Pastorales* as "Vertumne et Pomone, 4 bandes"; these were sold in 1829.<sup>8</sup> A drawing of a reclining nude in a New York collection was used for Pomona in 80 and the Columbus painting,<sup>9</sup> and one in a private collection in Geneva for her hand and legs.<sup>10</sup> Other drawings sometimes listed as related to 80 are more closely connected to the Gobelins version of the subject, 57a.

An example of the *Dream of Rinaldo* is dated 1751 and both it and *Venus and Cupids* were woven in 1752. Three paintings for the series were in existence in 1754, when an inventory of the manufactory lists "trois tableaux de *Fragmens d'opéra* peints par ledit sieur Boucher . . . contenant neuf aunes quinze seize non compris les bordures."<sup>11</sup> The third subject must have been *Apollo and Isse*, though it is not recorded as having been woven until 1758. *Vertumnus and Pomona* was not woven until 1758; three tapestries of the subject are dated 1757, so it was apparently a late addition to the series.

The design of *Apollo and Isse* is not related to the 1750 Boucher painting of the subject in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours; this shows a later moment in the story, with Isse awake and the god, nearly nude, as his radiant self.<sup>12</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

André Charlemagne Charron was director of the Beauvais manufactory between 1754 and 1780 and so must have been in charge when 80 was woven. The date of the design, 1757, is inscribed on it, and the subject is not recorded as woven after 1776.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The subject is recorded as having been woven six times between 1758 and 1776. The only complete set of four pieces was made on an order from the king for the Contrôleur Général, Henri Léonard Bertin, in 1762; the order also included three pieces from the *Loves of the Gods*.<sup>13</sup> *Venus and Cupids*, *Apollo and Isse*, and the *Dream of Rinaldo*, with *Apollo and Clytie* from the *Loves of the*





*Gods*, were owned by Maurice Fenaille in 1932; they have the royal arms in the upper border and can be considered to be part of the Bertin commission.<sup>14</sup> The *Dream of Rinaldo* belonged to Daniel Wildenstein, New York, in 1971.<sup>15</sup> *Vertumnus and Pomona*, also with the royal arms and from the Bertin set, is in a private collection in New York;<sup>16</sup> it was in the Groult collection in 1925 and was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 24, 1955 (no. 108, illus.). It is wider than 80, showing, on the right, cupids playing on an elaborate fountain, with a large dolphin on a huge shell, and a watering can below; on the left, the whole vase and flowerpot are visible.

Another example of *Vertumnus and Pomona*, from the Casimir Périer and Veil Picard collections, was in a private collection in Italy in 1983;<sup>17</sup> it includes part of the dolphin fountain on the right and all the large flowerpot on the left. The signature is in reverse. Another was in the Théodore Reinach collection in 1921,<sup>18</sup> and the Ephrussi sale at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 29, 1929 (no. 10, illus.), and was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 25, 1937 (no. 104, illus.); it is narrower than 80, showing only half the vase on the left and with the right border cutting through the basket of flowers. Another, from the Alfred Rothschild and countess of Carnarvon collections, was sold at Christie's, London, May 2, 1935 (no. 120, illus.); it shows the complete fountain and watering can on the right and most of the flowerpot on the left.

An example of the *Dream of Rinaldo*, dated 1751, is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.<sup>19</sup>

#### PUBLICATIONS

Badin. *Beauvais*, pp. 62, 84. List of subjects, weavings, and purchasers.

*Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*. MMA, New York, 1914, pp. 146, 147. Identified as made for M. de Cuissey, 1758.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pp. 174, 175. Described. Hunter, George Leland. "America's Beauvais-Boucher Tapestries." *International Studio* 85 (November 1926) p. 27. Mentioned.

Jarry, Madeleine. "The Wealth of Boucher Tapestries in American Museums." *Antiques* 102 (1972) p. 224. Mentioned.

Bennett, Anna G. *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco*. San Francisco, 1976, p. 7, fig. 4.

Ananoff, Alexandre. *François Boucher*. Lausanne and Paris, 1976, no. 385/4.

FIG. 62. *Vertumnus and Pomona*, by François Boucher. Oil on canvas. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (1967.11).



# NOTES

1. Théodore de Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra* (Paris, 1878) vol. 1, pp. 139, 143.
2. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 62.
3. Louis César de La Baume-le-Blanc Lavallière, *Ballets, opéras, et autres ouvrages lyriques* (Paris, 1760; facsimile ed., London, 1967) pp. 163, 164.
4. Ajalbert extracts, see 79, note 8.
5. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 835, fig. 1120. Called *modèle de tapisserie*.
6. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 329; Artemis, *18th Century French Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, exh. cat., David Carritt, Ltd. (London, 1978) no. 2, illus., other versions listed.
7. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 329/9, fig. 952; Regina Shoolman Slatkin, *François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art and Art Institute of Chicago (Washington, 1973) p. 110.
8. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 47 n. 1, 91, 105. The San Francisco painting is said to show signs of the vertical strips into which it was divided for use as a cartoon (Bennett, *Five Centuries*, p. 7).
9. Regina Shoolman Slatkin, "The Literature of Art: The New Boucher Catalogue," *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979) p. 118, fig. 80.
10. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 385/9.
11. Roger-Armand Weigert, "La Manufacture royale de tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1933, p. 233.
12. Boris Lossky, *Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Peintures du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1962) no. 5.
13. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 62, 69, 84. The furniture covers made for Bertin in the same year had subjects from the *Noble Pastorale* series.
14. Maurice Fenaille, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1925) pp. 17, 91, pl. 85 (*Venus and Cupids*); Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 237 (*Dream of Rinaldo*); *Exposition François Boucher*, exh. cat., Hôtel Jean Charpentier (Paris, 1932) no. 139 (*Apollo and Isse*).
15. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 199, illus.
16. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 385/2. Said to be the largest and the most complete of all the known pieces.
17. George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance* (New York, 1912) frontispiece; Hunter, *Loan Exhibition of Tapestries*, Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1918) no. 37 (lent by Gimpel and Wildenstein); Boccara, *Belles Heures*, p. 200, illus.; Ananoff, *François Boucher*, no. 385/3, fig. 1121.
18. *The Franco-British Exhibition of Textiles 1921*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1922) no. 39, illus.
19. George Henry McCall, *The Joseph Widener Collection, Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1932) pp. 36–38, 81–83, pls. facing pp. 36, 37 (from the Edward Behrens collection, London).

## 81 Upholstery panels

Back, seat, and armrests for an armchair

French (Beauvais), 1765–85.

Wool and silk.

Back 1 ft. 5 in. x 1 ft. 6 in. (43 cm x 46 cm);

seat 2 ft. x 2 ft. 4 in. (61 cm x 71 cm).

16–20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.58).

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a bunch of flowers is tied together by a blue ribbon; they include pink roses, a red and yellow poppy, and pink and yellow honeysuckle. The foliage is blue-green and the background pale gray.

The informally arranged group of flowers on the seat includes a wide-open pink tulip, red and pale gray roses, and a large orange bloom. The foliage and background are like those of the seat.

The armrests are alike (not mirror images) with red and dull yellow flowers and blue-green foliage on gray grounds.

### CONDITION

The back is lightly repaired, but the seat and armrests have substantial areas of restoration, especially of silk passages. The grounds were probably originally white.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Both back and seat designs are clearly imitations of similar ones used at the Gobelins from about 1760 to 1785 (see 57, 58).

### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

### PUBLICATION

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 3, p. 14, pl. 80. Erroneously described as “tapisserie au petit point.”



## 82 The Repast

From a set of six of the *Russian Entertainments*

French (Beauvais); designed 1767–69, by Jean Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781), and woven, 1771–72, under the direction of André Charlemagne Charron (fl. 1753–1780), for Louis XV.

Weaver's initials and name of manufactory.

Wool and silk.

12 ft. x 20 ft. (3.66 m x 6.1 m).

20–22 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Gift of Mary Brewster Jennings, in memory of her husband, Oliver G. Jennings, 1948 (48.139).

### DESCRIPTION

A stout man, wearing a pale gray fur hat, a short red undergarment, a white robe with a pale yellow fringe and a striped blue, pale brown, and yellow sash, a long pale yellow coat with dangling sleeves, and pale gray boots, stands in front of a table covered with a white yellow-fringed cloth. On the left, sitting on the ground in front of the table, is a young man in red with a yellow sash, wearing a dark blue shaggy cap with a yellow band, and pale brown boots. Beside him is a girl in pale pink and yellow, with a tall white headdress, holding a white, pale blue, and yellow tambourine. The head of another girl is seen between the couple. Further to the left, a fair-haired young woman stands playing a pale yellow and brown stringed instrument. She has red flowers in her hair, yellow earrings, and a red short-sleeved jacket with blue beads and red tassels. Her petticoat is gray with red ornamentation and fringe; over this is a white dress, pulled up at the side, with red and pale yellow stripes and other decoration. A pink cloak edged with pale brown fur is seen at her back and she has pale gray shoes.

Behind the table, a seated man in pale pink, with a white turban and coat, is smoking a yellow hookah with a pale blue bowl. At his side is a man with dark hair and beard, holding the handles of a pale yellow and black shallow dish lying on the table; he is in gray with a tall pink, gray, and blue hat. Two figures in gray, pink, and blue are partly visible between him and the standing man. To the right, a seated young man in very pale pink and blue leans on the table and holds a wreath of red, pink, blue, and yellow











flowers over the head of a seated girl. She wears a white blouse, blue skirt, pink coat, and yellow sash, and holds a garland of red, pink, blue, white, and yellow flowers, with dark blue-green leaves, across her lap. Behind her is a striped blue and pink cushion with a yellow tassel. On the right, a standing servant holds a red tray with blue and white cups and ewer, the latter having a yellow top and handle; he is dressed in pale blue, pink, and brown and has a white turban with a dull dark red top. Beside him kneels a man in a striped red and pale gray garment, with blue and red fringes to the short sleeves, and a yellow sash and boots; he is bald, except for a dark top-knot, and is probably a Pole.<sup>1</sup> He rests his right hand on a white drapery inside a pale brown open chest; the other contents are a yellow platter and covered vase, a red square, and a blue drapery. On the ground by the man's right foot is a pale brown basket on its side. By his left leg are a yellow and brown covered vessel, a gray-blue platter with pale yellow and lavender grapes, a pale yellow and brown bowl filled with purple and pale yellow fruit and dark blue-green leaves, two straw-covered bottles, one with a red tip to its cork, and a yellow platter with purple and blue plums and blue-green leaves, and a piece of pale lavender drapery.

In the blue and white water at the far right is a gray boat with a pale yellow and brown figurehead of a two-tailed mermaid. Five seated figures in gray and pale pink are seen in the boat, one of whom adjusts a pale blue-gray drapery over its side. Above them is a blue canopy, trimmed with yellow, with tufts of red, yellow, and blue feathers at its corners. Two vertical and one slanting gray masts and sails rise above the boat, with red pennants at the top. Part of another boat is seen behind.

Lying on the ground on the far left, behind the woman with the musical instrument, are two huge arrow-filled quivers in gray and pale yellow, ornamented in red and pale blue, and two yellow hunting-horns, with a blue scarf. On the ground in front of the man in red is a gray oboe, with a garland of red and white flowers and blue-green leaves lying across it. Behind the group at the table is a round gray tent, decorated in blue, with an awning supported by two long poles in front of it. Behind the musician is another tent in gray, blue, and pale yellow, with a tall striped pyramidal roof, topped by bunches of pink and blue feathers. Trees and shrubs in shades of blue-green and pale yellow make up most of the background, with some buildings visible on the right. The sky is blue in the

upper left corner, pale gray elsewhere, with darker clouds on the right. The foreground is in tones of gray, brown, green, and dull yellow.

The border is in shades of brown, red-brown, and dull yellow. The guards are dark blue, with the inscription in yellow on the lower right of a fleur-de-lis and A.C.C. [André Charlemagne Charron] BEAUVAIS.

#### CONDITION

The tapestry has been cut and rejoined on the left side at the border, so that a few inches are missing. There are some small areas of repair, especially at the left end of the table. A portion of the top border in the center, with a small area directly beneath it, is a replacement of an original royal coat of arms. About two feet of the guard at the right near the top is recent. The tapestry was at one time folded under at the top, so that the portion containing the tops of the trees and the masts is cleaner than the rest.

#### SUBJECT

The series consists of six subjects, the *Musician* (also called the *Musicien champêtre* and the *Joueur de guitare*), the *Milkmaid*, the *Fortune-Teller* (*Diseuse de bonne aventure*, also called *Bohémienne*), the *Repast* (also called *Repas sous la tente*), the *Dance*, and *Bird Catching* (also called *Dénicheurs d'oiseaux*). Paintings for the first two, when shown in the 1767 Salon, were called “Une jeune Fille orne de Fleurs son Berger, pour prix de ses Chansons” and “On ne peut pas penser à tout”; the second title refers to the fact that the milkmaid, her attention drawn by a young man to a pair of billing doves, lets the milk pour from her pitcher. All the scenes purport to show Russian characters, so that the series is called *Les Jeux russiens*, though only the feasting, dancing, and music-making activities can properly be called games, pastimes, or even festivities, and only some of the costumes and accessories have distinct Russian characteristics.

Two oval tapestry medallions with the heads of the chief figures in the *Repast* and the *Fortune-Teller*, owned by the firm of Vail in 1878, have been identified as the actors Henri Louis Caïn, called Lekain, and Mlle Clairon. The stout man of the *Repast* does indeed, resemble the portraits of Lekain,<sup>2</sup> but the manufactory records of 1795–1801 list what is presumably this tapestry only as “Tableau oval figure russe réputé portrait d’homme.”<sup>3</sup>



FIG. 63. *The Musician*, by Jean Baptiste Le Prince. Aquatint. MMA, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1960 (60.620.130).

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Prince showed paintings for the first three subjects in the Paris Salon of 1767; they were all 11 *pieds* (about 14 feet) high. The *Musician* and the *Milkmaid* were 7 *pieds* 4 *pouces* (about 7 feet 8 inches) wide, the *Fortune-Teller* was square. The artist stated that they were designed to be executed in tapestry at the Beauvais manufactory; he had consequently been obliged, “tant pour les effets que pour la touche, de se prêter au genre & à la possibilité de l’exécution de ces sortes d’Ouvrages, qui, faits uniquement



pour amuser les yeux dans les Appartemens, semblent exiger par-tout de la clarté & des richesses de détail.”<sup>4</sup> Le Prince had been in Russia between 1758 and 1762, where he traveled widely, making a large number of sketches.<sup>5</sup> The woman playing the stringed instrument in 82 is also found reversed as a watercolor sketch dated 1769,<sup>6</sup> and as a print dated 1768 (fig. 63).<sup>7</sup> In the 1769 Salon, Le Prince exhibited *Une Russe jouant de la guitare*, which is known only from a sketch by Gabriel de Saint-Aubain in his copy of the catalogue; the Russian girl is shown in an interior and is, as Saint-Aubain noticed, playing with her left hand.<sup>8</sup> The round tent and the canopy in front of it supported on two long poles in the tapestry are also seen in the painting the *Russian Dance*, dated 1768, owned by Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford, New York.<sup>9</sup> A number of other details, such as the nearly bald man and the huge quivers, are seen in other works by Le Prince.

Le Prince did not exhibit the paintings for the other three tapestries of the series, but all the pictures were completed by 1769/70.<sup>10</sup> The six paintings, measuring 20 aunes de cours (about 78 feet), were at the manufactory in 1780, and were listed among the “tableaux remis à la Nation” in 1794. In 1820, the cartoons, in strips, were at the manufactory; that for the *Repast* was in nine strips.<sup>11</sup> A painting of the central motif of the *Fortune-Teller* in the Musée Départemental de l’Oise, Beauvais, is believed to be one of these strips.<sup>12</sup> There is a drawing in the Louvre for the man playing a pipe in the *Dance*. A print of 1770, called the *Joueur de chalumeau*, shows the three seated figures listening to the music in the *Repast*, except that the one in the background is a bearded man.<sup>13</sup> A small painting of the *Fortune-Teller*, sold at Christie’s, November 26, 1971 (no. 71, illus.), shows a number of the same motifs as the tapestry of the subject. The reclining couple, with the man holding a wreath over the head of the girl, is derived from the similar pair in Boucher’s *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* of the *Italian Village Scenes* series (78b).

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The initials A.C.C. on the guard show that 82 was woven when the manufactory was under the direction of André Charlemagne Charron, 1753–80. It has been identified as belonging to the second set, woven for the king.<sup>14</sup> Payments for the *Repast* of this set were made from March 30, 1771, to November 28, 1772.<sup>15</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The set to which 82 belongs is recorded as consisting of all six pieces. The *Dance*, *Musician*, and *Fortune-Teller* are in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris; they have the French royal arms in the upper border, overlapping into the sky, and were given by the king in 1782 to Billieux, chancellor of the Prince-Bishop of Basel.<sup>16</sup> *Bird Catching* is in the Mobilier National, Paris; it has no arms.<sup>17</sup> The *Milkmaid* has not been identified.<sup>18</sup>

Thirteen sets of from one to six pieces were woven between 1769 and 1793, seven being made for the king and six for private purchasers, a total of forty-nine pieces. The *Repast* from the third set of 1775, six pieces given by the king to the Sardinian ambassador, was in the Mme André Saint sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 20, 21, 1935 (no. 189, illus.), and was sold again at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 18, 1965 (no. 240, illus.); it is less high than 82, ending immediately above the masts of the boats. The borders contain fleurs-de-lis. The seventh set, also of six pieces, was woven in 1778–79 for the king; the *Repast* and three other pieces were sold in 1781 to the archbishop of Bordeaux, later the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, and are now in the Musée des Tapisseries, Aix. The *Repast* has been cut and rejoined between the boat and the bald man.<sup>19</sup> The eighth set, three pieces made for the king in 1777 and given by him to M. Fourqueux, included a *Repast*, which was in the MM. X . . . sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 1, 1928 (no. 13, illus.), and was sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 11, 1948 (no. 64, illus.); it has no border and is extended on the right to show a man in a rowboat. Another *Repast*, from the eleventh weaving of 1782–85, made for the king, is in the Mobilier National; it has no border and is slightly taller at the top and wider on the left than 82.<sup>20</sup> The *Repast* of the twelfth set, 1784–86, is recorded as in the Henry Brès-Chouanard collection in 1944; that of the thirteenth, six pieces woven in 1793, as in the Palais de Justice, Paris, in two pieces.<sup>21</sup>

There were no *Repasts* in the fourth, sixth, and tenth weavings, and those of the first, fifth, and ninth have not been identified.<sup>22</sup> However, a number of examples not attributable to a specific weaving have been published. A very wide one is in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; it includes another substantial boat with a sail on the right.<sup>23</sup> A smaller piece was sold at the Eduard Hünérberg auction house, Brunswick, December 1, 2, 1955; it ends



close to the painted tent on the left and the upper border cuts through the masts.<sup>24</sup> A narrow example belonged to Wildenstein in 1921; it ends after the horns on the left and the bald man on the right, omitting the boats.<sup>25</sup> A borderless version, less high than 82 and slightly extended on the right, was owned by the Paris dealer Founès in 1928.<sup>26</sup> An example was owned by the Paris dealer Chevalier in 1981.<sup>27</sup>

A set of the *Dance*, *Bird Catching*, *Milkmaid*, and *Musician* is in the Museum of Art, Bucharest; there are no borders.<sup>28</sup> Other pieces in a public collection are the *Bird Catching* and the *Dance* in the Petit Palais, Paris.<sup>29</sup>

In the later sets, subjects from the *Russian Entertainments* were sometimes combined with scenes from the *Country Amusements* series after François Casanova. Thus, a *Fortune-Teller* with the initials of de Menou (i.e., made after 1780) was sold at the Lempertz Gallery, Cologne, November 18–20, 1965 (no. 1523, illus.), with two Casanova subjects, all three pieces having the same borders.

Furniture coverings for a sofa, eight armchairs, and a screen were also designed by Le Prince and woven several times between 1770 and 1780.<sup>30</sup> Six armchairs with this upholstery on the backs are in the Petit Palais, Paris,<sup>31</sup> and two panels were lent by Guérault to an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1921.<sup>32</sup> A sofa and five armchairs are in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond,<sup>33</sup> and a sofa was in the Akram Ojeh (Wildenstein) sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 25, 26, 1979 (no. 70, illus.).

The *Repast* was also woven in the nineteenth century. An example owned by the Vigo-Sternberg Galleries, London, in 1972, shows the scene from the standing girl to the bald man and is inscribed “d’ap. Leprince.”

## HISTORY

The tapestry, delivered to the Affaires Etrangères in 1772 with the rest of the second set,<sup>34</sup> may have remained in storage until the French Revolution, at which time it can be supposed to have lost the royal coat of arms in the upper border. Probably in the Voisin sale, Angers, July 27, 1863 (no. 196), when it was bought by the dealer Vail. Acquired by the fourth marquess of Hertford before 1865. Inherited by Sir Richard Wallace, 1870; by Lady Wallace, 1890; by Sir John Murray Scott, 1897; by Victoria, Lady

Sackville, 1912. Sold by her to the dealer Jacques Seligmann, Paris, 1914.

Acquired by Oliver G. Jennings, New York, from French & Co., 1920.

Given to the MMA by Mary Brewster Jennings, 1948, in memory of her husband, Oliver G. Jennings.

## EXHIBITION

Paris, Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l’Industrie, 1865. *Musée rétrospectif*. Catalogue, Paris, 1867, no. 5751. Lent by Lord Hertford.

## PUBLICATIONS

Jacquemart, Albert. *Histoire du Mobilier*. Paris, 1876, pp. 167, 168. Described, as owned by Sir Richard Wallace.

Badin. *Beauvais*, pp. 63, 85. List of weavings, including sets made for the king in 1771 and 1772, and six pieces sent to the Affaires Etrangères in 1772.

Morris, A. F. “Sir John Murray Scott’s Collection in the Rue Lafitte.” *Connoisseur* 27 (1910) p. 234. Beauvais tapestries after Le Prince and other artists mentioned.

“Tapestries of France: Illustrated by Examples from Sir John Murray Scott’s Collection.” *Connoisseur* 31 (1911) p. 148, illus. 82 shown without borders and folded under at the top, so that the tops of the masts are hidden.

Delesalle, Hubert. “Les tapisseries des ‘Jeux russiens.’” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français*, 1941–44 (1947) pp. 130, 131. Account of second weaving, with the *Repast* mentioned as having been owned by J. Seligmann and Son.

*MMA Annual Report* 1948. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 8 (1949–50) p. 28. Listed among gifts received.

Remington, Preston. “The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms.” *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 97, illus. Identified as from the *Russian Festivities* after Le Prince, 1769–82, once in the Hertford, Wallace, and Scott collections at Bagatelle in the Bois de Boulogne, Paris.

Cecil, Robert. “The Hertford-Wallace Collection of Tapestry.” *Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956) p. 116. Mentioned as having been exhibited at the Union Centrale in 1865 and being now in MMA.

Seligman, Germain. *Merchants of Art: 1880–1960*. New York, 1961, p. 268. Listed as having been mentioned in an inventory made in 1912 of Sir John Murray Scott’s apartment at 2 rue Lafitte, Paris, and being now in the MMA.

Watson, F. J. B. “Lord Hertford and the Musée Rétrospectif of 1865.” *Apollo* 81 (1965) pp. 436, 437, figs. 2, 3. Views of 1865 exhibition, including 82.

Standen, Edith A. “Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: VI. Some Exotic Subjects.” *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 47–49, fig. 8.

# NOTES

1. A shaven-headed man in a painting by Jan Bogumil Plersch in the Orangery theater in the Lazienki Park, Warsaw (built 1784–88) is described as a Polish nobleman (Marek Kwiatowski and Nicholas Henderson, "The Orangery in the Lazienki Park," *Apollo* 95 [1972] p. 85, fig. 7).
2. Delesalle, "Jeux russiens," pp. 131, 132; Emile Dacier, *Le Musée de la Comédie-Française, 1680–1905* (Paris, 1905) pp. 72, 73 n. 1, pl. facing p. 76.
3. Ajalbert extracts, see 79, note 8.
4. Diderot, *Salons*, Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, eds., vol. 3 (Oxford, 1963) p. 30. Diderot, however, wrote of these three paintings, "Qu'est-ce que ses trois grands tableaux faits pour la tapisserie? Rien, ou médiocres et d'une insupportable monotonie. L'ennui et le bâillement vous prenaient en approchant du grand pan de muraille qu'ils couvraient; je bâille encore d'y penser. Il y régnait un effet, un ton de couleur si identique, que les trois n'en faisaient qu'un" (Diderot, *Salons*, p. 218).
5. Louis Réau, "L'exotisme russe dans l'oeuvre de J.-B. Le Prince," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., 3 (1921) pp. 148, 149.
6. *La Douceur de Vivre: Art, Style and Decoration in XVIIIth Century France*, exh. cat., Wildenstein (London, 1983) p. 60, illus.
7. Hubert Delesalle, "Les tapisseries de Beauvais au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les jeux russiens, d'après Jean-Baptiste Le Prince," *Bulletin des Musées de France* 11, nos. 6, 7 (August–September 1946) p. 48, illus. The instrument is called a *balalaye*, but it is not a balalaika; it resembles a *colascione* (information given by Emanuel Winternitz).
8. Emile Dacier, *Catalogues des ventes et livrets de Salon illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubain* (Paris, 1909) p. 78, illus.
9. *The Rococo Age*, exh. cat., High Museum of Art (Atlanta, Ga., 1983) no. 52b.
10. Delesalle, "Jeux russiens," p. 129.
11. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 37, 91, 106.
12. Simone Cammas, "Musée Départemental de Beauvais: II. Peintures du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue du Louvre*, 1968, p. 215, fig. 3.
13. Hubert Delesalle, unpublished notes. I am indebted to Mme Delesalle for permission to consult these notes.
14. Delesalle, "Jeux russiens," pp. 130, 131.
15. Delesalle, unpublished notes.
16. *Les Fastes de la tapisserie*, exh. cat., Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, 1984) nos. 36–38.
17. Juliette Niclausse, *Le Musée des Gobelins 1939* (Paris, 1939) p. 46, no. 47.
18. Delesalle, "Jeux russiens," pp. 130, 131.
19. Henri Algoud, *Les Tapisseries du Musée de l'Ancien Archevêché à Aix-en-Provence* (Marseille, 1932) p. 11, pl. 37.
20. *La Lorraine dans l'Europe artistique du XVIII<sup>e</sup>*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts (Nancy, 1966) no. 85, illus.
21. Delesalle, "Jeux russiens," p. 131.
22. Delesalle, unpublished notes.
23. "The French Period Rooms," *Los Angeles County Museum Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1955) p. 24, illus.
24. Illustrated in *Art Price Annual* 11 (1955–56) p. 127.
25. Réau, "Exotisme russe," p. 161, illus.
26. *Burlington Magazine* 53 (December 1928) advertisement supplement following p. 330, pl. 27.
27. *Tapisseries, XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh. cat., Septentrion, Fondation Anne et Albert Prouvost (Marcq-en-Baroeul, 1981) no. 9, illus. (detail).
28. Viorica Dene, *Catalogul expozitiei de Tapiserii franceze, secolele XVII–XVIII*, exh. cat., Muzeul de artă al Republicii Populare Române (Bucharest, 1964) nos. 8–11, illus.
29. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) nos. 68, 69. Said to be from the thirteenth set.
30. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 70, 71.
31. Arsène Alexandre, "Les Harmonies de la donation Edward Tuck," *La Renaissance* 14 (1931) pp. 30, 31, illus.
32. *The Franco-British Exhibition of Textiles 1921*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1922) nos. 127, 128, illus.
33. *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond, 1966) p. 129, nos. 249–54 (sofa and two armchairs illus.).
34. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 85.

## 83 The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking

From a set of the *Pastorals with Blue Draperies*

French (Beauvais); designed about 1780 by Jean Baptiste Huet (1745–1811), and woven between 1782 and 1790 under the direction of de Menou (fl. 1780–1793).

Wool and silk.

11 ft. 8 in. x 19 ft. 3 in. (3.56 m x 5.87 m).

21 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Byron C. Foy, 1953 (53.211).

### DESCRIPTION

The tapestry is divided into three scenes by four pale yellow, brown, and gray palm trees. On the left, a boy in a white shirt, gray-lined pink coat, pale yellow-blue waistcoat, red breeches with blue ribbons at the knee, pale gray stockings, and pale brown shoes sits on a swing that has blue ribbons on pale yellow ropes. A rope attached to the seat of the swing is held by a girl in a gray hat with blue ribbons, pale yellow-gray blouse and apron, and a blue stomacher and skirt. At her feet sits a small boy in a white shirt, pink waistcoat, blue breeches, and brown stockings and shoes, holding a pale brown lamb on a blue ribbon. On the left sits a girl with a blue ribbon in her hair, wearing a dull yellow-gray blouse, pink stomacher with a rose, red petticoat, blue skirt, pale gray and blue shoes. At her side is her pale brown hat, with blue ribbons, filled with pink flowers. A brown and white dog puts its forepaws on her lap. Farther to the left are two sheep in shades of brown. A mass of green, brown, and dull yellow foliage is seen above them, from which rise two trees in the same colors, one a pollarded willow. Some buildings and trees are dimly seen in the distance.

In the center is a running girl in a pale gray-yellow hat and scarf, yellow sleeves, red dress, and blue shoes; she holds a pale gray lamb in her white apron with her left arm. Behind her is a boy, holding an *houlette*, and wearing a gray shirt, blue coat, pink breeches, gray stockings, and yellow shoes. Three brown and gray sheep are seen on the other side of the girl. On the left, at the foot of the palm tree, is a sprawling child in a white shirt, pink jacket, and blue breeches; he holds a pale brown goat by a pink ribbon. A darker brown goat lies in front. A gray hat and stick are seen among some leaves and flowers near the child's feet

and a brown and white dog stands below the central couple. Two sheep in shades of brown lie at the foot of the palm tree on the right. Behind the central couple is a field of grain in pale yellow, with scattered blue and red flowers. A woman in blue and pale gray, her hat slung behind her, is reaping with a blue sickle. A dull blue stream is seen behind the goats, with a wooden structure in it, and gray hillocks rising on the far side. A tree in the center is in shades of green, pale yellow, brown, and gray. Behind the cornfield is a water mill and trees, all in pale yellow-gray.

The right scene shows a boy in a blue coat, dull yellow waistcoat, pink breeches, and gray stockings and shoes, standing on a ladder. He holds out red cherries to two girls below. The one on the left has a white blouse, blue petticoat, and red skirt, and holds out her white, cherry-filled apron. The other has a striped blue and pink bodice and petticoat and blue shoes; she raises a dull yellow basket with cherries in it. At the foot of the pale gray, yellow, and brown cherry tree, well laden with red fruit, stands a small boy in a gray shirt, red coat, and blue trousers; he holds cherries in both hands. At his feet are three brown and pale gray hens, with red combs. Some cherries lie on the ground. A small gray bird flies away with cherries to the left of the tree.

At the top of each of the two central palm trees is a pheasant, the one on the left with a blue neck, the other with a red breast. An intense blue drapery with a dark yellow fringe and tassels is looped from tree to tree, with an intertwined garland of leaves and flowers, chiefly pink, red, white, and dull pale yellow. At the foot of each tree are tall flowering stems, mostly hollyhocks, in the same colors, with browns and some dark green. The background is a nearly uniform pale yellow-gray, the foreground is in tones of brown, dark green, and gray. There is no border.

### CONDITION

A yellowish tone pervades, leaving the blue draperies and a few reds and blues in the costumes as the only conspicuous colors. Some lighter tones, such as a pale blue in the sky, can be assumed to have faded.

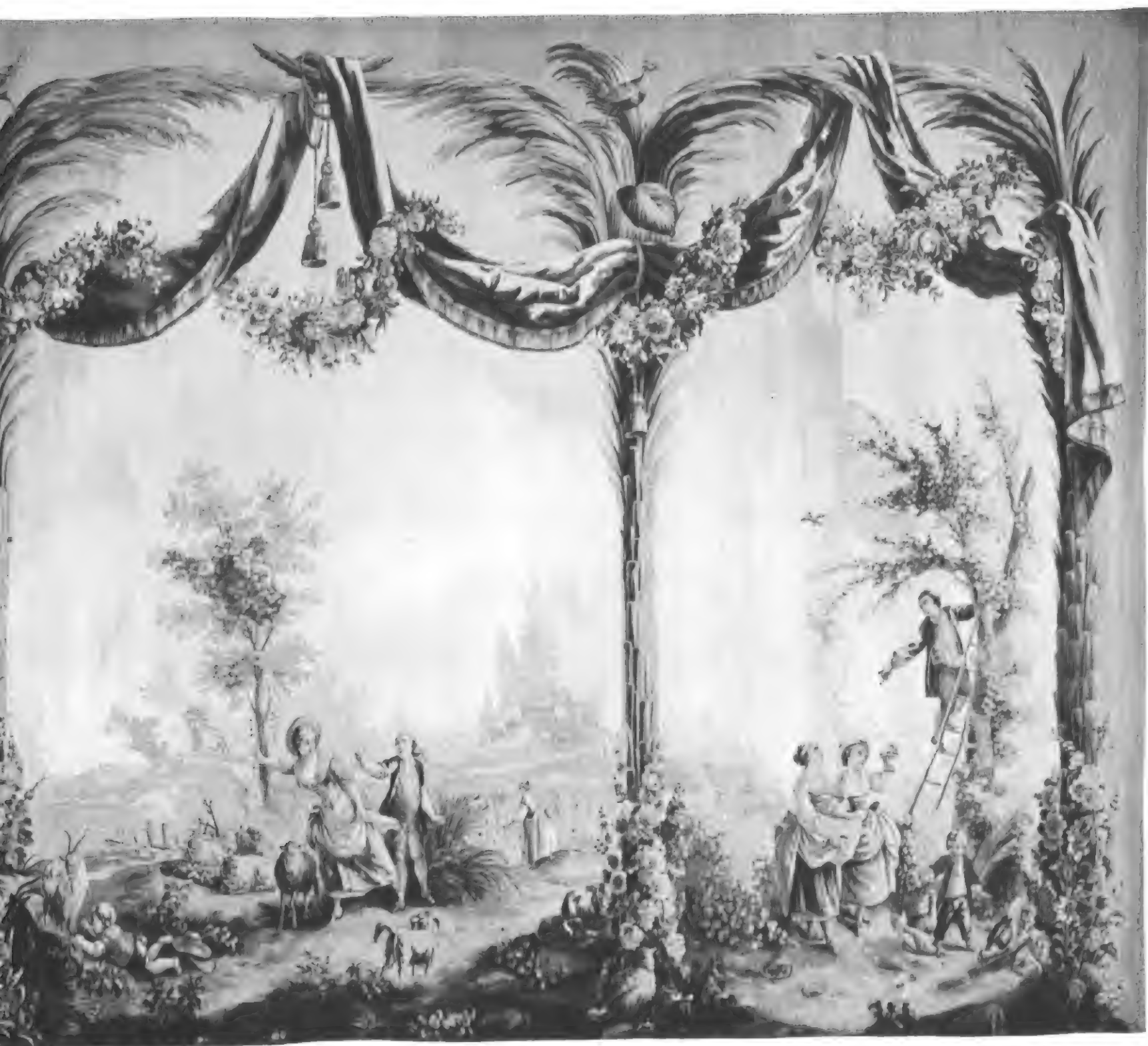
## SUBJECT

The series is recorded as entitled *Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques* (*Pastorales à draperies bleues et arabesques*), the “arabesques” being presumably the somewhat fantastic palm trees and garlands. Seven titles of the pastorals are given: *Fishing*, the *Offering to Cupid* (*L’Offrande à l’Amour*), the *Swing*, the *Harvest*, the *Farm* or the *Farmer’s Wife*, the *Maypole*, and the *Couple Dancing* (*La Danse à deux*). Three other panels are described merely as *Arabesques avec animaux*. The subject of the third section of 83 appears only as that of a screen, *Cherry Picking* (*La Cueillette des cerises*), sometimes woven to accompany sets of the wall hangings. Another subject frequently found, *Bird’s-Nesting* (*Le Dénicheur*), may be the painting in the list of *modèles* by Huet existing in 1820 as *La Chasse aux oiseaux*.<sup>1</sup> *Kite Flying* was in a set of four

FIG. 64. *The Swing*, by Jean Baptiste Huet. Drawing. Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseille.







pieces sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 6, 1957 (no. 122, illus.); the figures in this are small children, a boy flying the kite, with a little girl and boy seated nearby.<sup>2</sup> Almost all the scenes include animals, Huet's specialty.

The set of six small pieces in the Sous-préfecture, Pontoise, includes two other subjects, described as "une jeune femme agenouillée devant la statue de l'Amour" (this is not the *Offering to Cupid*, which shows three women winding a wreath around the base of the statue) and "un jeune garçon offrant un oiseau à une jeune fille." These two subjects are seen in a set of four *entrefenêtres* of this series that were in the Demachy sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 24, 1912 (no. 102, all illus.); the other two show a girl watching a pair of doves and a boy removing a scarf from a sleeping girl. A set of six pieces in the Mobilier National includes representations of *Painting* and *Sculpture* that are said to be from the *Arts and Sciences* series after Jean Jacques Lagrenée, first woven in 1788.<sup>3</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Huet's cartoons were available for the first weaving of the series in 1780, but there may have been only six of them, with designs for furniture covers; they are included in the list of paintings "remis à la Nation" in 1794 as "6 tableaux *Pastorales* à palmiers et tentures, canapés, canotnières, fauteuils et bergères par Huet."<sup>4</sup> The 1820 list of *modèles* by Huet includes two with *draperies rouges*, three with *draperies bleues*, as well as *La Balançoire*, *Le Mai* (both called *Pastorales*), *La Chasse aux oiseaux*, and two *encadrements, palmiers, fleurs et draperies bleues*.<sup>5</sup> There is no indication that *Cherry Picking* was among these *modèles*. The composition of this subject is, indeed, very close to one of Boucher's, known from a painting at Kenwood and a sketch in a private collection in Paris;<sup>6</sup> the boy on the ladder is in the same attitude and the girl below in the painting (one of two in the sketch) is exactly like the one on the tapestry who holds out her apron to catch cherries. A drawing by Huet, dated 1782, in the Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseille (fig. 64), has been said to be a "première idée du carton pour la tapisserie de Beauvais" of the *Swing*; it shows a girl on the swing and another pushing her, a young man with a dog reclining below, and

two sheep at one side.<sup>7</sup> Some of the figures are close to their counterparts in the tapestry, which is not known to have been woven before the year of this drawing. A small painting in the Berthe Fontana sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 15, 1922 (no. 15, illus.), shows the exact composition of the *Swing* in reverse, and a similar painting for *Fishing*, signed and dated 1782, was sold at Drouot Rive Gauche, Paris, June 23, 1978 (no. 58, illus.).

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The series is recorded as woven between 1780 and 1790, when de Menou was director of the manufactory. As the drawing related to the *Swing* is dated 1782, 83 was presumably woven after that date.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four pieces of the series, with furniture covers, have been published as woven in 1780, six with a screen in 1782, ten in 1785, six and two screens in 1789, and six in 1790,<sup>8</sup> but the manufactory records indicate other weavings, sometimes under such titles as "pièce à paysage et effet de draperie," "dessin arabesque," "genre arabesque," or "genre arabesques à palmiers et draperies." A great deal of furniture upholstery is also listed.<sup>9</sup> The draperies in extant examples are sometimes red or green. Ten pieces in the Tapestry Drawing Room at Inveraray Castle, owned by the duke of Argyll, are most probably the set woven in 1785. It consists of the seven subjects and three narrow panels, presumably the *Arabesques avec animaux*, though two of them include figures.<sup>10</sup> All have a band of leaves and flowers rising from outside the feet of the palm trees and continuing across the top of each panel; the space between these bands and the edges of the tapestries is green. The *Harvest*, *Offering to Cupid*, and the *Maypole* are wide panels, the *Swing*, *Couple Dancing*, *Fishing*, and the *Farm* are uprights. The garlands that intertwine with the blue draperies also twist around the trunks of the palm trees.

A closely related series with the same figure compositions and palm trees, but no draperies, was apparently woven more often than the *Pastorals with Blue Draperies*.

Except for 83, all the published examples of the series show one or two subjects only, though a set of three pieces

is described as including the *Offering to Cupid*, “avec raccords de la Moisson et de la Ferme.”<sup>11</sup> The *Swing* was included in the weavings of 1782, 1785, 1789, and 1790, and is found in the Inveraray, Pontoise, and Mobilier National sets. It was one of a set of four in the George A. Cooper collection, London, in 1903.<sup>12</sup> But the Inveraray piece, one in the Louvre, and that in the Mobilier National have another version of the composition, with a boy swinging a girl and the seated woman with a dog on the right, accompanied by a young man; all have the outer band of foliage around three sides and garlands twined around the palm trees.<sup>13</sup> Another example of this type was sold at Christie’s, November 26, 27, 1919 (no. 193, illus.); it has a monkey on each palm tree.

In the series without draperies, the *Swing* is found frequently. In the set of four small pieces in the gift of Edward Tuck to the Petit Palais, Paris, the seat of the swing is on a level with the girl’s shoulder and the two sheep on the left are omitted;<sup>14</sup> a similar piece was sold at Christie’s, April 12, 1973 (no. 86, illus.). An example that was in the M. Rikoff sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 4–7, 1907 (no. 345, illus.), with three other pieces, all of which were sold again at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, March 20, 1953 (no. 126c), has the swing in the same position, but hung from two short trees; a dog and a hat replace the sheep on the left, two doves and a huge iris are seen to the right of the boy with a lamb, and a trophy of musical instruments hangs from the palm branches in the upper center. An example in a set of four pieces sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, March 25, 1969 (no. 166 B, illus.), December 10, 1971 (Louis Guiraud sale, no. 127 B, illus.), and November 24, 1976 (supplement no. Dc, illus.), is like the Tuck piece, except that there are vases of flowers in the upper corners and wreaths halfway up the trunks of the palm trees; these features are also found in the *Swing* and its three companion pieces in the Norton Simon sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 7, 8, 1971 (no. 231A, illus.), but here there are a hen and chickens on the left and two doves on the right.<sup>15</sup> The example that was in the Galerie Charpentier sale, December 5, 6, 1957 (no. 122, illus.), may have been that owned by George F. Baker in 1925; it is unusually narrow. A piece with a bird above each palm tree was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, March 23, 24, 1973 (no. 231, illus.; called Aubusson, early nineteenth century), and a wide example, at

Christie’s, December 11, 1969 (no. 164). The *Swing* in a set of three pieces with no palm trees that belonged to the earl of Iveagh at Elveden Hall was sold by Christie’s at the house, May 22, 1984 (no. 1760, illus.), called eighteenth-century Aubusson.

The *Harvest* was included in the weavings of 1785, 1789, and 1790, and is found in the Inveraray and Mobilier National sets; the latter shows a kid instead of the two goats on the left and adds a couple embracing in the cornfield and a goat on the right. An example from the series without draperies was part of a set of four pieces formerly owned by French & Co.;<sup>16</sup> it is very wide, with a goat and two sheep on one side and a large bird on a tree stump on the other. It is apparently identical with a piece in the James W. Barney sale, Parke-Bernet, May 8, 1948 (no. 135, illus.).

*Cherry Picking* is not recorded as a wall hanging in this series, though the subject is listed as that of a screen panel woven in 1782, 1787, 1789, 1790, 1792, and 1793. A screen sold at Sotheby’s, London, June 5, 1964 (no. 115, illus.), shows the design; a much younger boy is in the tree, with no ladder, and only one girl is sitting below with a spread apron and a lamb and a dog at her side. This title is given to wall hangings in the Pontoise and Mobilier National sets, but the subject is actually the *Farm*, which includes a fruit-picking scene in the center.<sup>17</sup> But a piece similar to the *Cherry Picking* section of 83 was in the Cooper collection,<sup>18</sup> and one with this title was sold at Sotheby’s, November 13, 1959 (no. 111b); the blue draperies are mentioned in the description. The set of four tapestries looted from Baron Edouard de Rothschild in World War II included *Cherry Picking*, the *Swing*, *Bird’s-Nesting*, and the *Maypole*; it is not known whether these pieces had the draperies in their designs.<sup>19</sup>

The subject is found frequently in the series without draperies. The Petit Palais example, being shorter, shows the boy on the tree only slightly above the girls.<sup>20</sup> The Rikoff example also shows him close to the girls and has a musical trophy dangling from the top. The Guiraud and Norton Simon<sup>21</sup> examples have the same composition without the trophy; the piece in the Charpentier 1957 sale, which omits the hen on the far right, may be the one owned by George F. Baker in 1925. The example in the French & Co. set<sup>22</sup> has a large bird at the top of each palm tree, as has one sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York,

March 23, 24, 1973 (no. 231, called Aubusson, early nineteenth century). A piece showing this subject (reversed) combined with *Bird's-Nesting* was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, March 14, 1964 (no. 119, illus.; called Aubusson). An example with a boy holding a bird standing to the right of the tree was in the Anna Thomson Dodge sale, Christie's, London, June 24, 1971 (no. 136, illus.). A small coarse version with only one girl, without the small boy, and with a laden donkey between the tree and the girl was sold at Sotheby's, London, February 11, 1983 (no. 3, illus.), when it was called late nineteenth-century Aubusson.

*Fishing* is found at Inveraray and, with the *Couple Dancing*, in the Petit Palais; the latter has de Menou's initials.<sup>23</sup> The *Offering to Cupid* is at Inveraray, Pontoise, and in the Mobilier National.<sup>24</sup> The *Farm* is at Inveraray and in the Mobilier National.<sup>25</sup> The *Maypole* is at Inveraray and Pontoise; the same composition without the draperies is in the Petit Palais<sup>26</sup> and has appeared in a number of sales. The *Couple Dancing* is at Inveraray, in the Louvre,<sup>27</sup> the Petit Palais,<sup>28</sup> and the Musée Départemental de l'Oise, Beauvais. *Bird's-Nesting* is at Pontoise; the same composition without the draperies is in the Petit Palais<sup>29</sup> and has appeared in several sales.

The palm trees and hollyhocks were also used to frame groups of birds and animals probably symbolizing the four elements. A set of these panels was sold at Sotheby's, June 5, 1964 (no. 19, *Water* illus.); the designs are related to watercolors by Huet in the Mobilier National.<sup>30</sup> The trees and flowers are also found on sets with playing children, probably representing the seasons.<sup>31</sup>

A settee and ten armchairs with upholstery made en suite with the *Blue Draperies* series was in the Mrs. George Rasmussen sale, Christie's, London, February 24, 1938 (no. 24, settee and two chairs illus.), and many other examples of such furniture upholstery are known.

The series was imitated at Aubusson.<sup>32</sup> A set in the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris, shows the palm trees with encircling wreaths, hollyhocks at their feet, and either baskets or striding birds at their tops, used to frame *Fables* after Oudry. It is described as Aubusson, about 1780,<sup>33</sup> but may well have been made at Beauvais. An example without draperies sold at Sotheby's, London, March 3, 1978 (no. 8, illus.), was described as Aubusson, mid-nineteenth century.

## HISTORY

Sale, heirs of M. and Mme de B . . . , Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 23, 1919, no. 52, illus. Sold to M. Tournès (perhaps Fournès, a dealer). A manuscript note in a copy of the catalogue in the MMA library states that the tapestry had been sold twenty years before to M. Samary, Hôtel Crillon, and resold by him at a sale on June 23 [year illegible].

Owned by P. W. French & Co., New York, 1928.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. Byron C. Foy (Thelma Chrysler Foy), 1953.

## PUBLICATIONS

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 230; vol. 2, pl. 248. As owned by P. W. French & Co.

Thomson, W. G. *A History of Tapestry*. London, 1930, p. 462, pl. facing p. 462. As owned by P. W. French & Co. Repeated in 3rd ed. (1973) p. 462, illus. p. 463.

MMA Annual Report 1953–June 1954. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 24. Included in list of gifts for 1953.

Remington, Preston. "The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 68, 96, illus.

Spina Barelli, Emma. *L'Arazzo in Europa*. Novara, 1963, pl. 44. As owned by French & Co.

## NOTES

1. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 38, 39, 64, 65, 73, 74, 107.
2. The subjects are those of the set that belonged to George F. Baker in 1925 (Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 176). There are no draperies and all four pieces are very narrow.
3. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, "Les tapisseries françaises du Segerhof," *Jahresberichte und Rechnungen*, Historisches Museum, Basel, 1925, p. 39; Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 231.
4. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 91.
5. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 107.
6. "Les esquisses peintes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sont aujourd'hui des tableaux qu'on admire," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 59 (January 1957) pp. 28, 29, both illus. The sketch is closely followed in a painting by Pierre Antoine Boudouin owned by Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York, in 1973, and a print after this by N. Ponce (Ella Snoep-Reitsma, "Chardin and the Bourgeois Ideals of His Time," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 [1973] p. 215, fig. 71).
7. J. A. Gibert and Paul Gonzalès, *Le Musée Grobet-Labadié à Marseille* (Paris, 1930) p. 38, illus.
8. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 65.
9. Ajalbert extracts, see 79, note 8.
10. The tapestries were being hung in 1787, when they were described as "a most delicious new tapestry" (Ian Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* [Edinburgh, 1973] p. 383, n. 66); Christopher Gotch, "Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire: The Seat



- of the Duke of Argyll," *Country Life* 113 (June 25, 1953) p. 2061, fig. 3; Helena Hayward, "Ordered from Berkeley Square: Inveraray and the Furniture of John Linnell," *Country Life* 157 (June 5, 1975) p. 1486, fig. 4. The tapestries were damaged by water but not destroyed in the fire of November 1975 (John Cornforth, "The Plight of Inveraray Castle," *Country Life* 160 [October 7, 1976] p. 962; John Cornforth, "Inveraray Castle, Argyll—I: The Seat of the Duke of Argyll," *Country Life* 163 [June 8, 1978] p. 1621, fig. 7).
11. Ajalbert extracts. A *Maypole* combined with a *Wolf Hunt* is listed as lent by Jacques Seligmann to the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1930 (*European Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat., no. 6).
  12. Francis Bennett-Goldney, *Some Works of Art in the Possession of George A. Cooper, at 26 Grosvenor Square* (London, 1903) pp. 9–12, no. 4; said to be from the Baron Hirsch collection.
  13. Francis Salet, *La Tapisserie française* (Paris, 1946) pl. 93. The girl on the swing and the boy pulling the rope is the usual arrangement for this subject (Hans Wentzel, "Jean-Honoré Fragonards 'Schaukel': Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Schaukel in der bildenden Kunst," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 26 [1964] pp. 187–218).
  14. Arsène Alexandre, "Les Harmonies de la donation Edward Tuck," *La Renaissance* 14 (1931) p. 30, illus.
  15. This is not the set that was in the Hollingworth-Magniac sale, Christie's, July 2–15, 1892, nos. 1067–70, in which *Bird's-Nesting* was only 4 ft. 3 in. wide instead of the 7 ft. 4 in. of the Norton Simon example. The Magniac set was attributed to Aubusson and also includes the *Maypole*, *Swing*, and *Cherry Picking*; the first has a musical trophy. The Norton Simon set was exhibited by the Lugano dealer Adriano Ribolzi at the 7<sup>a</sup> *Biennale: Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell'Antiquariato*, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, 1971 (cat. pp. 595–98, illus.), and was still owned by him in 1972.
  16. *Four Beauvais Tapestries after Jean Baptiste Huet*, French & Co. advertising brochure, monograph no. 106 (New York, 1929) all pieces illus. The others are *Bird's-Nesting*, *Cherry Picking*, and the *Maypole*.
  17. An Aubusson copy of the *Farm* in the Segerhof, Basel, known to have been bought from the weaver Grellet in 1791, has been called the *Cueillette des cerises* (de Vasselot, "Segerhof," fig. 16; fig. 17 is a Beauvais example of the *Farm*, probably that in the Mobilier National).
  18. Bennett-Goldney, *Some Works of Art*, no. 1.
  19. Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la Guerre 1939–1945*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1947) p. 354, nos. 124–27, 36.060.
  20. Alexandre, "Donation Edward Tuck," p. 11, illus.
  21. Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, pl. XI,fa (owned by Duveen Brothers).
  22. *New York Times*, April 1, 1957, p. 28, illus. on wall of gallery.
  23. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) no. 70, pl. 30.
  24. Badin, *Beauvais*, pl. facing p. 92.
  25. Ed. Guichard and Alfred Darcel, *Les Tapisseries décoratives du Garde-Meuble* (Paris, [1905?]) pl. 86; Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 247 (apparently the same tapestry, but said to be in a French private collection).
  26. Alexandre, "Donation Edward Tuck," p. 31, illus.
  27. Salet, *Tapisserie française*, pl. 93.
  28. Alexandre, "Donation Edward Tuck," p. 29, illus.
  29. Alexandre, "Donation Edward Tuck," p. 11, on wall of room.
  30. Madeleine Jarry, "Esquisses et maquettes de tapisseries du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle pour les Manufactures Royales (Gobelins et Beauvais)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 73 (1969) p. 118.
  31. Christopher Hussey, "Weston Park, Staffordshire—II: The Home of the Earl of Bradford," *Country Life* 98 (November 16, 1945) p. 864, fig. 2 (two pieces seen on wall of room).
  32. Four Aubusson pieces are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [Boston, 1967] vol. 1, p. 180).
  33. *Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1966) p. 31, no. 114.



## 84 Upholstery for a bed

- a Back panel
- b Coverlet
- c Valance panel
- d Canopy lining
- e Headboard cover

French (Beauvais), about 1780–90.

Silk and wool.

84a 8 ft. 3 1/2 in. x 6 ft. (2.53 m x 1.83 m);

84b 7 ft. 1 in. x 5 ft. 5 in. (2.16 m x 1.65 m);

84c 1 ft. 7 in. x 5 ft. 10 in. (48 cm x 1.78 m);

84d 7 ft. 3 in. x 6 ft. (2.21 m x 1.83 m);

84e 3 ft. 2 in. x 5 ft. 3 in. (97 cm x 1.6 m).

20–25 warps per inch, 8–11 per centimeter.

Gift of Kingdon Gould, in memory of his mother, Edith Kingdon Gould, 1923 (23.235b–f).

### DESCRIPTION

As at present mounted on a Louis XVI bed (acc. no. 23.235a), the eighteenth-century panel of the valance (84c) is seen in front; the corresponding panels at the sides are nineteenth-century copies. The valance panel is not from the same set as 84a, b, d, and e. The sides of the coverlet (84b) are nineteenth-century additions woven to match the trellis-patterned background of 84b. The plain yellow silk curtains are twentieth-century additions.

The ground of the back panel (84a), entirely in silk, is pale yellow. A dull yellow, brown, and red-brown urn in the upper center is filled with red, yellow, blue, white, and pink roses, tulips, lilac, and other flowers. From it rise two yellow scrolls which curve to the left and right, each supporting two yellow rings on blue ribbons. A double garland of red, yellow, and white flowers rises above the junction of the scrolls and there is a spray of pink honeysuckle on the right and of blue flowers on the left. A flying bird is seen outside each blue ribbon, and two more perch on a yellow and brown rod below the urn. Below this is an oval medallion with a frame in green, brown, and pale yellow; the center is pale pink and brown, with a cock. A garland of flowers in shades of red, yellow, white, blue, pink, and lavender lies over the top of the medallion, from either side of which spring scrolls in pink, yellow, and

brown. The garland is caught up by these on either side; a branch of pink lilac rises above it and the scroll on the left and one of pink and red roses on the right. Below the medallion is a curved ornament in pink, red, brown, and yellow, from which falls a garland of blue and white flowers. Strings of yellow and brown olive leaves extend from the ornament across the base and up both sides of the tapestry, which is bordered vertically by a narrow brown band and a wider yellow band. A dark blue guard has been turned under or partly removed on both sides. Wool is very scantily used, chiefly for dark reds.

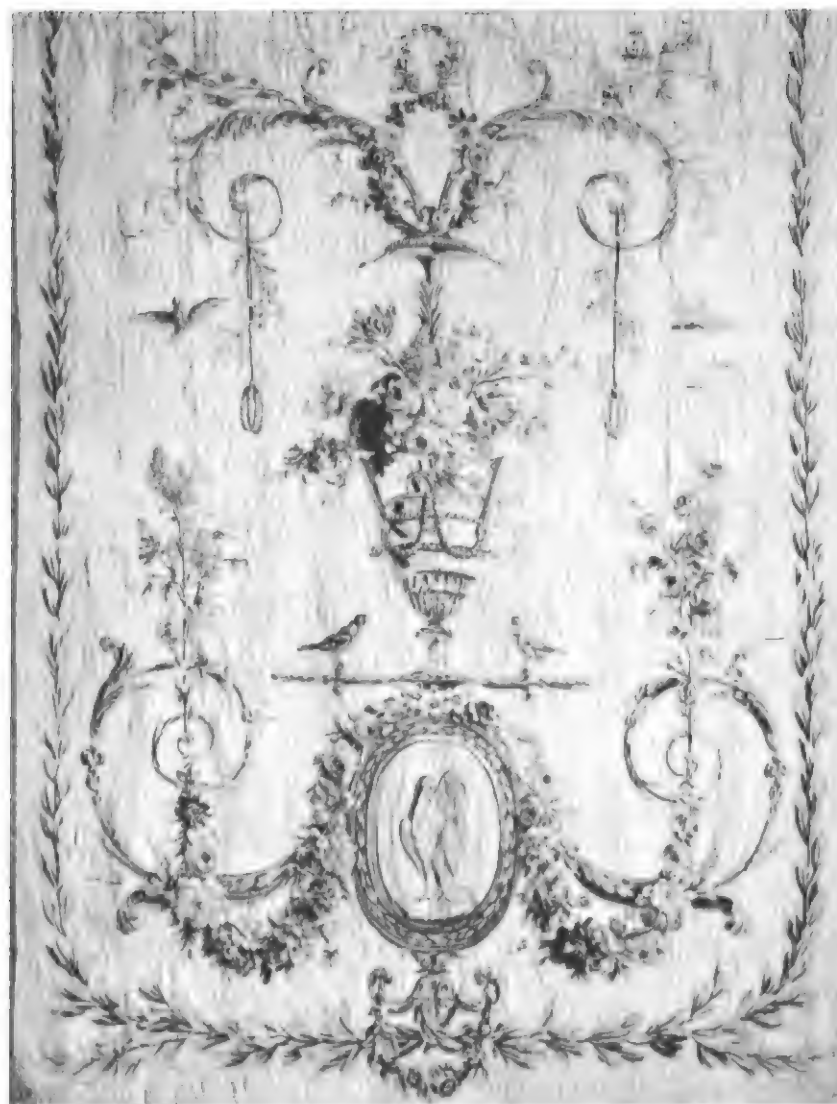
The silk ground of the coverlet (84b) is pale yellow with a lattice pattern, now scarcely visible. In the center is a bunch of red, pink, lavender, and blue flowers, with pale brown stalks, tied with a blue bow. It is encircled by an oval wreath of flowers in the same colors with dark green, blue-green, and pale brown leaves. Outside this is a larger oval of dull brown and pale yellow fronds, with a blue bow on each of the four sides. From these bows rise sprays of pink and white roses with green and pale brown leaves. Swags of red and pink roses also fall from the blue bows and are twisted over the fronds. A band of dull pale yellow and brown olive leaves rises from red bows at each corner of the coverlet. Bunches of red, blue, yellow, and pink flowers, with dark green and pale brown leaves, are held by the red bows; one pair has a large open poppy in the center, the other consists chiefly of roses. Framing the whole is a guilloche pattern in yellow and brown, shaded in dark blue.

On the valance panel (84c) three swags of flowers in shades of red, pink, lavender, and blue hang on yellow-brown ropes over simulated draperies in blue-green, gray, brown, red, blue, and tan. The draperies are caught up in three loops, separated by large yellow-brown tassels, and have a simulated yellow-brown fringe. A reddish gray background is seen behind the tassels. The pale yellow and brown border at the top is not original.

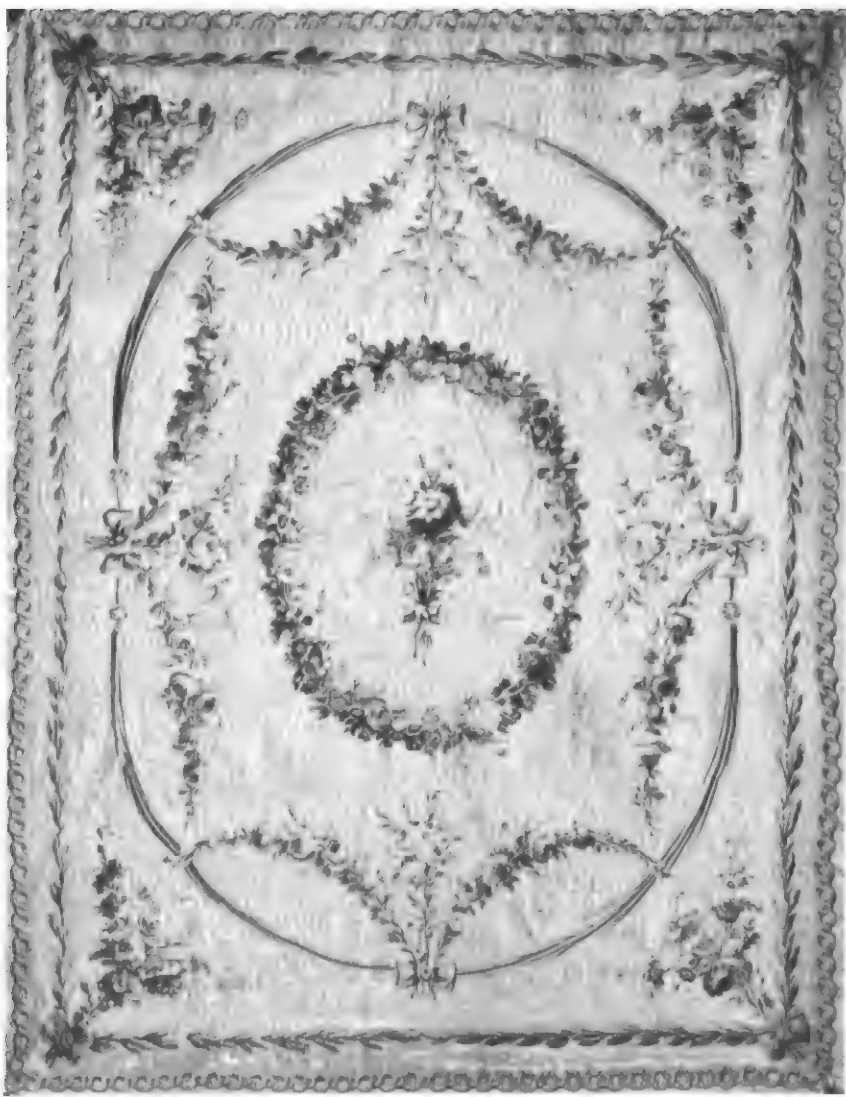
The silk ground of the canopy lining (84d) is pale yellow-tan. In the center is a bunch of red, pink, blue, and lavender flowers with dull green and brown leaves. A surrounding oval of flowers and leaves is in shades of red, yellow, blue, and pale brown. A band of yellow and brown laurel leaves encircles the panel; from it fall eight swags of flowers in the same colors as those in the center and eight sprays, four of blue flowers and four of pink.

On the headboard cover (84e), a pillar of pale yellow

poppies, with stalks, leaves, and buds in dull green, blue, and pale brown, rises on the left; one of yellow roses with pink centers and pale brown and yellow leaves is seen on the right. These flowers continue horizontally across the top of the panel, meeting in the center. From the horizontal extension fall swags and sprays of leaves and flowers in blue and pale tones of yellow, pink, and brown. A band of yellow, gray, and pale brown laurel leaves frames the panel on three sides and extends below the base in narrow tapestry bands on either side. The ground was apparently originally pink, but is now yellow-pink.



84a



84b

#### CONDITION

Back panel (84a): The background is badly slit in many places.

Coverlet (84b): The ground is very badly worn and repaired all over. Areas near the base are replacements. The colors are much faded, except for the reds.

Valance panel (84c): The panel has been cut at the top. A small area on the far right and another on the far left are replacements.

Canopy lining (84d): Some colors are slightly faded.

Headboard cover (84e): All the colors except the blues are considerably faded.

#### SUBJECT

The poppies of the headboard cover (84e), being sleep inducing, are appropriate and can be compared with those appearing in the carvings of the bed frame.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The spiral forms of the back panel are close to the prints of Henri Salembier (c. 1753–1820);<sup>1</sup> some of the flowers, though not found in the prints, appear on a painted panel in the Pietro Accorsi collection, Turin, and on two cartoons for tapestry sofa backs.<sup>2</sup>

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The quality of the weaving indicates Beauvais. The style of all the pieces except 84c is that of the last years of Louis XVI. The *lit en dôme à la duchesse* on which 84 is mounted was made by Georges Jacob between 1780 and 1790; 84d and e are presumably part of the original upholstery, though they have differently colored grounds. 84c is earlier in style.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Wall panels in the same style are in a private collection with upholstery for a sofa and chair.<sup>3</sup>

#### HISTORY

Sold for the twelfth duke of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace by Christie's, June 17–July 20, 1882, no. 1912, illus. (on bed). This number is described as a Louis XVI bedstead, "the back stuffed and covered with a panel of Gobelins tapestry, with lofty canopy lined with tapestry, and with double valences and back of the same, with garlands and wreaths of flowers and foliage, and tapestry bolster covers." The illustration shows the bed with the canopy raised higher above the ground, so that the lower part of the back panel is visible. There are four double valances, with tapestry panels inside and out, and what are apparently long narrow tapestry curtains, imitating drapery, at the back. The coverlet is plain satin; there are no bolster covers visible. Bought by E. Redley. Owned by Lowengard Frères, Paris, 1893–94. In the George Gould collection, New York. Given to the MMA by Kingdon Gould in memory of his mother, Edith Kingdon Gould, 1923.



## PUBLICATIONS

De Champeaux, Alfred. *Portefeuille des Arts Décoratifs*. Vol. 6, Paris, 1893–94, pl. 523. Canopy lining (84d) called Beauvais tapestry, Louis XVI period, owned by MM. Lowengard Frères.

*MMA Annual Report* 1923, p. 18. Mentioned.

P.R. [Preston Remington]. "A Louis XVI Bed." *MMA Bulletin* 19 (1924) pp. 6–8, illus. (on bed). 84a, b, d, and e said to be tapestry of about 1780.

Feulner, Adolf. *Kunstgeschichte des Möbels*. 3rd ed., Berlin, n.d., p. 681, fig. 597. On bed (without coverlet), as owned by George Gould, New York.

Remington, Preston. "The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 67, illus. p. 74, on bed. Called Beauvais.

Packer, Charles. *Paris Furniture by the Master Ebénistes*. Newport, England, 1956, p. 60, fig. 204 (on bed). Called Aubusson, revealing the Van Spaendonck vogue.

Verlet, Pierre. *La Maison du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*. Fribourg, 1966, pp. 64, 144, pl. 99 (on bed). Called Beauvais. Trans. and ed. by George Savage, as *The Eighteenth Century in France: Society, Decoration, Furniture*. Rutland, Vt., 1967, pp. 60, 140, pl. 99 (on bed).

## NOTES

1. *Style Louis XVI. Ornaments, Panneaux, Frises, Rinceaux, etc. par Salembier* (Armand Guérinet, Paris, n.d.) pls. 9–11, 14–23.
2. "Un certain style Louis XVI: Salembier," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 93 (November 1959) pp. 66, 67, figs. 1–3.
3. "Un certain style," p. 69, colorplate.

## 85 Upholstery panels

Back and seat for a sofa, representing *Commerce*, from a set probably of two sofas and twelve armchairs

French (Beauvais); designed 1786, by Jean Jacques Lagrenée, called the Younger (1739–1821), and woven between 1787 and 1791 during the directorship of de Menou (fl. 1780–1793).

Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 4 1/2 in. x 5 ft. 9 1/2 in. (72 cm x 1.77 m);

seat 2 ft. 9 in. x 6 ft. 6 in. (84 cm x 1.98 m).

23–25 warps per inch, 9–11 per centimeter.

Gift of Estate of James Hazen Hyde, 1959 (59.208.81a, b).

### DESCRIPTION

On the sofa back (85a) a gray-bearded man in a white turban and robe with a pale yellow and brown cloak, pink and brown boots, and a sword at his right side, concludes a sale by clasping the hand of a man in pink and red, sitting on a couch or armchair with fluted legs. Behind the standing man are two servants in pale blue and dull yellow, one holding a dull yellow-green parasol. In front of them, a stooping man in blue lifts a length of red and yellow fabric from a pale gray and yellow chest; a piece of blue and white cloth is also seen in the chest and what are apparently maps on rollers lean against it. At the foot of the chest is a yellow and brown ewer, filled with strings of

pearls. Behind the group, a pale gray camel with dull yellow trappings is held by a youth with a blue strap. On the left, a dull yellow and pink two-wheeled primitive sled, laden with bundles in dull blue, dark green, and brown, is pushed by a man in blue and pulled by two others toward a dull pink and yellow building. The foremost man is in yellow with a blue cap, the other in white and red with an orange cap.

The man seated on the right holds a large open ledger on a pale brown lectern; at his feet are piles of gray and yellow coins. On the right, a young man in purple holds a coil of blue rope. In the distance, on the far right, is a huge, dull yellow statue of Mercury, holding up a caduceus and supporting a cornucopia. A pale pink flame burns on an altar in front of it and several worshipers are visible, one raising a banner. In the foreground on the left are a wooden box, sacks, bales, and ropes in browns, dull reds, and yellows, partly covered by a dull dark green cloth. An ear of wheat lies on the ground in front of the rope. On the far right is a large anchor, a rope, and a tree stump in dull greens, reds, pale yellow, and brown, with plants in shades of green. The sky is cream colored with gray clouds. In the

FIG. 65. Sofa seat, by Jean Jacques Lagrenée. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.





85a



85b

distance on the left are pale gray hills and buildings; a column and a pyramid can be distinguished, with some small figures. A wall with an arch is seen behind the men hauling the sled. A pale blue sea appears on the right. The foreground under the main figures shows gray and pale yellow stone slabs; at the foot of the tapestry it is carried out in tones of brown, dull green, rust-red, and pale yellow. A guard in green and gray-blue has been turned under at the top and bottom.

Wool is used for flesh passages and dark colors, silk for the sky and light colors. The warps are vertical.

On the sofa seat (85b) is a large open chest with the lid thrown back in shades of brown, gray, and blue. It is filled with red and pink roses, green leaves, a yellow and brown jug, blue and yellow drapery, and white strings of pearls. A large piece of pale brown and white material with a flower pattern overflows from it onto the ground. Next to it on the right are some gray sacks, with gray and yellow coins pouring out of the lowest onto a blue and brown cloth. Above these is a dark green book with red edges to the pages. Farther to the right are brown barrels, red-brown rolls of cloth, blue-green drapery, bundles of documents, and flowers in blues, purple, lavender, and red, with green leaves. Some trees rise behind them. On the left beside the chest is a brown and pale yellow vessel, with a white quill pen stuck in it. To the left are two books bound in blue, one open, lying on a coil of brown rope, with a brown wooden box. Red, pink, and white flowers, probably tulips, with green leaves, are seen on the far left. A garland of red, white, and pink roses lies on the ground in front of the open chest in the center and a pale brown and gray boat with white sails, one with blue stripes, lies in the blue water behind it. Brown sacks rest under an awning in the center of the boat. Another boat is seen in the distance on the left. The sky is cream colored, with pale pink passages. The foreground is in shades of brown, black, green, gray, and rust red.

Portions of a dark blue guard are folded under at the bottom. Silk is used for all the light colors. The warps are vertical.

#### CONDITION

On 85a the silk has perished in small areas of the sky, leaving bare warps. A small area of the bales on the far left has been repaired. The tapestry has been cut at each end.

On 85b the colors are considerably more brilliant on the reverse, especially the reds, but there are no repaired areas. The tapestry has been cut all around, except at the bottom.

#### SUBJECT

The series represents the *Arts and Sciences*. The wall hangings are listed as *Painting and Sculpture, Agriculture, Commerce*, but the only known set consists of *Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture* (the Arts), *Commerce and Agriculture*, and the *Sciences*, three pieces in all. In 1820, in an inventory of the manufactory, the paintings, cut into strips, were noted as *Sculpture, Engineering (Le Génie), Commerce, and Agriculture*. The two sofas have backs and seats with *Commerce and Agriculture*; the thirteen subjects of the backs and seats of the armchairs of the series are listed as *Fame or History, Sculpture, Painting, Geometry with a Globe, Geometry with a Spyglass (d'optique), Music, Astronomy, Architecture, Mechanics, Engineering, Commerce, Agriculture*, and the *Windmill*, but possibly the last was the weavers' name for *Mechanics*. In the most detailed description of the upholstery, that of a set of 1788, the sofa with *Commerce* on the back had *Agriculture* on the seat and vice versa, but there is no proof that this arrangement was always used. The seat covers have no human figures and are sometimes referred to as "à paysages et à attributs."<sup>1</sup>

The sofa back apparently represents the successful conclusion of a transaction between eastern and western merchants. The standing man is an Oriental, probably an ancient Egyptian, as is suggested by the camel, pyramid, and wheat ear (Egypt being the granary of Rome); the seated man can then be supposed to be a Roman. As Lagrenée was a neoclassical artist,<sup>2</sup> this interpretation is plausible. The statue of Mercury refers to his function as the god of commerce.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Lagrenée exhibited a painting, *Mercury Representing Commerce*, in the Salon of 1781; it included a bust of the king and was intended for the assembly room of the guild of the *Drapiers-Merciers*.<sup>3</sup> The painting may be the one sold at Nice, December 22, 1934, and at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 31, 1954 (no. 15, not illus.).



In 1786, payment was made for four “tableaux des arts, sciences, agriculture, commerce et 2 canapés et 12 fauteuils. . . .”<sup>4</sup> The painting for the sofa seat of 85 is in the Mobilier National (fig. 65).<sup>5</sup> In the 1794 list of paintings “remis à la Nation par M. de Menou” are “12 fauteuils et 2 canapés avec figures dans les dossiers, par Lagrenée,” but in the 1820 inventory only the seats and backs for two sofas, and nine backs and twelve seats for armchairs are recorded.<sup>6</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

De Menou was head of the Beauvais manufactory from 1780 to 1793. Furniture covers of this series are recorded as having been woven every year from 1787 to 1791 and in 1793. However, the 1787 set included only one sofa, described as “dit les Arts et les Sciences avec figures, fleurs et rubans”; the 1789 set was “genre arabesque avec figures représentant les Arts et les Sciences”; and the 1793 sofas were also “genre arabesque” and had “oiseaux aux sièges.” As the tapestries of 85 do not correspond to these descriptions, they are probably from the set of 1788–89 (order no. 352) or that of 1790 or 1791, made for the king.<sup>7</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The other sofa covers of the set were also in the duc de Vendôme sale, in 1931 (no. 101, illus., on a modern frame), and were later in the Peñard y Fernandez sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, December 7, 1960 (no. 111, illus.).<sup>8</sup> The back shows Ceres, sitting on bundles of grain and placing a wreath on the head of a man approaching her with a spade and a basket of fruit; plowing, sowing, and watering are shown on either side. The seat has a wheelbarrow, spade, watering can, fruits, and vegetables. Both panels clearly represent *Agriculture*.

Three wall hangings are in the Musée Condé at the Château de Chantilly; they represent the *Arts*, the *Sciences*, and *Commerce and Agriculture* (in one piece). A square example of *Commerce* was formerly in the Metropolitan Museum and was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 22, 1956 (no. 175). It is inscribed “D. M. Beauvais.” A square piece of the *Arts* (*Architecture* missing) and an example of *Agriculture* are in the Corcoran

Gallery, Washington. Chair-seat covers with *Agriculture*, *Commerce*, *History*, *Mechanics* (a waterwheel), *Astronomy*, and *Painting* are in the Mobilier National.<sup>10</sup>

#### HISTORY

Duc de Vendôme sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 4, 1931, no. 100, illus. Mounted on a modern sofa frame. Called Beauvais, Louis XVI period, a “composition allégorique au commerce.”

Acquired by James Hazen Hyde of Paris in 1931 as representing *Asia* from a set of the *Four Continents*.

Given to the MMA from the estate of James Hazen Hyde, 1959, on a modern sofa frame from which the tapestries have been removed.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MMA Annual Report 1959–1960. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 19 (1960–61) p. 64. Listed as a gift received from the estate of James Hazen Hyde: “Canapé covered with Beauvais tapestry, French XVIII century (Louis XVI style).”

Standen, Edith A. “Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: VI. Some Exotic Subjects.” *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 51, fig. 13 (back only). Identified as *Commerce* from the series after Lagrenée, 1786.

#### NOTES

1. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 66, 74, 107.
2. Marc Sandoz, “Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, peintre d’histoire (1739–1821),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français*, 1962, p. 131.
3. *Collection des Livrets des anciennes Expositions: Exposition de 1781*, Académie Royale (Paris, 1870) p. 18, no. 39.
4. James H. Hyde, “L’Iconographie des Quatre Parties du Monde dans les tapisseries,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., 10 (1924) p. 270.
5. *The French in America, 1520–1880*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, 1951) no. 263. Attributed to Le Barbier as part of the *Four Continents* series (86).
6. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 91, 107.
7. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 66, 73–75.
8. Pierre Devinoy, Guillaume Janneau, and Madeleine Jarry, *Le Siècle en France du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1948) pl. 240, shown mounted on an antique frame by Sené, though said to have come from the Vendôme sale; Madeleine Jarry, *Le Siècle français* (Fribourg, 1973) p. 240, fig. 234.
9. George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance* (New York, 1912) p. 404.
10. Ernest Dumonthier, *Le Mobilier National: Etoffes et tapisseries d’ameublement des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, n.d.) pls. 58, 59.

## 86 The Four Continents

Set of four wall hangings and fifty-six pieces of furniture upholstery

- a *America*
- b *Europe*
- c *Africa*
- d *Asia*
- e Sofa back with *America and Europe*, seat with symbols of America and Europe, and armrests
- f Sofa back with *Africa and Asia*, seat with symbols of Africa and Asia, and armrests
- g, h, i, Three chair backs with *America*, seats with American animals, and armrests
- j, k, l Three chair backs with *Europe*, seats with European animals, and armrests
- m, n, o Three chair backs with *Africa*, seats with African animals, and armrests
- p, q, r Three chair backs with *Asia*, seats with Asian animals, and armrests

French (Beauvais); designed about 1786 by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier the Elder (1738–1826), and woven under the direction of de Menou (fl. 1780–1793), 1790–91, for Louis XVI.

Designer's monogram on 86b, weaver's initials and place of manufacture on 86c and d.

Wool and silk.

86a–c 12 ft. x 15 ft. (3.66 m x 4.57 m);

86d 12 ft. x 16 ft. 6 in. (3.66 m x 5.03 m);

86e, f backs approx. 2 ft. 1 in. x 5 ft. 9 in. (63 cm x 1.75 m), seats approx. 2 ft. 8 in. x 6 ft. 8 in. (81 cm x 2.03 m), armrests approx. 10½ in. x 6 in. (27 cm x 15 cm);

86g–r backs approx. 1 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 6 in. (45.7 cm x 45.7 cm), seats approx. 1 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. (50.8 cm x 61 cm), armrests approx. 9½ in. x 5 in. (24 cm x 13 cm).

19–21 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978

(1978.404.1–4 [86a–d]; 1978.404.5,6 [86e, f];

1978.404.7–9 [86g–i]; 1978.404.10–12 [86j–l];

1978.404.13–15 [86m–o]; 1978.404.16–18 [86p–r]).

### DESCRIPTION

Three of the wall hangings show each a seated figure representing a continent (Europe, Africa, and Asia) with

attendants and appropriate animals, attributes, and vegetation; the fourth, which includes a figure representing America, has an allegorical scene. All have nineteenth-century borders simulating wooden frames in shades of brown and black. Silk is lavishly used. The sofa backs have each two seated female figures representing continents and seats with animals and vegetation appropriate to the continents of the backs. Three chairs are allotted to each continent. A woman with an attendant represents a continent on each back; the seats have appropriate animals and vegetation.

### CONDITION

See discussion of individual pieces.

### SUBJECT

Though *Africa* and *Asia* include many attributes customary in representations of these continents, they have a number of original features; *Europe* and *America* are new iconographical images, though with some traditional symbols. All the wall hangings and the covers of both sofas emphasize the importance of trade and commerce among the continents.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The designs are by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier the Elder; the monogram on 86b should probably be read as LBA for Le Barbier l'Aîné. The cartoons for four hangings, twelve armchairs, and two sofas were listed as by Jean Jacques Lagrenée in 1794, but by Le Barbier in 1820; at the latter date *Europe* and *America* were in seven strips each, *Asia* in eight, and *Africa* in five. There were then cartoons for the backs and seats of two sofas and for the backs of twelve chairs, but only for eleven chair seats.<sup>1</sup> Payment for the designs was made to Beauvais in 1786.<sup>2</sup> A screen said to be made up of five of the original cartoons for chair backs was received by the Metropolitan Museum with 86, but its designs are not original. For existing car-

toons for the upholstery, see discussion of the individual pieces.

The general scheme for the upholstery follows that established for a set of furniture coverings made at the Gobelins manufactory in 1748: "les quatre parties du monde représenté dans les dossiers, par deux et trois petites figures opposée sur les fonds de paysage et ciel dans les dits dossiers; dans les fonds de fauteuils des animaux terrestre suivant les différents païs opposés de même par paysage et ciel. . . ." Each sofa back in this set, however, shows all four continents, represented by merchants.<sup>3</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

De Menou, whose initials appear on 86c and d, was head of the Beauvais manufactory from 1780 to 1793. The recorded weaving of the wall hangings that are thought to be 86a–d was an order for the king in 1790; related furniture covers were made in 1789 and 1791.<sup>4</sup> The height of these wall hangings is said to have been 4<sup>10</sup>/<sub>16</sub> aunes de Paris, making the tapestries eighteen feet high, much taller than either of the existing sets.<sup>5</sup> It seems probable that the width of the tapestries has been confused with their height.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The other set of the wall hangings is owned by the English National Trust. They have no borders and are only ten feet high. They are thought to be from a weaving of 1788–90 made for the Contrôle Général des Finances at Versailles.<sup>6</sup> Sofa coverings of the back with Asia and Africa and the seat with Europe and America are mounted on a canapé owned by the Mobilier National, Paris.<sup>7</sup> This collection also has a tapestry chair back similar to 860 mounted as a screen.<sup>8</sup>

#### HISTORY

Woven for Louis XVI between April 1790 and November 1791.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps sent to the Garde Meuble de la République at Versailles, February 20, 1793.<sup>10</sup>

Sadler (or Salder), an American merchant, offered to buy the set, January 15, 1796,<sup>11</sup> but by September 10 he had changed his mind, and it was delivered to Samuel Alcan, who signed the receipt for Abraham Alcan on September 24. The wall hangings were appraised at 15,000 livres and the upholstery

at 5,000; the set was accepted as part payment for supplies furnished to the republican army by Abraham Alcan.<sup>12</sup>

Sold in Paris, May 18, 1852, together with four paintings from the hôtel of the duc de Richelieu, but without indication of ownership. No furniture frames are mentioned in the sale catalogue. Bought by the prince de Béarn, who still owned the set in 1886.<sup>13</sup>

Bought by Gaston Menier, 1893.<sup>14</sup>

Said to have been brought to the United States in 1939 or 1942.<sup>15</sup>

Offered for sale at Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1974, nos. 55, 56, with a screen said to consist of five of Le Barbier's original cartoons for chair backs.

Owned by Artemis S.A., 1975.<sup>16</sup>

Purchased for the MMA through the Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978.

#### EXHIBITION

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Cleveland Museum of Art; and Paris, Grand Palais, 1975–77. *The European Vision of America (L'Amérique vue par l'Europe)*. Catalogue by Hugh Honour, nos. 195–99 (*America* [86a], *Europe* [86b], two *America* armchairs [86g, h], and *Europe and America* sofa [86e], all illus.).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Maze-Sencier, Alphonse. *Le Livre des collectionneurs*. Paris, 1885, p. 337. Mentioned, as owned by the prince de Béarn, Paris.

Doniol, Henri. *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique: Correspondance diplomatique et documents*. Vol. 3, Paris, 1888, pp. vii, viii, ix, pl. facing p. 616 (*America*, shown without border); vol. 5, 1892, pp. i, ii, pl. facing p. 256 (*Europe*). *America* said to represent the triumph of Washington; *Europe*, the nations recognizing the United States; series said (on information from Jules Badin) to have been first woven at Beauvais in 1788–89 and again on a royal order in 1790–91; latter set, 4<sup>10</sup>/<sub>16</sub> aunes high, owned two years previously by the prince de Béarn, "on croit que le roi, dans sa commande, avait en vue un hommage au président de la République américaine." In *America*, History said to be hanging a Washington medalion (after a Houdon bust) on the column; the House of Bourbon to be attacking England; other figures identified; birds called dove and phoenix. In *Europe*, France said to be shown as Minerva with tricolor plumes; Gratitude scattering flowers, Victory with flags, the horse of War taking flight, History holding shields; the dolphin said to stand for prosperous navigation.

Badin. *Beauvais*, pp. 39, 66, 74. Said to be in a salon of the hôtel of M. Gaston Menier.

Hyde, James H. "L'Iconographie des Quatre Parties du Monde dans les tapisseries." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., 10 (1924) pp. 269–72, pl. facing p. 268 (*America*). Designs said to have been paid for in 1786; set said to have been ordered by Louis XVI to give to Washington; given by Petion, minister of foreign affairs,<sup>17</sup> to Abraham Alcan as payment for 20,000 *livres* of army supplies; bought by the prince de Béarn at the Hôtel des Ventes in 1852 and in 1893 by Gaston Menier; the white woman in *Africa* called Marie Antoinette.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, pp. 231, 519. Mentioned as owned by Gaston Menier.

*Les Etats-Unis et la France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Exh. cat., Hôtel Jean Charpentier, Paris, 1929, p. 38. Said to have been assembled from various collections by Gaston Menier.

Wingfield Digby, George. "A Set of Beauvais Tapestries Alluding to the War of American Independence." *Burlington Magazine* 92 (1950) pp. 251, 252. Mentioned as in the Gaston Menier collection and identified as the Alcan set; National Trust set identified as the pieces refused "by an American dealer called Sadler," less tall than 86a–d.

*The French in America*. Exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, 1951, p. 105. Mentioned as in the Gaston Menier collection.

Fregnac, Claude. "Les cadeaux diplomatiques de Louis XVI." *Connaissance des Arts* 128 (October 1962) p. 47. Mentioned as in an American private collection. Said to have been ordered by the king in 1783.

*Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*. Vol. 5, Stuttgart, 1967, s.v. "Erdteile," cols. 1141, 1144 (Ernst Kreuzer). Mentioned as example of representations of the continents as geographical and as political entities.

Honour, Hugh. *The New Golden Land*. New York, 1975, p. 139, pl. XXIII (*America* and two chairs with *America*).

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Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790." *Apollo* 114 (1981) color cover (*Asia*). "V. Rococo and Neo-Classicism," pp. 42, 45, figs. 12 (*America*), 13 (*Europe*); "VI. Some Exotic Subjects," pp. 51–54, figs. 14 (*Africa*), 15 (*Asia*), 16 (sofa, *Asia and Africa*), 17 (chair back and seat, *Africa*).

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## 86a *America*

### DESCRIPTION

America, a brown-haired young girl with a white feather headdress, wears a white sleeveless dress with a pink belt around her waist and a short skirt of blue feathers. Her blue armbands are edged with white feathers and her sandals have very pale blue straps. She holds a pale brown bow with a red grip in her right hand and places her left foot on a red quiver containing white arrows and furnished with a white strap. Behind her is a fair-haired woman (*Liberty*), wearing a lavender and pink scarf, a pale yellow bodice, a dull orange-brown dress, and sandals with brown straps. She holds the flag of the United States, which has thirteen red and white stripes; there is a yellow fleur-de-lis above the white stars and a gray *Liberty* Cap at the top of the pole.

These two figures stand on a gray, brown, and dull pink cloud. To the left, a flying woman with a white-plumed yellow helmet, gray wings edged with pink, lavender and pink drapery, and red-brown sandal straps holds a pink thunderbolt in her right hand as she swoops toward the ground. Her blue shield has a yellow border and the three yellow fleurs-de-lis of France. Another flying figure, presumably *Fame* or *Victory*, has gray and white wings, a green wreath in her fair hair, a white bodice and a blue skirt. She hangs by ropes of green leaves a gray and white oval medallion with the head of George Washington in profile onto a Tuscan column of gray and brown marble





86a

with dull blue-green and dark red veins. At the foot of the column lies Britannia, a woman in a white dress with red drapery. The shield that she holds over her head has a brown underside with orange reflected-light areas and gray and pale yellow straps. Her right hand rests on a yellow-gray scepter, and there are three gray cannon balls at her side. Behind her are two black and gray overthrown cannon, two more balls, and a large dark pink wheel of a

gun carriage with a pale gray rim. Two pale gray leopards with brown and red spots share her discomfiture.

On the cloud behind Liberty are two seated female figures, Plenty and Peace. The former has red jewels in her fair hair, a white bodice, and a lavender-pink skirt; she holds a gray cornucopia with gray and pale pink fruit falling out of it. Peace has a pale pink ribbon in her fair hair, a pale yellow bodice, a blue-green dress, and red





sandal straps; she holds a green olive branch. In the sky below these figures is a blue and white flying bird and on the ground beneath stands a large gray and pale brown bird, with a blue crest and blue tips to its wings.

The large palm trees on the left are gray, brown, and dull blue-green and the laurel bush behind Victory is dark blue-green. The distant palms on the right are in shades of blue, the sky is in shades of gray. The rocks and the foreground are brown, gray, and green, with vegetation in shades of green and brown.

#### CONDITION

Some slits have widened slightly and others are coarsely sewn up. There are no noticeable areas of repair.

#### SUBJECT

The young girl who represents America wears feathers, carries a bow, and has a quiver at her feet; these are all traditional attributes of the continent.<sup>18</sup> She is placing herself under the guardianship of Liberty, who holds the flag of the United States. Nearby are Plenty with her cornucopia and Peace with her olive branch,<sup>19</sup> appropriate companions for Liberty.

The winged woman with a thunderbolt and fleurs-de-lis on her shield is France as Minerva,<sup>20</sup> hurling herself upon the defeated Britannia, her impotent and enraged leopards (precursors of the modern lion), and overturned cannon. The classical column that rises above her is of the Tuscan, or plainest order, symbolizing the primitive simplicity and virtue of the young republic.<sup>21</sup> The winged figure fastening the medallion of George Washington to the column has been called History,<sup>22</sup> but she could be Victory, Glory, or Fame.<sup>23</sup> Palm trees are frequently associated with America. The birds on the right have been described as the dove of peace and a phoenix.<sup>24</sup> The latter has none of the characteristics of this bird; probably its action of spreading its wings in preparation for flight is another reference to the newly acquired freedom of the United States.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier used the figure of Britannia for a fallen warrior in his drawing *The Battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii*, dated 1786, in the Musée de Pontoise (fig. 66).<sup>25</sup>

Details of 86a



The head of Washington is said to seem to be derived from a portrait by Charles Willson Peale,<sup>26</sup> of which there were several in France by this date,<sup>27</sup> but all these show a younger man. The medallion is closer to the print by Benoît Louis Prévost of 1781, after a profile portrait by Pierre Eugène du Simitière.<sup>28</sup> The marble bust by Houdon shown in the 1786 Paris Salon may also have served as a model.<sup>29</sup> The life mask and terra-cotta bust that the sculptor took back from America were apparently made available to Pierre Simon Duvivier early in 1786, as is indicated in a letter from Colonel D. Humphreys in London to Thomas Jefferson in Paris, dated January 30 of that year. It includes the sentence, "Now that there is no obstacle to commencing the medal for General Washington, since Houdon's return, I could wish, should it not be giving you too much trouble, that you would send for Duvivier. . . ."<sup>30</sup> Duvivier's model, showing a head of Washington in profile to the right, is very close to the medallion in the tapestry, but it was not finished until 1789.<sup>31</sup>

The iconographical program was probably suggested in part by the reverse of the *Libertas Americana* medal by Augustin Dupré of 1783, which shows Minerva with a



FIG. 66. *The Battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Drawing. Musée de Pontoise. Photo: Robert Chanoine.



fleurs-de-lis shield fending off a leopard attacking the infant Hercules.<sup>32</sup> The basic idea of this scene was conceived by Benjamin Franklin. Writing from Passy on March 4, 1782, to Robert R. Livingston, he said that he had a mind to strike a medal, “representing the United States by the figure of an infant Hercules in his cradle, strangling the two serpents; and France, by that of Minerva, sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe specked with a few fleurs-de-lis.” The occasion for the medal Franklin gives as “the extinguishing of two entire armies in one war.”<sup>33</sup> The surrender of General Cornwallis at Yorktown took place on October 19, 1781; the other army is that of General Burgoyne, defeated at the battle of Saratoga in 1777. But Hercules strangling the serpents was the main image in Franklin’s mind; he wrote to Wash-

ington on April 2, 1782, that “the infant Hercules has now strangled the two serpents that attacked him in his cradle, and I trust his future history will be answerable.” The United States plays an active role as Hercules in Franklin’s imagery and France a passive one as his nurse; this is in marked contrast with the personification in the *Libertas* medal and in the tapestry.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The example in the National Trust set is smaller, the design being cut down on three sides.<sup>34</sup> The left border runs through the cannon and the right is close to the flying bird; the palm trees on both sides are omitted. The upper border is close to the top of the column.

### 86b *Europe*

#### DESCRIPTION

The enthroned central figure, presumably Minerva, wears a gray and yellow helmet with white plumes, a yellow breastplate with a face in the center, a white robe with a pink sash, and blue drapery thrown over her knees. Her feet rest on a crimson cushion with yellow tassels. The throne is yellow. The figure seated on the step at her left, presumably Europe, has brown hair and an orange-brown headcloth. She wears a pale yellow-green dress, lavender drapery across her lap, and sandals with pink straps. She holds seven shields on a yellow chain, one of them almost entirely covered. The others show a red cross on a white ground with two blue heads visible (Sardinia); a white cross on a red ground (Savoy); a blue eagle with a gold crown on a white ground (Russia); three yellow fleurs-de-lis on a pale blue ground (France); two white crescents on a blue ground (unidentified); and the British royal arms of George III, inaccurately rendered.<sup>35</sup>

Three figures to the left of Minerva represent the arts of music, painting, and sculpture. Music has fair hair tied with a blue ribbon and wears a pale pink dress with darker pink drapery over her knees. She holds a yellow and brown lyre. Painting has yellow-brown hair and wears a pale pink dress with blue bands on her upper arms and around the hem over a paler pink petticoat. She has green sandal straps and holds paintbrushes and a pale brown



Detail of 86a









palette with dabs of red, brown, and pink paint. Sculpture has a pale brown cloth tied with a red ribbon on her head and wears a white bodice, a dull orange skirt, and sandals with blue straps. She holds a pair of gray compasses and there is a gray marble head and a mallet at her feet.

These five figures sit on a low stepped gray-brown pyramid. Flying above it on the left is a small cupid, nude except for a yellow helmet with red and blue plumes. His wings are pink and white and he holds four banners with pink and gray shafts and gray spearheads; the three visible flags are pink, yellow, and white. In the sky between Minerva and Europe is a flying figure with a green and white wreath, pale gray wings, and a white robe with a pink

sash; she is about to scatter pink roses and white flowers with green leaves, more of which she carries in a pale brown basket.

To the right of the steps is a bounding pale gray and brown horse. Below it is a river-god, with red drapery over his legs, reclining on a gray urn. At his feet is a stream of blue-green water; a large gray dolphin with a red eye swims in it. Above it a fair-haired nymph reclines, holding a pale gray urn from which water pours. Beside it is a branch of red coral. The nymph has green reeds and a red ribbon on her head and wears a pale yellow dress with green drapery over it. In the left corner are two pale pink and brown corded barrels and a roped gray bale, inscribed



Details of 86b



in black: BAL [as a monogram] N<sup>o</sup>. 160. A brown and gray spar and sail lie across these packages, with, behind them, a pale gray globe showing the Mediterranean region, reversed, in pink. It is inscribed in black: EUROPE.

On the far right behind the river-god is a cliff of gray and brown rocks with green patches. The trees behind the Arts are in shades of blue with gray trunks; those behind the horse are in shades of green, yellow, and blue. The sky and the clouds are very pale blue, white, and gray. There are green reeds behind the river-god and the nymph with an urn. The foreground is in shades of gray and brown with white and blue water.

#### CONDITION

Some slits have been coarsely sewn up and there are a few small worn areas, but no large noticeable repair.

#### SUBJECT

The general sense of the allegory is that Europe is pre-eminent in commerce (the casks, bale, and sail), the arts, and war (the banners carried by the helmeted cupid); the horse is a standard attribute for the continent.<sup>36</sup> Europe is often shown as Minerva, with helmet, breastplate (with the head of Medusa), and scepter,<sup>37</sup> but if the armed and enthroned figure of 86b is identified as Europe-Minerva, the identity of the seated woman holding coats of arms of European nations is difficult to determine. The flying nymph scattering flowers is presumably an emblem of good fortune and could be called Prosperity or Happiness.<sup>38</sup> The dolphin stands for the Dauphin, but the river-god and nymph are not usual companions of Europe; the coral branch, in fact, is an attribute of Africa or America.<sup>39</sup>

The coats of arms are not those of nations that had recognized the United States by 1786, as has been suggested.<sup>40</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The example in the National Trust set is smaller,<sup>41</sup> being cut on the left through the group of trees and the globe. The upper border also cuts through the trees. The foliage above the rocks on the right was omitted.

## 86c *Africa*

#### DESCRIPTION

Africa, who has dark brown skin, wears a pale green turban, white earrings, and a leopard skin; this is white with brown spots and the upper part of the animal's head lies over Africa's turban.<sup>42</sup> She has chains of white beads on her upper arms, yellow bracelets, and a yellow chain falling into her lap. White drapery with a red border covers the lower part of her body and she has a yellow band around one calf. Her sandals have blue straps. She holds a pale brown and yellow scepter topped with red, white, and blue plumes. The black man standing behind her has a pale yellow turban with a pink plume and blue and white drapery over the lower part of his body; he holds a pale brown bow and has a quiver filled with pale pink, blue, and yellow arrows slung at his back.

A fair white woman approaches on the right. She has red and white flowers with green leaves in her yellow hair, which is tied with a pink ribbon. Her scarf is white, and she wears a short dull pale green dress and a long red and pink robe with a blue border; pale blue drapery with a yellow border is fastened at the shoulder with a red and yellow jewel and falls down behind her back. Her sandal straps are blue and there is a brown fur band around her calf. She proffers a tray laden with red beads, a mirror, red and white ribbons, and other objects.

Farther away on the right, Minerva, in a gray helmet, a gray and yellow breastplate with a face in the center, and blue-green and brown drapery, raises one end of a dull pale yellow cloth. Time runs up to help her. He has a white beard, gray wings and scythe, and dull red drapery tied with a gray cord at his waist. Between them they are uncovering a dull pale red sphinx, over which sprawls a nude, white-bearded man, presumably the Nile. On the right is a crouching woman in white with blue drapery and sandal straps, who lifts water in her hand to her lips from a blue and white pool in front of her. In the distance between the woman with a tray and the Time and Minerva group are two men and two dogs hunting an ostrich, all in shades of gray. In the lower left foreground a kneeling woman, her hands clasped, has a pink, lavender, pale gray, pale yellow, and green headdress, part of which falls down her back to her feet. She is dressed in dull yellow with a pink sash and her pale blue boots have red heels.





86c

Behind her a lion in shades of brown attacks a brown-striped pale gray zebra. In the distance is a pale gray and brown giraffe held on a rope by a partly seen man under a green palm tree.

Behind the group of Africa and her attendant is a brown and gray elephant, ridden by a brown-skinned man in dull

red, holding a goad in each hand. In front of the kneeling woman in the left foreground is a half-buried recumbent statue or mummy in shades of pink with pale gray wrappings. On it stands a white ibis with a red head and legs, holding a brown and gray snake in its long white beak and under one claw. A brown and gray ichneumon with a long





Detail of 86c

tail turns to look at the mummy. To the right a large brown and gray snake with red and blue spots and a darting tongue curls itself around a massive terra-cotta amphora. Beyond it on the right is a crocodile in the same colors as the snake with a red eye and mouth and white teeth. Below Africa's blue cushion is a pile of fruit and grain in shades of red, purple, and yellow, and a pale pink

cloth with blue and red stripes. To the right of the woman with the tray is a white elephant tusk with a dark blue ostrich feather over it, orange and purple plumes, green and brown gourds, and red and green fruit. Between this pile and the drinking woman are small gray rhinoceros horns.

Behind the elephant is a gray pyramid and on the far right a gray-brown obelisk covered with hieroglyphs. There is a large tree with dull green and pale yellow leaves and brown branches behind the main group and a smaller one beside the obelisk. Flying on the left is a brown and gray bird; two others on the right are white, red, and pale blue and yellow. One has a long red tail. Faintly visible in the upper center is Apollo in his chariot; in the upper left corner is the bull of April (Taurus) and, in the upper right corner, the fishes of February (Pisces). All are in pale gray on a pale gray sky. Green trees and rushes are seen in the middle distance and there are green reeds by the water. A green plant behind the drinking woman has red and purple flowers and there is a green and brown prickly pear in the lower left corner. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, and green, with green plants: one below the crocodile has pale pink flowers. An inscription in black in the lower right corner reads: DM [de Menou] · BEAUVAIS.

#### CONDITION

Some slits have been coarsely sewn up, but there are no noticeable areas of repair.

#### SUBJECT

The white woman carrying trade goods to be exchanged for ivory and ostrich feathers has been identified as Marie Antoinette taking the treasures of Europe to Africa,<sup>43</sup> but this seems unlikely. She could represent Europe, or France, or even Commerce. The group of Minerva and Time has been interpreted as a woman attempting to preserve the Nile from the attacks of time,<sup>44</sup> or as Time assisting War to discover the civilization of ancient Egypt.<sup>45</sup> More probably Minerva here stands for the learning of Europe or of France, whom Time is assisting to reveal the secrets of Egypt and the Nile. The drinking woman may be intended to demonstrate the importance of water in the arid parts of Africa, and the kneeling woman may be mourning the half-buried mummy.

Most of the animals—elephant, crocodile, lion, snake, and ostrich—are frequently found in representations of Africa,<sup>46</sup> but the giraffe and the ichneumon (the African mongoose) are new and suggest a wish to include less-known African fauna. The standing bird is an ibis which, according to Herodotus, kills snakes.<sup>47</sup> The pyramid and obelisk are well-known Egyptian symbols, but the amphora and the half-buried figure are again apparently original inventions. The prickly pear is a mistake; the plant is American. The figures in the sky are difficult to interpret; Apollo may indicate the strength of the sun in Africa.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designer may have known the frontispiece to the second volume of Frederic Louis Norden, *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, of which a French version appeared in 1755, the same year as the first edition in Denmark. It shows a helmeted female figure pointing to the antiquities of Egypt, which include a half-buried stone head. There are also a lion, a crocodile, a river-god, and a bird with a snake in its mouth. An obelisk covered with hieroglyphs rises in the background.

Detail of 86c





Detail of 86c

The ibis is taken from volume 8 (1781), plate 1, of Buffon's volumes on birds in his *Histoire naturelle*.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The example in the National Trust set is smaller,<sup>48</sup> the left border touching the elephant's right ear and the upper border the top of the tree. The lion, zebra, and flying bird on the left are omitted, as are Apollo and the signs of the zodiac in the sky.

## 86d Asia

#### DESCRIPTION

The enthroned Asia wears a white dress with a pink collar and a pink belt in which there is a red gem. Her headdress is red, with gray and orange plumes, and the lower part of her body is covered with blue drapery. Her sandal straps are pink and she holds a red feather fan with a blue center. Her feet rest on a yellow cushion and one arm on two gray and yellow bales. An attendant on the right holds up a dull yellow censer from which pour clouds of pale gray smoke. She wears a dark blue-green dress with pink highlights and a long pale gray striped scarf falls from her headdress. The foremost of two girls on the left has a pale blue-gray dress trimmed with white fur and pink and lavender plumes on her head. Her partly visible companion is in lavender and holds a string of pearls. Below these figures is a pile of golden vessels in dull yellow-brown, one with a string of pearls thrown over it; two of them rest on a white cloth with a blue pattern. A pink cloth with a white pattern is seen at one side.

Farther to the left in the foreground is a boy wearing a brown and dark blue turban with a dark gray plume and a dark red coat trimmed with dark brown fur. He plays a brown and gray guitar to which a dark blue and lavender ribbon is attached; it has black and white strings. In front of him are three white music books on a gray support. In the distance above him are two dancing girls in pale pink and pale blue and a seated girl in pale pink and lavender playing a pale yellow and brown harp. Behind her are two men carrying a square gray object on a litter; the one in front is nude except for a pale pink loincloth.

On the right side of the tapestry is a reclining dark brown and gray camel, partly covered with a dark reddish brown fur. On its back is a round reddish cushion, a red and white circle of feathers, a yellow quiver with white-feathered arrows, a headdress of alternating dark red and blue feathers, a red and white striped cloth, and a dark blue rectangular bale tied with yellow-brown rope. A man apparently urging the camel to rise has a red and white turban, a white undershirt with a brown fur over it, and brown and white leggings. In the distance behind him is a man in dark blue with a dull red and white turban and a yellow-brown quiver slung at his back; he holds a stand-





86d

ing brown camel with a rope. The load on its back is in dull blues, pinks, and browns.

In the distance on the far left is a huge gray classical building with a three-tiered fountain in the center under the coffered vault, pouring out blue and white falling water. Two large smoking yellow and gray vases stand on the upper step of the building at the left. In the foreground below is a white vase ornamented in blue, filled with dark red and purple flowers and dark brown-green and blue-green foliage. Between it and the guitar player is a dark

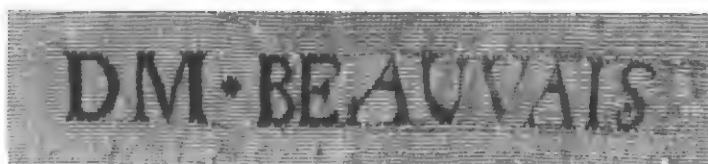
dull orange pineapple plant with, below it, a dark gray and brown bowl on three legs and a dark blue round vase, with beads and red-centered medallions hanging from its mouth, on a dark brown stand. Between the vase and the bowl is a red and pale gray turban with a dark brown plume and a white crescent. On the left are large dark brown and black fronds, on the right a stiff oval fan, pinkish gray with dark brown and dark blue spots.<sup>49</sup> Under the support for the music books, dark pink and purple drapery conceals most of a quiver with gray-feathered





arrows. On the right is a dark brown box, presumably for tea, with yellow metal bands at the base and corners; it is decorated with red and white flowers and blue leaves. Beside it are a dark blue and pink teapot and a dull yellow and brown short sword and shield.

The marble platform on which Asia sits is in shades of dull gray, blue, purple, and brown. Below the bales on which her arm rests is a round yellow and brown table with a yellow-fringed red cloth draped over part of it. On the table is a small covered vessel and a string of pearls hangs over the edge; under it is an open green box with a pink lid, ornamented in yellow, containing yellow objects. Behind this is a dark blue-gray vessel with a gold chain. On either side of Asia's throne is a gray or pinkish gray plinth with the statue of a seated Chinese figure on top of each. Above Asia is a large pink drapery with a blue-shaded lining. On the right are green-leaved trees with brown trunks; one is a palm with bunches of dull yellow dates. In the distance are gray and pale brown buildings with pale green and white vegetation. The sky is pale gray. The foreground is very dark, in shades of gray and brown, with many plants, mostly in dark green, brown, and black. On the lower right in black and brown is inscribed: DM [de Menou] · BEAUVAIS.



Details of 86d

#### CONDITION

Some slits have been coarsely sewn up, but there are no large noticeable areas of repair.

#### SUBJECT

Some of the attributes are traditional in representations of Asia, including the heaps of treasure, the jewels, incense burners, camels, and turbans.<sup>50</sup> The enormous building presumably is intended for a classical structure in Asia Minor. The crescent on the turban on the ground shows

that it is Turkish. There are also objects from China, such as the statues, the blue and white vase, the teapot, and the painted chest, but nothing from India; French possessions there were minimal at this date. Asia's bales and the camels with their attendants convey the idea of the importance of trade with this continent.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The example in the National Trust set is smaller;<sup>51</sup> the left side of the classical building is not visible, the upper border cuts through the treetops, and the right border is immediately behind the man by the reclining camel. The second camel driver does not appear.

## 86e Sofa, *America and Europe*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, America is seated on the left. She is nude to the waist except for red and blue earrings and necklace. There are red, white, and blue feathers on her head and a white drapery with red ornamentation on the hem over her knees and left shoulder. She rests her right hand on a wrapped bundle of brown sticks and one foot on a bow and quiver. There is a large turtle shell at her back. Behind her a boy holds a pole with native weapons attached to it and a round white Plains Indian shield decorated in dark brown. America holds out her left hand toward two women sitting on a low platform in the center of the panel.

86e



The one on the left (France) wears a royal crown, red dress, and blue cloak. Her left arm rests on a yellow shield displaying fleurs-de-lis, and two stalks of white lilies lie at her feet. She holds out her right hand to America and turns her head toward her companion, Europe. The latter wears a yellow helmet with pink and crimson plumes, yellow armor, red drapery, and sandals with blue straps. She holds a yellow cornucopia filled with flowers and grapes and rests her left hand on a yellow scepter. In the sky above the women is a winged Victory, nude except for white drapery; she holds a green palm frond in one hand and raises a wreath above France's head with the other.

At the extreme left are a standing woman in pink and blue and a nearly nude man with a red headband, who lies over a brown and gray bale and grasps an anchor. In the distance between America and France are Neptune in his chariot and a conch-blowing Triton, all in pale gray. To the right of Europe is a white horse with a gray mane and tail. Below it is a pile of symbolic objects, including a miter, a papal tiara, and a crown, all in yellow; a blue orb with gold stars; compasses, cannon, a spear, a shield, a gold trumpet, a white drum, and blue and lavender draperies. To the right a Roman warrior sitting on the ground wears blue-gray armor; he holds a gray mace in one hand and places the other on a gray shield. A man seen from the back behind him has blue plumes on his helmet and pale yellow clothing; he holds pale pink and gray banners and

has a gray shield at his feet. Some buildings are dimly seen in the distance. The sky is gray, the foreground is in shades of green, dull yellow, brown, and gray, with dark green plants.

On the seat, slightly to the left of the center, is a pale brown ox with a dull red cloth, embroidered in yellow, over its back. Behind it is a pale green snake twisted around a broken gray column, confronting a pale gray flying eagle. In front of the ox is a gray monkey sitting on a blue quiver filled with arrows, holding a white feather headdress and a parasol lined in pale pink. Some red and yellow fruit lies on the ground below. A red and blue parrot sits on a branch of a brown tree stump; to the left are green plants like small pine trees. On the far left in the foreground is a green plant with red flowers. Above it towers a pale gray cliff, topped with blue-green grass, which partly conceals a large ship with pale gray sails. On the ground alongside are pale brown bales and a gray mule with pink trappings. Other ships are visible in the blue sea, and in the distance to the right of the broken column is a dimly seen headland with buildings.

In the center are two gray classical columns supporting a slab; a small round temple is seen between them. Below this is a suit of Roman armor on a pole and a cock, with red crest and wattles, standing on a blue and gray globe. Below the armor is a pile of produce, including purple grapes and plums, red and yellow peaches and pears, and yellow ears of wheat. Beside the globe are a purple-brown sheep and a ram with a dark brown and gray dog. Behind

FIG. 67. *Sofa back, America and Europe*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.





them is a trophy of spears, pink, yellow, and blue banners, bundles of sticks, a yellow shield, and blue-gray cannon. A pale gray horse leaps toward the right. Below it is a bust with red roses and white narcissus. A battlemented building and trees are seen in the distance. The sky is pale gray. The foreground is in shades of brown, green, gray, and pale yellow.

Each armrest shows architectural elements, pine trees, leaves, and flowers in shades of green, blue, and red.

#### CONDITION

No repairs are apparent.

#### SUBJECT

On the back, the bundle of rods held by America symbolizes the union of the thirteen United States. France is introducing the new nation to Europe across Neptune's domain, the Atlantic; France's discarded armor lies at her feet, as the war has been won, and Victory crowns her. Europe has her usual horse, scepter, orb, cornucopia, weapons, and instruments of the arts and sciences, as well as symbols of Christianity, with which she is frequently associated.<sup>52</sup>

On the seat, the left side represents America, as is shown by the feather headdress in the monkey's hand. Monkeys and parrots are often used to symbolize America.<sup>53</sup> The ships, bales, and loaded mule refer to the importance of trade between Europe and America. The significance of the eagle attacking a snake is obscure, though the snake might stand for a king (George III)<sup>54</sup> and the eagle for the United States;<sup>55</sup> the use of the same motif on an *Africa* chair (86n) as well as on an *America* one (86h) makes this interpretation doubtful. The ox or bull may be Europa's abductor, or it, like the sheep, may merely refer to the wealth of domestic animals in Europe. The horse, dog, temple, and cannon are customary attributes of this continent.<sup>56</sup> The fruit and wheat are European agricultural produce. The cock is presumably France<sup>57</sup> and stands on a globe to indicate French worldwide supremacy.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's painting for the back (reversed) is in the Mobilier National, Paris (fig. 67). It is larger than the



Detail of 86e

woven panel, with the composition extended on both sides. On the American side, the standing woman holds out her hand toward some rustic buildings and a rugged mountain. The corded bale by the anchor is more conspicuous and there is a flowering plant at the extreme edge. On the European side, the ends of the banners are visible and there are a crane and what are probably harbor buildings in the distance. There is a large-leafed plant in the foreground and more of the reeds and other plants at the base are visible.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The design of the seat is the same as that found on the seat of a sofa in the Mobilier National, Paris. Somewhat more of the foreground is visible, including more flowers on the far left, rocks under the container of fruit and wheat, and reeds under the sheep.



## 86f Sofa, *Asia and Africa*

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Asia is seated on a low platform partly covered with a blue cloth. She is dressed in yellow with a blue headdress and a pale blue belt. She holds a gray shield decorated with a gold crescent and rests upon red drapery and a blue and white cushion with red tassels. An attendant in blue behind her holds a smoking yellow censer on a chain. To the left a reclining woman in blue and lavender has in front of her an open pale yellow box with a red lid; in it are jewels, including a chain of red beads. It stands on a blue cloth. Behind the figures a red table supports three yellow vessels, a ewer with a figure for a handle, a bowl, and a smoking censer. In the distance are two pale gray sphinges on pedestals flanking some steps. Above Asia's

foot is a yellow smoking censer, and in the distance are three gray camels.

Africa is nude to the waist and has a yellow-brown lion-mask over her dark hair. She wears white drapery with a pink sash and sandal straps and sits on a leopard skin. The attendant standing behind her is in blue and holds a pale pink parasol. A kneeling black man with drapery holds a white elephant tusk; four others lie beside him, as well as a basket, filled with red and yellow fruit, on a red cloth. A bow and a yellow and brown quiver lie at Africa's feet. On the right are two blacks in chains; one has blue drapery, the other red. A gray elephant is seen from behind in the distance. The sky is pale blue and gray. The foreground is in shades of green, brown, gray, and pale yellow. There are some plants with red and white flowers.

On the seat, the African animals on the left include a



yellow and brown lion, a spotted leopard in the same colors, and a brown and gray ichneumon (similar to the one seen on 86c and o). There are also three red-headed white ibises. In the distance on the left are a gray pyramid and a distant city behind some trees. There is also a pale gray elephant and two birds. Among the green and yellow plants in the foreground is one with long drooping red flowers. In the center of the panel is a large pale yellow elephant tusk with a yellow scepter topped by lavender and white ostrich plumes lying across it. Below is a pile of purple, blue, and red fruit and yellow and brown wheat ears, with black and white plumes below. A white animal, probably a sheep, stands below the arch of the tusk, over which is thrown a richly ornamented yellow and brown fabric. Jewels, vases, and plumes in shades of brown, gray, and yellow are heaped about it. Two crescents are visible. On the right is a gray camel above a wreath of roses. In the distance is a gray ram and on the left a smoking altar. The sky is pale gray. The foreground is in shades of gray, brown, and green, with yellow plants.

The armrests are similar to those of 86e.

#### CONDITION

No repairs are apparent.

#### SUBJECT

On the back, each continent seems to be showing the other what she has to trade: Asia, jewels and other precious objects; Africa, ivory and slaves. The crescent on the shield presumably refers to Turkey, but the sphinges must be associated with Africa; the bow and the elephant are usual symbols for this continent.<sup>58</sup>

On the seat, the ibises, lion, and ichneumon appear again as African fauna, as in 86c and 86o; the leopard is an addition. Ivory and ostrich feathers are also found in the wall hanging, as is the scepter with plumes. The pile of treasure, the crescents, and the camel are also seen in 86d, but the white animal is hard to identify with certainty.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The back of the sofa in the Mobilier National is wider, showing the whole of the elephant on the right, which is seen from behind. Below it is a flowering plant.

## 86g *Chair, America*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, America wears a white skirt with a pink sash and sits on a huge brown turtle. A man standing beside her is dressed in red, white, and blue; he holds a stick (perhaps a long tobacco pipe) ornamented with feathers and a round dark brown and white shield. A brown and white bow and quiver lie on the ground at America's feet. The distant trees are green and brown palms. The sky is yellow-gray, the landscape and foreground are in shades of green, brown, and gray.

On the left of the seat, a dark gray-green bearded monkey sits on a gray pedestal and holds a round object in its front paws. There is a red-brown squirrel in the center and a larger gray and white striped animal (perhaps intended to be a chipmunk) eating a leaf to the right. In the foreground is a basket of fruit and flowers, including some purple grapes. A tall gray cliff rises in the background on the left, and there is a group of green pine trees in the center. There are bales and barrels on the right in front of a view of the sea.

The armrests of all the chairs show trees, leaves, and flowers in red, purple, pink, and shades of green and gray.

#### CONDITION

The sky of the back is badly worn.

#### SUBJECT

On all three chair backs representing America, the continent is shown as a woman with red, white, and blue feathers on her head and an arrow in one hand. There is a quiver in each piece and a small round shield which, except for the central face on 86h, is reminiscent of those used by Plains Indians. Feathered pipes, sometimes banded, were also used by these tribes, though they were not of the same form as those seen on 86g and 86i.<sup>59</sup> America's companion is a dark-skinned man, also with a feather headdress.

The seats have landscapes with animals, some of which are probably intended to be typically American; they also show beasts of burden, with bales and barrels, emphasizing the importance of trade.



FIG. 68. Chair back, *America*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.

FIG. 69. Chair seat, *America*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.



86g



On the chair back 86g, the turtle (seen also on the sofa 86e) is a novel replacement for the usual alligator. The column, snake, and eagle of 86h are repeated from the same sofa.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's paintings for the back and seat (reversed) are in the Mobilier National, Paris (figs. 68, 69).<sup>60</sup> Both are somewhat larger than the tapestry panels. On the back, the whole of the taller palm is visible and there is substantial vegetation, perhaps intended to represent exotic plants, in the foreground.

### 86h Chair, *America*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, America has lavender-pink drapery and a cloak of brown and tan spotted fur. She rests her left wrist on an upright quiver. A dark-skinned man standing beside her has a dull red cloak and holds a bow and a round pale brown shield. There is a tall palm tree on the right.

On the seat, a sumpter mule in blinkers has pale lavender plumes on its head, blue and pale yellow harness, and red and red and yellow drapery over its burden. There is a small bearded monkey on the left and a brown four-legged creature on the right. In the distance is a gray broken column with a snake twisted around it; a flying eagle attacks from above. There are large flowers and foliage in the foreground and ships and bales in the distance on the left.

#### CONDITION

The edges of the back are worn.

### 88i Chair, *America*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, America wears a blue skirt and a purple scarf. A brown man behind her holds a quiver. A round shield in dark red, black, and brown lies on the ground.



86h



On the seat, a large brown, tan, and gray bull is seen lying down on the left and two brown and tan sheep on the right. Behind the latter is a blinkered mule. Bales and barrels appear between the animals and there are ships on the sea in the background. There are several trees and much vegetation in tones of green, brown, and gray.

#### CONDITION

The sky of both back and seat is somewhat worn.



#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's painting for the back (reversed) is in the Mobilier National, Paris (fig. 70). It is larger than the tapestry panel, showing a much more important building in the background. America supports a long tobacco pipe with a pair of wings tied near the bowl, an object which is only indistinctly seen in the tapestry.



FIG. 70. Chair back, *America*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.

### 86j Chair, *Europe*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Europe has white plumes in her helmet and red and purple draperies. Her companion has a fleur-de-lis top to his gray helmet and holds a pale pink banner as he leans on a large gray shield. Behind Europe is a drum wrapped in blue drapery; a red banner lies on the ground. In the distance on the right, a man holds the reins of a pale gray rearing horse.

On the seat, a white horse with dark spots bounds beside a leaping brown and white dog. Spades and a rake lie on the ground at the left and a bow and quiver under the dog. Two white ducks are seen in the distance on the right.

#### CONDITION

Some wear is apparent at the top of the sky of the back.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's painting for the back (reversed) is in the Mobilier National, Paris (fig. 71). It is larger than 86j, showing a tree beyond the man holding the horse. The drapery under the drum is clearly a flag, indicating the victories of Europe.



FIG. 71. Chair back, *Europe*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.

#### SUBJECT

On all three chair backs representing Europe, the continent is a woman wearing yellow or gray classical armor and a plumed helmet. She holds a scepter and a cornucopia, a yellow crown and gray cannon lie at her feet, and there is a horse in the background. These are all standard symbols for Europe, as are the papal tiara and globe in 86l. The seats all include a horse and other domestic animals. The cocks in 86k and 86l probably stand for France. There are no indications of commerce, suggesting that the other continents bring their produce to Europe.





FIG. 72. Chair seat, *Europe*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.



86k

## 86k Chair, *Europe*

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Europe's plumes are blue and she wears purple-pink and blue drapery. She sits on a gray carved block of stone and has her feet on a cannon. A short sword with a red hilt leans against it and a white map, on which a crown rests, falls over it. Her companion is in armor with yellow-brown drapery and holds a spear. A man and a pale gray horse are partly seen in the distance on the left and some buildings on the right.

On the seat, a blue and pale brown cock with red comb and wattles stands protectively on the left, with three hens in front of it. A brown and gray goat reclines on the right in front of some pale lavender drapery. In the distance a pale gray horse is dimly visible and there is a bush with red roses in the foreground.

### CONDITION

There are no noticeable damaged areas.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's painting for the seat (reversed) is in the Mobilier National, Paris (fig. 72). It is larger than 86k, showing a large rock behind the cock. It is clear that the goat is lying in front of a heap of military equipment and banners.

## 86l Chair, *Europe*

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Europe has red plumes in her helmet and blue drapery over her yellow armor. Her attendant wears



86l

a green wreath with dark pink drapery and holds a gray shield and a white banner. On the ground beside Europe are a papal tiara, miter, and crown. On the left are a yellow ewer and a white globe held by yellow bands. A horseman in blue is seen in the distance on the left and part of a gray column on the right.

On the left of the seat, a brown, black, and gray cock with red comb and wattles stands on a blue ball. On the right, a gray and white cow drinks from the blue water in a gray stone trough. Beside it stands a black, brown, and gray goat and three chickens. Red drapery falls over an oblong gray object in the foreground. A pale gray horse is seen running in the distance.

#### CONDITION

There are no noticeable damaged areas.



86m

### 86m Chair, *Africa*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Africa has an elephant head on her head, and she is dressed in pale yellow with blue drapery. Her necklace is blue with a red gem. Her attendant is in dull red-brown and his parasol is lavender with chains of blue and red beads looped around its edge. A lion crouches on the right. In the distance behind it, an elephant is partly visible and there are palm trees on the left.

On the left of the seat is a dark brown bear, in the center a brown and tan spotted feline. White elephant tusks and ostrich feathers lie in the foreground with an open pomegranate and large red fruits. On the right is a brown basket with purple and white bunches of grapes and dull yellow ears of wheat. In the distance on the left is a pale gray elephant.

599



#### CONDITION

The sky is badly worn on both back and seat.

#### SUBJECT

On the three chairs representing Africa, the attendant of the woman personifying the continent is a black man holding a parasol. Each woman wears earrings and a necklace and two of them have elephant headdresses and are accompanied by lions. The seats show African animals and fruits indicating the productivity of the continent.



### 86n Chair, *Africa*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Africa has pink feathers in her hair and dull red-brown draperies. A basket of fruit lies beside her. Her attendant is in dull green and holds a pale blue parasol. There are a bow and a quiver in the lower right corner.

On the seat, there is a tiger or leopard in the center and a brown and tan lion with a red eye lying down on the right. It places its paw on an anchor. Two red-headed black and white birds, similar to the ibis in 86c, stand on the left, with pyramids and an elephant in the distance behind them. On the right is the broken column with a snake twisted around it, attacked by a flying eagle, also found on 86e and 86h. Below it are bales and barrels on the shore of a dull blue sea with several ships. In the foreground are purple and white bunches of grapes, an open pomegranate, and red fruit.

#### CONDITION

The sky is worn on back and seat.

### 86o Chair, *Africa*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Africa has a red and a blue necklace and wears a white dress and red drapery. She places one hand on the head of a pale brown lion lying beside her and holds a spear in the other. Her attendant has a pale lavender parasol edged with pink, blue, and white dangling gems. A basket of fruit and flowers stands in the lower right corner and a man with an elephant is dimly seen in the distance on the left.

On the seat, a reclining brown and tan lion occupies the right side of the composition, with a brown and gray ichneumon, in the same pose as those on 86c and 86f, on the left. In the background is a gray pyramid and in the distance on the left a pale gray elephant. In the center below the pyramid is a pale blue cushion with two ostrich feathers on it; it rests on dark purple feathers and beside it are



86o

three ostrich eggs and two elephant tusks. Below the tusks on the left are purple grapes, a yellow pear, and a red fruit.

#### CONDITION

The sky in the seat back is much repaired.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's painting for the seat (reversed) is in the Mobilier National, Paris (fig. 73). It is larger than 86o; the central pyramid is taller and thinner and there is another one beside the ichneumon.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The design of the back was used for a panel mounted as a firescreen in the Mobilier National. It is larger than 86o, showing more sky above the parasol, more of the tree to the left of the man with an elephant, more bushes on the right, and more plants in the foreground.

FIG. 73. Chair seat, *Africa*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.



### 86p Chair, *Asia*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Asia's turban is red and white; she has a red dress with white spots and yellow drapery. She holds white beads in one hand and a spray of flowers in the other, as she sits on a blue cushion with a smoking incense burner beside her. Her attendant is in blue with lavender drapery and wears a red, white, and blue headdress; at her

feet are a brown vase and a dark brown jewel box. A man leading a camel is dimly seen in the distance on the left. Under the main group is a pale blue carpet with a wavy red line around the border.

On the seat, a large gray and brown bear is seen on the left, with a pale gray dromedary in the distance behind it. On the right are a white and a brown sheep. A smoking yellow incense burner stands below the bear. Beside it are other yellow vessels, an open box with red, white, and blue beads and a crescent in it, blue drapery with a yellow pattern, and white drapery edged with pink. In the distance on the right are an obelisk and a building.

#### CONDITION

A large tear in the sky of the seat back has been coarsely mended.

#### SUBJECT

On all the chairs representing Asia, the woman personi-

fying the continent wears a turban, and she or her attendant carries a smoking yellow censer. There are open jewel boxes on backs and seats, symbolizing the wealth of the continent, and camels in the distance.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Le Barbier's painting for the back (reversed) is in the Mobilier National, Paris (fig. 74). It is larger than 86p. There is a battlemented city wall and tower behind the attendant's censer and the incense burner in the foreground is taller and more elaborate.

### 86q Chair, *Asia*

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Asia's turban is blue and pale yellow and she wears a purple-red dress and yellow shawl, with her feet on a red cushion. Her right hand rests on a gray shield

86p



FIG. 74. Chair back, *Asia*, by Jean Jacques François Le Barbier. Oil sketch. Mobilier National, Paris.

decorated with a crossed scimitar, arrow, and crescent; below it is an arrow-filled quiver. Asia holds out a green stem to her attendant, who is in blue. In the right foreground are a yellow ewer, a lavender cloth, and the jewel box which contains blue and white draperies. In the distance on the right is a man holding a pale gray camel.

On the seat, in the center foreground, is a pale yellow and brown deer with dark gray and brown horns, lying down, and a standing one in shades of gray-green, gray, and brown. On the left is a smoking yellow incense burner and a tall red brimless hat, ornamented with a yellow crescent and with a chain of pearls around it. Blue and purple draperies, another vessel, and more chains of pearls are visible. Behind these are palm trees with brown fruit and in the distance a pale gray camel. Behind the deer is a pale gray altar and, on the right, distant buildings.

#### CONDITION

The seat has a conspicuous water stain in the sky.

86q



## 86r Chair, Asia

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, Asia's turban is red, with a white cloth falling behind it. She wears a pink dress shot with blue and blue drapery. Her feet, in red slippers, rest on a dull yellow and red cushion. Her attendant has a white turban and a dull red-brown dress; she holds a crimson cloth with a white pattern. The jewel box below holds blue and white cloths. On the right is a smoking yellow incense burner. In the distance above it, is a camel.

On the seat, in the center, are a seated and a standing sheep, with a brown and white dog in front of them. On the right is a stand, covered with a red cloth, yellow fringed, supporting three yellow vessels; smoke rises from the central one. Below it is an open lavender box with a thrown-back, green-lined lid; it holds white drapery and blue beads. In the background is a broken capital, a temple, and a distant camel.

86r





## CONDITION

There are no noticeable damaged areas.

## NOTES

1. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 91, 107.
2. Hyde, "Iconographie," p. 270.
3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 4, p. 382. A set of two sofas and eight armchairs corresponding to the description was sold at Christie's, May 30, 1968, no. 96, and a similar set is included in the Grog Bequest to the Louvre. (Pierre Verlet, "L'exceptionnelle Donation Grog," *Galerie Jardin des Arts*, no. 130 [October 1973] pp. 40, 41).
4. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 66, 74.
5. Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 3, p. viii, n. 1.
6. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," p. 252; Coural, "Manufacture royale," p. 73.
7. *Etats-Unis*, Hôtel Jean Charpentier, no. 75a; René Destailleur, *Documents du décoration au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1906) pl. 27.
8. Ernst Dumonthier, *Etoffes et tapisseries d'ameublement des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, n.d.) pl. 75 (2).
9. Coural, "Manufacture royale," p. 73. The suggestion that the set was intended to be a gift from the king to George Washington (Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 3, p. viii) has not been confirmed by any contemporary evidence.
10. Archives Nationales, O<sup>2</sup> 442<sup>319</sup>, 3 Vendémiaire an 5. The set is described as made at Beauvais by de Menou in 1789, "rentrés le 20 février 1793." It may be the smaller, earlier example.
11. J. J. Guiffrey, "Destruction des plus belles tentures du Mobilier de la Couronne en 1797," *Memoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 14 (1887) p. 293, Appendix A, reproducing a document of 24 Pluviose an 4 (February 13, 1796).
12. Archives Nationales O<sup>2</sup> 464<sup>2/14</sup>, 3 Vendémiaire an 5. The set is described as representing subjects emblematic of the American Revolution, designed by Le Barbier l'Ainé, and in the warehouse of the Garde Meuble. The height is given as 3<sup>2/16</sup> aunes (3.75m) and the width of Asia as 4<sup>6/16</sup> aunes (5.25m), of Europe as 4<sup>8/16</sup> aunes (5.4m), and of Africa and America as 4 aunes (4.8m).
13. Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 3, p. viii, n. 1.
14. Hyde, "Iconographie," p. 271. The set was not included in the 1936 sales of the Menier collection.
15. Fregnac, "Cadeaux diplomatiques," p. 147. The set is erroneously said to be in a great American private collection.
16. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, nos. 195–99.
17. Jérôme Petion, a prominent revolutionary figure, never held this post and died in 1794.
18. Hyde, "Iconographie," p. 258.
19. Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 3, p. viii.
20. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," p. 251.
21. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 199. The column is said to be an emblem of strength and martial prowess.
22. Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 3, p. viii.
23. Sotheby's sale catalogue, December 13, 1974, no. 55.
24. Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 3, p. viii; *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 199; Sotheby's sale catalogue, December 13, 1974, no. 55.
25. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 199; *Le Neo-Classicisme français*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1974) no. 89, illus.
26. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 199.
27. John Hill Morgan and Mantle Fielding, *The Life Portraits of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1931) pp. 25, 27, 30, 32, 33, 36, 90. One was in Houdon's possession, and one was the source for a portrait by Jean Baptiste Le Paon, 1779; this, or a Peale original, was used for the marble bust by Louis Jacques Pilon of 1781 in the Metropolitan Museum (Joseph Downs, *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 4 [1945–46] pp. 162–65, illus.).
28. Morgan and Fielding, *Washington*, p. 59, no. 1; Edna Donnell, "Portraits of Eminent Americans after Drawings by Du Simitière," *Antiques* 24 (1933) pp. 17–21.
29. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," p. 255.
30. J. F. Loubat, *The Medallic History of the United States of America, 1776–1876* (1878; reprint, New Milford, 1967) p. 7.
31. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 222.
32. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 218.
33. Loubat, *Medallic History*, p. 90.
34. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," fig. 6.
35. The three gold lions on red of England are visible, as well as the Irish harp, but the latter is not, as it should be, on a blue ground. The French fleurs-de-lis do not appear, though they were not dropped by George III until 1801 (William Berry, *Encyclopaedia Heraldica* [London, n.d.] vol. 1, s.v. "Arms, Royal"). The coats of arms have been identified by Hugh Murray Baillie.
36. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," cols. 1168–71. Its significance has been variously explained.
37. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," col. 1167, fig. 47.
38. She has also been called Fame (Sotheby's sale catalogue, December 13, 1974, no. 55), but does not have the attributes of this personification.
39. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," col. 1167. Another interpretation of the figures is given by Doniol, *Histoire de la participation*, vol. 5, p. i: the enthroned figure is France as Minerva, Gratitude flies above, and Victory carries banners; History holds the coats of arms, and the dolphin promises prosperous voyages. The tapestry has also been described as a celebration of the Peace of Paris in 1783 (*European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 199).
40. *European Vision*, exh. cat., Washington, Cleveland, Paris, no. 196. These nations were Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Prussia, and Sweden (information from Professor Richard B. Morris).
41. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," fig. 7.
42. Africa has been called a chieftain (Sotheby's sale catalogue, December 13, 1974, no. 55), but the figure is more probably female, like the other continents. The personifications of Africa on the sofa and chairs are clearly female.
43. Hyde, "Iconographie," p. 272.
44. Hyde, "Iconographie," p. 272.
45. Sotheby's sale catalogue, December 13, 1974, no. 55.
46. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," cols. 1167, 1168.
47. Herodotus, *History*, bk. 2, pars. 75, 76.
48. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," pl. 8.
49. This object has been described as an artist's palette (Sotheby's sale

catalogue, December 13, 1974, no. 55), but there is no hole for the thumb. A palette is an attribute for Europe (*Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," col. 1167).

50. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," cols. 1171, 1167, 1168.

51. Wingfield Digby, "Set of Beauvais Tapestries," pl. 9.

52. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," col. 1169.

53. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," col. 1179.

54. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958–59) vol. 2, s.v. "Serpent: VII. Un roi."

55. An eagle was used with this connotation after 1782 (E. McClung

Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 [1965] p. 69).

56. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," cols. 1167, 1168, 1171.

57. The cock has been associated with France since at least the fifteenth century (Robert W. Scheller, "Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII," *Simiolus* 12 [1981–82] pp. 59, 60, fig. 23).

58. *Reallexikon*, "Erdteile," col. 1167.

59. Information from Dr. Sidney N. Freed.

60. *French in America*, Detroit Institute, p. 104, illus. (back).

## 87 Upholstery panels

Backs and seats for two chairs

French (possibly Beauvais), 1804–14.

Wool and silk.

Backs 1 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft. 1 in. (36 cm x 33 cm);

seats 1 ft. 6½ in. x 2 ft. (47 cm x 61 cm).

28 warps per inch, 11 per centimeter.

87a,b Gift of Sophie E. Minton, 1899 (99.14);

87c,d Bequest of Sophie E. Minton, 1902 (02.15).

### DESCRIPTION

On the backs, a yellow N on a red ground occupies the center of a medallion in yellow brown, within a circle of acanthus leaves in red, yellow, blue, and brown on a dark

brown ground. Attached to the border are eight blue anthemias with small red triangles at their bases; they alternate with eight red and pink four-petaled flowers with dark green leaves. The ground is yellow.

On the seats, the centers of the medallions differ. Both have pale yellow eight-petaled flowers on red grounds, but 87b has small petals with eight tripartite forms between them, while 87d has large petals with red spots and small balls between them. The sixteen four-petaled flowers surrounding the center are red and pink with dark green leaves. The eight anthemias are blue, with red, yellow, and brown foliate motifs between them. The ground was probably originally pale yellow. A narrow band, separately woven, runs around three sides of the seat. It shows red, blue, brown, and yellow flower and leaf forms on a yellow ground.

### CONDITION

All the pieces are much restored, and very badly worn, especially the seats; the colors are considerably faded.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A chair with the same frame and upholstery is in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (acc. no. 1931–95–15). Tapestry upholstery of very similar design, but with the central N of the back panel replaced by a flower, is found on four chairs in the Grand Trianon. They were supplied by the upholsterer Darsac in 1811; his bill says that they were covered with “Tapisserie du Garde-Meuble.”<sup>1</sup> The tapestry upholstery for the Grand Trianon was from the Beauvais manufactory.<sup>2</sup>

### NOTES

1. Denise Ledoux-Lebard, *Le Grand Trianon, meubles et objets d'art* (Paris, 1975) pp. 114, 219. A document in the Archives Nationales (series O<sup>2</sup> 863) concerned with the Beauvais manufactory has an entry for June 26, 1810, of “2 petits dessins de milieu de chaises pour remplacer les N placées à un meuble destiné au Palais de trianon” (information from Denise Ledoux-Lebard).
2. Ledoux-Lebard, *Grand Trianon*, p. 13.

87c,d



## 88 Upholstery panels

Seat covers for four chairs

French (possibly Beauvais), early nineteenth century.

Wool and silk.

28 in. x 29–30 in. (71 cm x 74–78 cm).

26 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Gift of Spencer A. Samuels, in memory of Mitchell Samuels,

1981 (1981.202.2–5).

### DESCRIPTION

All the pieces are alike, except for slight differences in the dimensions. Wool is used only for the warps, which are vertical. The ground is dark pink; except for the central medallion and the swag of flowers with its ribbons, all the design is in tones of brown and cream with dark red outlines. A swan with outstretched wings stands at the top

of each piece. The eight-sided medallion in the center has a dark and light blue ground and encloses a four-sided area with a white and pale blue ground. On this is a bunch of pink and red roses with dull green and brown leaves. Below is a swag of red, pink, and white roses and other flowers held by a blue and white ribbon, which flutters by the large feather on either side.

### CONDITION

All the pieces have been formerly mounted as chair seats and show substantial wear at the base.

### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1980–1981*, p. 32. Listed, dated 1810–20.





## 89 Still Life, Autumn

French (Beauvais); designed, 1845, by Theude Grönland (1817–1876) and woven, 1846, by Rigobert Milice. Designer's and weaver's names and dates. Wool and silk. 2 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 9 in. (64 cm x 53 cm). 30 warps per inch, 12 per centimeter. Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.6).

### DESCRIPTION

The pale yellow-gray statuette of Bacchus, apparently with a broken or misunderstood left arm, rises above a mass of flowers and fruit. A pineapple in shades of brown and dull green is seen on the right, a white cyclamen with a red tip in the center, and a dark red flower on the left. Below the cyclamen are pink and purple lilies, one with dewdrops, yellow, red, and purple grapes, and a large yellow and pink apple, with a dark red apple on the right. A large dull red and purple leaf with yellow-green veins appears above the red apple, and dull purple and pink buds with dull green and brown leaves are seen in front of the pineapple. A dull dark green leaf with conspicuous pale green veins lies under the yellow apple. The whole mass of statue, flowers, and fruit is supported by a dull gray, green, and brown stone slab, resting on two carved satyr heads, crowned with grapes. The background is in shades of brown and greenish gray. In the lower left corner is inscribed in dull orange: 1846 / MILICE rigobert. / M<sup>re</sup> R<sup>le</sup> [Manufacture Royale] de BEAUVAIS. In the lower right corner, in the same color, is inscribed: *Th. Gronland.* / 1845. The guard (on the bottom only) is dull lavender. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

### CONDITION

A few small repairs are visible near the inscriptions and in the lavender guard, which is torn at the lower corners.

### SUBJECT

The statuette of Bacchus and the prevalence of fruit suggest that the subject is Autumn. Panels after Grönland representing *Autumn*, *Spring*, and *Winter* are listed in the manufactory records of 1840–55.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Grönland exhibited four small paintings called “Les Quatre Saisons; fruits et fleurs” in the Paris Salon of 1845 (no. 770). 89 was certainly copied from one of these, which are known to have interested the director of the Beauvais manufactory and were borrowed by him from the dealers Goupil and Vibert.<sup>2</sup>

### WEAVER

Milice was head of the workshop (*chef des travaux*) at Beauvais;<sup>3</sup> he received a silver medal in 1834.<sup>4</sup> A *Fables* tapestry signed “Milice R Fecit” was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1984 (no. 25, illus.). The director in 1846 was Grau de Saint-Vincent.<sup>5</sup>

### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelberg (Mrs. Alfred Heidelberg), Paris, 1932.

### EXHIBITION

Hempstead, New York, Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra University, 1972. *Eats: An Exhibition of Food in Art*, no. 44.

### PUBLICATION

Phillips, John Goldsmith. “A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels.” *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 30. Described; weaver called Rigobert.

### NOTES

1. Ajalbert extracts, see 79, note 8.
2. The director wrote to the Intendant Général in 1845: “J’ai vu chez Goupil et Vibert, marchands d’estampes, quatre petits tableaux de fleurs à l’huile de Charles [*sic*] de Groenland, qui représentent les ‘Quatre Saisons.’ Je pourrais peut-être les louer. Cela ferait de jolis cadeaux . . .” (Jean Ajalbert, *Beauvais basse-lisse* [Paris, 1933] p. 124).
3. A. D., “Après Versailles, toujours Beauvais!” *Le Bulletin de l’Art Ancien et Moderne* 47 (1925) p. 8 (quoted from a letter by Jean Ajalbert).
4. Ajalbert extracts.
5. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 47. Grau de Saint-Vincent is described as a former infantry captain.



1800  
M<sup>re</sup> J<sup>re</sup> G. G. G.  
N<sup>re</sup> R. J. B. B.

In Grenland  
1800

## 90 Reclining Cupid

Chair-back cover

French (probably Beauvais), second half of the nineteenth century.

Silk and wool.

1 ft. 8½ in. x 1 ft. 8 in. (52 cm x 51 cm).

25–27 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Gift of Dr. Margaret Bancroft, 1974 (1974.284.1).

medallion is dull yellow. The design of scrolls, flowers, and fruit is in tones of white, brown, dull yellow, green, pink, red, blue, gray, and brown. Roses are the only identifiable flowers. Wool is used for the flesh tones, some browns and grays in the hair and wings, and blues in the drapery, but silk is the predominant material.

### DESCRIPTION

Cupid has blue eyes and gray, brown, and yellow-gold wings, the same colors that are used for his hair. He reclines on blue and gray drapery and holds a leafy twig in shades of brown and yellow. Below this is an indeterminate object, perhaps a brown and yellow gourd, tied with a dull red and yellow ribbon. The sky is pale yellow and the indistinct background is in shades of pale blue, brown, yellow, and dull green. The ground outside the central

### CONDITION

Small nail holes around the circumference show that the piece has been used on a chair, when, presumably, it was cut all around. The wefts have perished in two small places in the upper right corner.

### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1974–1975*, p. 74. Listed.



## 91 Gardens

Four panels for a screen

French (Beauvais); designed, 1922, by Paul Vera (or Véra) (1882–1958) and woven under the direction of L. Cartier, head of the workshop (*chef des ateliers*), and Balavoine, assistant head (*sous chef*), by Frémont, Chouquet, Quidart, Boulenger, and Yvrel (*principaux exécutants*), 1922–23. In a wood frame by Paul Follot.

Wool and silk.

Each panel 6 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 3 in. (1.91 m x 69 cm).

17–18 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Purchase, Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift, 1932 (32.99).

### DESCRIPTION

Each panel shows a young woman with a child standing on a greenish yellow and brown ball supported by a horticultural trophy. In the far left panel, she wears a gray and white undergarment, a green dress, and a red and orange head scarf; the child is in gray with a dull yellow hat with a pink band. He holds a spray of leaves in shades of green. The trophy consists of a dark pink ladder, a pinwheel with red and blue vanes on a pale brown and yellow stick, and a pale blue bell-shaped cover; behind it is a pink and brown turkey with a dark brown tail. A large orange and red gourd is seen in the foreground, and sprays and masses of leaves, fruit, and flowers in greens, reds, and orange are intertwined.

In the second panel, the woman is in dull orange with a dull yellow, brown, and gray shawl. The child is nude, except for a dull yellow hat; he uses dark blue shears to cut a branch of green leaves held by the woman. There are two dark pink ladders with brown rungs; on one a pale yellow hat with green leaves and a pink rose hangs by a purple ribbon. At the foot of the ladder on the left stands a red-brown rabbit, reaching for some green leaves. In the center, between the ladders, is a pale red-brown bowl, filled with leaves in shades of green, yellow, and brown; a gray rabbit below it is eating green leaves. A gray sickle lies beside it. On the right, a red-brown deer reaches for some green leaves.

In the third panel, the woman has a bright yellow-green dress with a blue collar and is crowned with dark green leaves and a brown ear of wheat. The child also has a

green leafy crown and holds a branch with green leaves and orange pears, some of which have been detached. The ball is supported by a three-tined fork and a long-handled sickle, both dark gray with brown sticks. They are joined by a piece of blue drapery which supports a pale red and yellow basket filled with fruit and leaves; purple and yellow-green grapes, green and orange-red pears, and a blue-green gourd can be distinguished. Below the basket are two pale blue and green doves.

The far right panel shows a woman with purple drapery, held up to contain a bunch of green leaves and yellow and dull red flowers; she wears a wreath of red flowers. The nude child takes a yellow flower from a bunch in her right hand and holds a spray of green leaves and red and yellow flowers. There are two yellow-brown butterflies in the air. The ball is supported by a dark gray spade with a brown handle and a brown rake, joined by a blue drapery. A gray watering can stands below, filled with green leaves and red, yellow, and purple flowers; foxgloves and cyclamen can be distinguished.

The background to all the panels is pale lavender-gray with dark green borders. Silk is sparingly used.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### HISTORY

Purchased for the MMA at the Beauvais manufactory by means of the Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift, 1932.

### EXHIBITION

Paris, 1925. *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes: Catalogue général officiel*, p. 277. Listed as in the display of the Manufacture Nationale de Beauvais, Jean Ajalbert, *administrateur*.

### PUBLICATIONS

Ajalbert, Jean. "Autour des cartons de Beauvais." *La Renaissance de l'Art Français et des Industries de Luxe* 7 (1924) p. 586, illus. (one panel).







Alexandre, Arsène. "Les Manufactures Nationales: Les Gobelins et Beauvais." *La Renaissance de l'Art Français et des Industries de Luxe* 8 (1925) p. 252, illus.

Verne, Henri, and Chavance, René. *Pour comprendre l'art moderne en France*. Paris, 1925, p. 19, illus. (one panel).

*Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes, Paris, 1925: Rapport général*. Vol. 6, *Tissu et papier*. Paris, 1928, pl. 18, illus. as exhibited in the salon decorated and furnished by the Manufacture Nationale de Beauvais. Described as designed by Paul Véra, the frame by Paul Follot. Same text and plates published as *Encyclopédie des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes au XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle*. Paris, n.d.

Ajalbert, Jean. *Les Peintres de la Manufacture nationale de Tapisseries de Beauvais: Louis Anquetin, Paul Vera*. Paris, 1930, pl. VI, unpagged text facing pl. 1. Dates of design and weaving given; names of weavers listed.

Breck, Joseph. "A Modern Beauvais Tapestry Screen." *MMA Bulletin* 27 (1932) pp. 239, 240, illus. Described as the most important of Paul Vera's works for Beauvais, woven 1923–24.

Breck, Joseph. "Beauvais Tapestry Screen." *Design*, 1932–33, p. 219, illus.

Jones, Mary Eirwen. *British and American Tapestries*. Hadeligh, Essex, 1952, p. 80, illus.





## FRANCE

### Aubusson

THE TAPESTRY WEAVERS of Aubusson were never gathered into a single center, but preserved their individual workshops after Colbert authorized them to put “Manufacture royale” after their names or initials on each piece. Their very numerous works were inexpensive and are never of the same quality as the productions of Beauvais or the Gobelins. A typical landscape with vaguely Chinese buildings in the background (95) can be attributed to the workshop of Jacques Dorliac, since it repeats the design of one of a set of tapestries with his name, made in 1724. Among the eighteenth-century upholstery pieces, mostly chair covers (92–94, 96–99), are a set for a sofa and nine armchairs with representations of fables, chiefly from La Fontaine (100); the designs were derived eventually from Oudry. A caparison for a horse with the arms and mottoes of the baron de Montmorency (101) was made in the mid-eighteenth century, probably at Aubusson, and a large panel of the *Toilet of Venus* dates from the last quarter of the century (102). A print by Jean Baptiste Huet was used for the design of the little *Worship of Cupid* (103) of about the same date.

A revival of tapestry weaving took place in Aubusson in the 1930s. *Comme par miracle* (104) contains a quotation from the poem of this name by Jean Prévert; it was designed by Jean Lurçat and woven in the workshop of François Tabard in 1945.





## 92 Upholstery panels

Back and seat for a chair

French (Aubusson), late seventeenth–early eighteenth century.  
Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 8½ in. (64 cm x 52 cm);

seat 1 ft. 11 in. x 2 ft. 3 in. (58 cm x 69 cm).

25 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.502).

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a red and dull pale yellow vase stands on a blue cloth with a yellow fringe draped over a gray support above a yellow and brown pedestal. There is red shading behind the fringe. The vase is filled with flowers, leaves, and fruit in shades of red, gray, and blue-green. Gray foxgloves, grapes, plums, and red roses can be distinguished. A swag of flowers including blue convolvulus, a red-striped tulip, and pale tan roses is seen at the sides and bottom, with dull pale yellow scrolls at the edges. The background is gray-brown.

Scrolling forms in dull pale yellow and brown are seen at the sides and bottom of the seat. They rise from the lower corners into vase shapes, holding flowers, fruit, and leaves in red, blue, pale yellow, and tan. A swag of similar flowers and fruit falls from the top. The background is gray-brown.

### CONDITION

Both panels are much restored. The seat has a large rewoven area in the upper right corner and smaller ones elsewhere.

### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 2, pl. 43 (seen in room).

De Ricci, Seymour. *Louis XIV and Regency: Furniture and Decoration*. Trans. Prof. W. E. Walz. New York, 1929, pl. 188.



## 93 Upholstery panels

### Back and seat for a chair

French (Aubusson), 1700–30.

Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 6 in. x 2 ft. 3 in. (76 cm x 69 cm);

seat 2 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 6 in. (66 cm x 76 cm).

16–18 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.499).

#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a dull pale yellow peacock with a red eye and green and black markings on its tail perches on a pale brown branch at the left, and a blue, red, dull yellow, and pale gray parrot is seen on the right. The background is filled with red, dull pale yellow, and gray flowers and buds, with leaves and stems in shades of green, blue, and pale brown. The background is pale blue at the top, dull pale yellow in the center, and black at the bottom. A blue guard is visible at the sides, but not at the top and bottom.

Flowers and foliage like those on the back cover the entire surface of the seat. The background is pale blue at the top, dull pale yellow in the center, and dark dull green at the bottom.

#### CONDITION

The centers of both back and seat and all the edges are heavily restored. Yellow silk passages have been rewoven throughout, and there are substantial areas of bare warps on the seat.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Similar backs, usually with birds and animals, and seats, with flowers and foliage only, are frequently met with. The backs of 94 show an animal on the left, which is replaced by a dog on chairs in the Mme de Polès sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 22, 24, 1927 (no. 220, illus.), and a sale at the American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, April 9, 1938 (no. 97, illus.). There is a peacock with the parrot on another chair in the Polès sale (no. 220, illus.) and two pigeons on another chair in the April 9, 1938, sale (no. 97, illus.). Two chairs



in the Mrs. William Starr Miller sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 15, 1944 (no. 263, illus.), have animals on the left, but no birds. The seats of all these chairs are very like those of 93 and 94.

#### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATION

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 2, p. 13, pl. 15.

## 94 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for four chairs

French (Aubusson), 1700–30.

Wool and silk.

Backs 2 ft. 2 in. square (66 cm);

seats 2 ft. 4 in. x 2 ft. 9 in. (71 cm x 84 cm);

armrests 10 in. x 5 in. (25 cm x 13 cm).

18 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.

Bequest of Angelika Wertheim Frink, 1969 (1970.66.1 [94a];

1970.66.2 [94b]; 1970.66.3 [94c]; 1970.66.4 [94d]).

### DESCRIPTION

All four backs are very similar, though one shows a somewhat different parrot. A small, dull pale yellow animal with a bushy tail appears in the lower left corner, and a long-tailed parrot with a blue back and red spots on its wing perches on a pale brown twig on the right. Most of the panel is filled with huge, red fringed double poppies and roses, with green and dull pale yellow leaves and stems. There are some honeysuckle flowers among the buds at the tops. The backgrounds are dark blue at the top and sides, dull pale yellow in the centers, and black at the bottom.

On the seats, flowers and leaves like those of the backs fill the entire panels, with similarly colored backgrounds.

All the armrests are alike (not mirror images), with flowers and leaves like those on the backs and seats.

### CONDITION

All the panels are extensively restored, especially in the paler areas.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

See 93.

### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1969–1970*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 29 (1970–71) p. 103. Listed under gifts received.

94b







## 95 Fantastic landscape

French (Aubusson); woven probably by Jacques Dorliac (fl. 1715–1742), about 1725.  
Wool and silk.  
8 ft. 8 in. x 7 ft. 6 in. (2.64 m x 2.29 m).  
15–16 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.  
Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1911 (11.175.17).

### DESCRIPTION

A pale yellow, brown, gray, and blue bird with a blue crest stands between two curving pillars of foliage in shades of green, blue, pale yellow, and cream, with red and cream flowers. A small gray bird is seen flying in the center. A stretch of pale blue water appears in the middle distance, with a high bridge on the left, a waterfall under it, and a blue-gray hill in the center. A flight of steps leads from the water to a gray building with a double roof on a beetling rock. Another building with two roofs, one pale yellow and one blue, and two tiers of columns has a flag flying from its dome. Other buildings are visible on the extreme right. In the foreground on the left is a clump of dark green rushes. The sky is blue-gray above, cream below. The ground is in shades of dark brown, green, and gray; on the left are some large plants with two red flowers and a brown gourd. There is a pool of brown and gray water on the right.

The border is in shades of brown and cream, with the remains of dark blue guards.

### CONDITION

There are a few small areas of repair in the foreground.

### WEAVER AND DATE

The appearance of the same design on part of a tapestry belonging to a set of which two pieces are signed by Jacques Dorliac makes this weaver very likely also responsible for 95. He is recorded in 1715 and 1742; other verdures with his name are known.<sup>1</sup> The repetition of the design in a tapestry probably commissioned in 1724 establishes an approximate date.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The same scene appears as the left side of a tapestry sold at Sotheby's, London, March 3, 1978 (no. 3, illus.). It is

one of a set with two other pieces in the same sale (nos. 2, 4, illus.), one inscribed "M. R. Daubusson I. Dorlia," the other "I. Dorliac Aubusson." The design is also part of a tapestry in a set of eleven pieces sold at the Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, November 22–26, 1960 (no. 333, illus.), inscribed "J. D. M. R. Daubusson"; the set has the arms of two families of Novara, Italy, and was probably made for a wedding that took place in 1724. It is also part of one tapestry in a set of four owned by the Musée Départemental des Vosges.<sup>2</sup> Other repetitions, with some variations, were in the Pelletier sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 3, 1930 (no. 131, illus.); the Mme Berthoulat sale at the same auction house, February 11, 1942 (no. 126, illus.), and a sale at the same auction house, December 21, 1967 (no. 145, illus.); the last has the Aubusson mark and that of an unknown weaver. The larger bird of 95 is found on a tapestry in the Lord Baillieu sale, Christie's, London, April 22, 1968 (no. 143, illus.), which is inscribed "M. R. D'Aubusson."

### HISTORY

Given to the MMA by Alexander Smith Cochran, East View, New York, 1911.

### PUBLICATIONS

- MMA Annual Report 1911*, pp. 34, 61. Listed as Flemish, eighteenth century.  
J. B. [Joseph Breck]. "Principal Accessions: Gifts of Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin* 6 (1911) p. 217. Listed as Flemish, eighteenth century.  
Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 225, pl. xvi,c. Attributed to John Vanderbanc, Soho.  
Hullebroeck, Adolphe. *Histoire de la tapisserie à Audenarde*. Renaix, 1935, p. 190, no. 184. Called Audenarde, eighteenth century.  
Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: VI. Some Exotic Subjects." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 44, 46, fig. 4. Identified as Aubusson, probably woven by Jacques Dorliac.

### NOTES

1. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, p. 528. A set of five verdures signed "I. Dorliac" is said to be in a French private collection.
2. *Exotisme et tapisserie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh. cat., Centre Culturel et Artistique Jean-Lurçat (Aubusson, 1983) no. 27.

## 96 Upholstery panels

### Back and seat for a chair

French (Aubusson), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 5 in. x 2 ft. 1 in. (74 cm x 64 cm);

seat 2 ft. 1 in. x 2 ft. 5 in. (64 cm x 74 cm).

16–18 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Fletcher Fund, 1929 (29.21).



#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a mass of flowers grows from a single dull green stalk in the center. They are in shades of red, yellow, pink, pale gray, and blue; red and yellow tulips, pink roses, and red fringed poppies can be distinguished, with a wide-open blue-and-white striped tulip in the center. Blue-green and dull pale yellow leaves are seen behind them. A leafy plant speckled with red rises on the left and there are some small flowering plants at the bottom. The background is pale blue at the top, brown in the center, and dark brown at the base.

The same flowers and leaves as those on the back, with slight differences in coloring, are seen on the seat.

#### CONDITION

Both panels are extensively restored. The seat is badly faded.



## 97 Upholstery panels

Back and seat for a chair

French (Aubusson), early eighteenth century.  
Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. (81 cm x 61 cm);  
seat 2 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 6 in. (69 cm x 76 cm).

14 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.51).

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a pale tan and brown vase stands on a gray cloth thrown over a ledge in shades of brown, dull yellow, tan, and black. It is filled with flowers in pale tan, brown, and gray; crown imperials, fringed poppies, and tulips can be distinguished. The foliage is in blue, blue-green, and black. The background is blue.

A mass of flowers, chiefly gray and pale tan, with blue-green, brown, and black foliage, fills the seat panel.

### CONDITION

Both panels are much faded and extensively restored, with rewoven areas around the armholes on the back.

### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 2, p. 12, pl. 13.

Hunter, George Leland. "Decorative Styles of the Louis XIV Period." *Arts and Decoration* 3 (May 1913) p. 230, fig. 1.





## 98 Upholstery panels

### Back and seat for a chair

French (Aubusson), early eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

Back 1 ft. 11 in. x 1 ft. 10 in. (58 cm x 56 cm);

seat 2 ft. 4 in. x 2 ft. 7 in. (71 cm x 79 cm).

17–19 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.43).



#### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a red-brown vase stands on a small brown and red-brown support. It is filled with blue and pale tan flowers with blue-green foliage. Two small brown and gray birds perch on the stems. Scrolls in brown, blue, red, and pale gray rise on either side and are surmounted by red and blue flowers. There is a pink rose on either side at the bottom. The background is yellow-gray at the top, dull dark green and black at the bottom.

On the seat, a mass of red, pale brown, blue, dull pale tan, and blue-green flowers and foliage rises from a dull dark green and brown mound. This rests on scrolling forms in shades of red, red-brown, dark blue, dull yellow, dull green, and pale tan. Similar forms and flowers are seen at the sides. The background is yellow-gray.

The armrests are modern.

#### CONDITION

Both panels are much repaired.

#### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 2, p. 28, pl. 48.

Packer, Charles. *Paris Furniture by the Master Ebénistes*. Newport, England, 1956, fig. 14. Called Beauvais.

## 99 Upholstery panels

Back, seat, and armrests for a chair

French (Aubusson), early eighteenth century.  
Wool and silk.

Back 2 ft. 5 in. x 2 ft. (74 cm x 61 cm);  
seat 2 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 8 in. (69 cm x 81 cm);  
armrests approx. 1 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (33.5 cm x 17 cm).  
17–18 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.  
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.61).

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a central medallion shows a pale pink parrot in a yellow-tan landscape; some dark blue-green grass remains visible. The frame of the medallion is dull red, brown, and yellow-tan; it is surrounded by flowers in pale tones with blue leaves. A twisted cornucopia is seen in each lower corner. The ground is a grayish yellow-tan.

The original part of the panel on the seat shows red and blue flowers and leaves. The armrests have each a tree in a landscape.

### CONDITION

On the seat, the central medallion and the lower part are modern. The original colors have been almost entirely obliterated by exposure to light. The medallion of the back is heavily restored.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Upholstery for six armchairs and a sofa with yellow grounds and very similar though not identical designs was in the Ogden L. Mills sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, March 31–April 2, 1938 (nos. 481–84, two chairs and a sofa illus.). It was described as Aubusson of the Régence period on frames of later date.

### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 2, pp. 27, 28, pl. 48.

Packer, Charles. *Paris Furniture by the Master Ebénistes*. Newport, England, 1956, fig. 10.

Packer, Charles. "French Tapestry Chair Coverings." *Connoisseur* 147 (1961) p. 142, fig. 1. Called Aubusson.



## 100 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for a sofa and nine armchairs

French (Aubusson), 1750–75.

Wool and silk.

Sofa back 1 ft. 9 in. x 5 ft. 11 in. (53 cm x 1.8 m);

sofa seat 2 ft. 6 in. x 7 ft. (76 cm x 2.13 m);

sofa armrests 1 ft. x 5 in. (30 cm x 13 cm);

chair backs 1 ft. 7 in. square (48 cm);

chair seats 2 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 6 in. (66 cm x 76 cm);

chair armrests 8½ in. x 5 in. (22 cm x 13 cm).

17–19 warps per inch, 8–9 per centimeter.

Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948 (48.187.711 [100a]; 48.187.712–720 [100b–j]).

### DESCRIPTION

All the pieces have thin, scrolling forms in cream, brown, and red separating a central medallion from a blue ground. The medallions show animals in landscapes, mostly illustrating the *Fables* of La Fontaine. The scenes are surrounded by loosely arranged flowers in red, pink, lavender, blue, and yellow, with foliage in shades of green, yellow, and blue. On the chair panels, the floral decoration is intertwined with the yellow and brown scrolls. Red double poppies and red and pink roses can be distinguished. The armrests of the sofa have scrolling forms like those of the back and seat separating medallions from a blue ground; small plants with red and pink flowers are seen in the medallions. Those of the chairs (all alike) are similar, but with blank centers. Silk is sparingly used.

Sofa back (100a), *The Fox, the Wolf, and the Horse*: A pale horse lashes out with its hind legs at the other two animals; all are in shades of brown and gray. The landscape behind them is in shades of green and pale yellow.

Sofa seat (100a): A pale cow stands on the left and there are several sheep by a blue and green tree trunk on the right; all the animals are in shades of brown and gray. The distant landscape is gray and cream colored, with the blue roof of a small house visible above the cow's head and some blue-green trees. The foreground is in shades of gray and brown; the sky is pale blue above, pale gray below.

Chair back (100b), *The Young Rat, the Cock, and the*

*Cat*: A pale brown and yellow cock with a red comb and wattles and a dark blue and brown tail faces a dark brown, black, and yellow-gray cat. In front of them runs a dark brown and black rat. The sky is pale blue above, pale yellow-gray below. The foreground is in shades of dull pale brown and green.

Chair seat (100b), *The Wolf and the Kid*: A dull pale yellow and brown wolf with black claws raises a paw to the side of a gray and brown hut with a dull yellow-green roof. Between the blue bars of a window in the hut, the head and shoulders of a gray kid are visible. The sky is pale gray, the foreground is in shades of green.

Chair back (100c), *The Heron*: A dull pale yellow and gray heron with dark brown claws and some feathers holds a small creature in its beak. Behind it are some dull green and pale brown reeds and a stretch of white water. The sky is pale blue above, pale gray below. The foreground is in shades of pale green and gray.

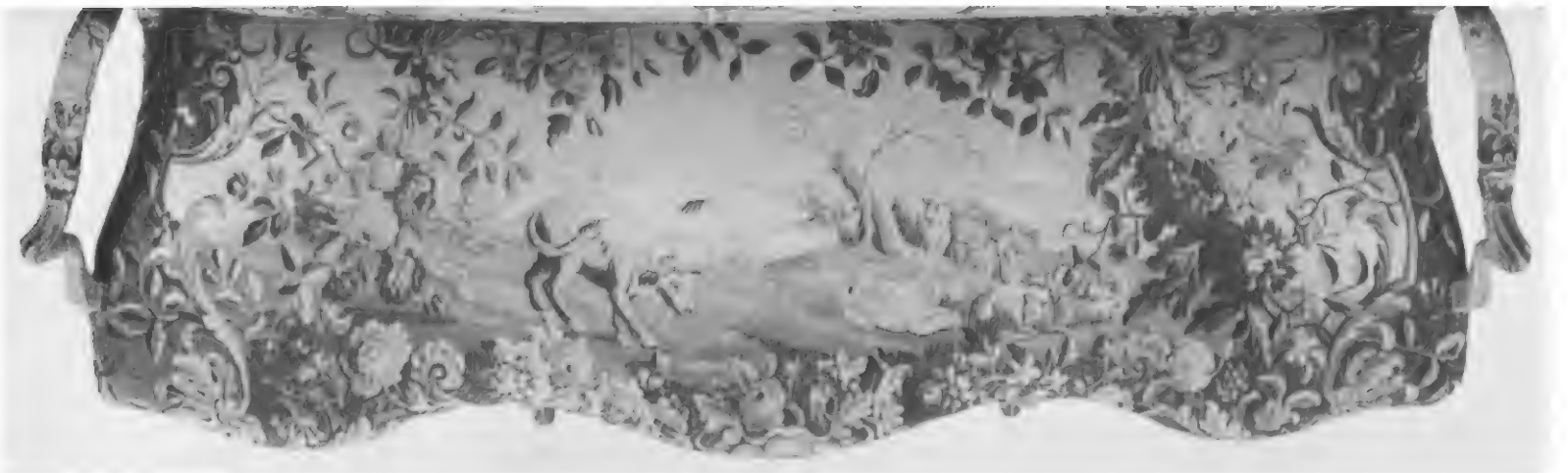
Chair seat (100c), *The Fox and the Grapes*: A yellow-gray and brown fox stands at the foot of a dull pale brown and green tree trunk, looking up at some blue and yellow grapes. The distant hills are dull green and gray. The sky is pale gray and the foreground is in shades of brown, green, and gray.

Chair back (100d), *The Lion and the Gnat*: A pale yellow and brown lion with a red eye and mouth turns to look at a brown gnat. From a blue-green hill on the left rises a brown tree with pale yellow foliage. The distant landscape is in shades of green and pale yellow. The sky is pale gray, the foreground is in shades of green, gray, and brown.

Chair seat (100d), *The Fox and the Goat*: A pale yellow, gray, and brown fox places its forepaws on the rim of a brown and gray stone wellhead. The head of a brown and gray goat is seen in the well and a brown and gray bucket hangs on a pulley above it. There are some dull blue-green trees in the background on the left. The sky is pale gray, the foreground is in shades of brown, green, and gray.



100a



Seat of 100a



100b



100d



100c



100e



Chair back (100e), *The Dog with a Clog*: Two dogs in shades of gray and brown are seen in a landscape; one has a collar with a stick tied to it. There are green and yellow trees in the distance and a row of green plants in the foreground. The sky is pale gray; the foreground is in shades of green, gray, and pale brown.

Chair seat (100e), *The Two Goats*: A pale yellow, gray, and brown goat stands on a gray and brown plank over a blue and white stream; another, darker goat is falling off the plank. A tree in dull green and yellow rises on the left. The sky is pale gray, the foreground is in shades of dull green and pale brown.

Chair back (100f), *The Lion and the Rat*: A pale yellow and brown lion is caught in a net; a dark brown rat on the right has taken one end of the net into its mouth. There are some distant trees in shades of yellow and green. The sky is pale yellow-gray. The foreground is in shades of dull green and pale brown.

Chair seat (100f), *The Wolf and the Thin Dog*: A brown, gray, and dull pale yellow wolf with a red eye and black claws faces a yellow and pale brown dog with a red mouth. Some dull green plants appear behind them and in the foreground. The sky is pale gray, the foreground is in shades of dull blue and green.

Chair back (100g), *The Eagle and the Magpie*: A dull yellow and brown eagle stands on a dull green hillock in the foreground; a dark brown and black bird perches on a branch of a dull green and pale brown tree behind it. There are some bushes in dull green and yellow at the foot of the tree. The sky is pale gray; the foreground is in shades of dull green and pale brown.

Chair seat (100g), *The Cock and the Fox*: A brown cock with red comb and wattles and a blue and gray tail faces a pale yellow and brown fox with a red tongue. Behind it is a pale brown wooden structure with a rope fastened to it. There is a pale green and yellow tree on the left and a pale brown and gray log at the cock's back. The sky is pale gray; the foreground is in shades of pale gray, brown, and green.

Chair back (100h), *The Cock and the Pearl*: A brown and dull pale yellow cock with red comb and wattles faces a dunghill of pale brown, yellow, and blue straw. A blue and white pearl lies on the straw. Pale green and yellow



100g





100i



trees appear in the background with some dimly seen gray buildings. The sky is pale blue above, cream-colored below. The foreground is in shades of pale brown, green, and gray.

Chair seat (100h), *The Dog and Its Reflection*: A yellow-gray and brown dog stands on a dull green, gray, and brown wooden bridge over a dull green and gray stream. The distant landscape is dull green and yellow. The sky is pale gray, the foreground dull green.

Chair back (100i), *The Eagle and the Beetle*: A dull pale yellow and brown eagle looks at a black beetle. There is some green foliage in the landscape. The sky is pale yellow-gray; the foreground is in shades of green, gray, and brown.

Chair seat (100i), *The Hare and the Tortoise*: The pale yellow-gray and brown hare runs past the similarly colored tortoise. There is some dull green vegetation and gray and brown rocks on the right. The sky is pale blue-gray;

the foreground is in shades of dull pale brown, gray, and green.

Chair back (100j), *The Frog and the Ox*: A brown and pale yellow ox looks at a spotted blue and white frog. The landscape behind them is in shades of green, gray, and pale brown. The sky is pale blue above, cream colored below. There is blue and white water in the foreground.

Chair seat (100j), *The Wolf and the Stork*: A pale gray stork with brown, red-brown, and black outlines thrusts its beak into the open mouth of a pale brown and gray wolf. There is a dull pale green tree stump on the left. The landscape is in shades of dull pale green and brown. The sky is pale blue above, pale gray below. The foreground is pale brown and green.

#### CONDITION

The back of the sofa is slightly repaired, the seat extensively so, especially the central scene.

On the chairs, all the panels show repairs, especially the background of the *Dog and Its Reflection* and the hare in the *Hare and the Tortoise*. Much fading and many re-woven areas are also noticeable.

#### SUBJECTS

The subjects of all the scenes appear to be fables, mostly those of Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695).

*The Fox, the Wolf, and the Horse* (La Fontaine, bk. 12, 17): A fox and a wolf asked a horse what its name was. The horse said it was written on its shoe, but, when the wolf approached, the horse lashed out at it and broke its jaw.

Sofa seat with a cow and sheep: No fable has been found for which this scene could be an illustration.

*The Young Rat, the Cock, and the Cat* (La Fontaine, bk. 15, 5): A young rat described to its mother two beasts it had seen, one frightening, the other attractive. But the mother identified them as a harmless cock and a dangerous cat.

*The Wolf and the Kid* (La Fontaine, bk. 4, 15): A she-goat told its kid not to open the door of their hut unless it was given a password. A wolf overheard and gave the right word, but the kid asked it to show a white hoof, which the wolf could not do.

*The Heron* (La Fontaine, bk. 7, 4): A heron, which had refused to catch various fishes because they did not suit its taste, was forced by hunger to eat a snail.

*The Fox and the Grapes* (La Fontaine, bk. 3, 11): When the fox could not reach the grapes above it, it said they were certainly sour.

*The Lion and the Gnat* (La Fontaine, bk. 2, 9): A gnat bit a lion and drove it wild, but was shortly afterwards caught in a spider's web.

*The Fox and the Goat* (La Fontaine, bk. 3, 5): A fox and a goat went down a well to drink. The fox then climbed up the goat's back to the surface, but left its companion in the well.

*The Dog with a Clog*: The fable is in Aesop, but not in La Fontaine. A man with a ferocious dog tied a clog to its neck to prevent it from fighting; the animal took this as a mark of distinction, until another dog told it that this was not true.

*The Two Goats* (La Fontaine, bk. 12, 4): Two goats met head to head on a narrow bridge. Neither would give way, so both fell off.

*The Lion and the Rat* (La Fontaine, bk. 2, 11): A lion was kind enough not to kill a rat when it had an opportunity of doing so. Later the lion was caught in a net; the rat gnawed away some of the strands and set it free.

*The Wolf and the Thin Dog* (La Fontaine, bk. 9, 10): A wolf, about to carry off a thin dog, agreed to wait until it had grown fat. When the wolf came back, the dog was behind a gate and protected by a mastiff.

*The Eagle and the Magpie* (La Fontaine, bk. 12, 11): An eagle, king of the birds, allowed a magpie to chatter, but said it did not wish it to frequent the court.

*The Cock and the Fox* (La Fontaine, bk. 2, 15): A fox tried to lure a cock from a branch by saying that all animals were now at peace, but the cock put it to flight by reporting that two greyhounds were approaching.

*The Cock and the Pearl* (La Fontaine, bk. 1, 20): A cock found a pearl in some straw, but said it would rather have a grain of wheat.

*The Dog and Its Reflection* (La Fontaine, bk. 6, 17): A dog saw a piece of meat it was carrying reflected in a river. It tried to snap up the meat in the reflection and so lost the meat it had in its mouth.

*The Eagle and the Beetle* (La Fontaine, bk. 2, 8): A beetle asked an eagle to release a rabbit it had caught, but



the eagle refused. The beetle then broke all the eagle's eggs.

*The Hare and the Tortoise* (La Fontaine, bk. 6, 10): The tortoise won a race by steady plodding while the hare lingered.

*The Frog and the Ox* (La Fontaine, bk. 1, 3): A frog, trying to blow itself up as big as an ox, burst.

*The Wolf and the Stork* (La Fontaine, bk. 3, 9): A stork pulled a bone from a wolf's throat, but, when the bird asked for payment, the wolf said that not having had its head bitten off was reward enough.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The animals probably are all derived eventually from designs by Jean Baptiste Oudry. His 276 drawings, dated from 1729 to 1734, for La Fontaine's *Fables* were copied by Charles Nicolas Cochin fils for an illustrated edition published in 1755.<sup>1</sup> Some of these illustrations show a more or less close resemblance to the same scenes in 100; examples are the *Wolf and the Kid*, the *Fox and the Grapes*, the *Fox and the Goat*, the *Two Goats*, the *Wolf and the Thin Dog*, the *Cock and the Pearl*, the *Dog and Its Reflection*, and the *Hare and the Tortoise*. Some subjects are like the Beauvais renditions of the same fables based on Oudry designs.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The scenes, or variants of them, are frequently found as chair backs or seats, or as screen panels. There is a set in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (acc. no. 40.17.1-9). The surrounds are usually flowers and scrolls similar to those of 100. Close resemblances include the *Young Rat*, the *Cock*, and the *Cat* on a chair seat in a set from the Château de Fleury-en-Bière, sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 5, 6, 1927 (no. 118, illus., called Paris or Beauvais); the design also appears as the lower part of a screen in the Baron Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild sale, Ball and Graupe, Berlin, March 14, 1933 (no. 116, illus.; called Aubusson), sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 25, 1975 (no. 67, illus.). In the latter the cock is on the left and turns its head to look at its tail. A

small screen in the E. Cronier sale, Galerie Georges Petit, December 4, 5, 1905 (no. 159, illus.), shows the cock on the right, but turning its head; there are several buildings in the background.

The *Wolf and the Kid* is on chair backs sold at the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, February 12, 1937 (no. 595, illus.), and, in a simplified version, at Parke-Bernet, New York, January 20, 1939 (no. 419, illus.). The *Heron* is on a chair back in the Albert Bloch-Levallois sale, Galerie Georges Petit, March 25, 26, 1924 (no. 107, illus.). The *Fox and the Goat* is on a chair seat in the Baron Léonino sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 18, 19, 1937 (no. 177, illus.); a medallion on a sofa back in the same set shows a dog close to that of the *Dog and Its Reflection*.

In some instances, a more elegant or richer version can be presumed to be a Beauvais production or a more accurate Aubusson copy. Examples are the *Lion and the Gnat* on a chair back in the Mrs. Samuel Schiffer sale, Parke-Bernet, February 7, 1942 (no. 134, illus.), and the *Fox and the Goat* and the *Cock and the Pearl* on chair backs in the Fleury-en-Bière sale, Parke-Bernet, April 29, 1942 (no. 128, illus., called Beauvais); a drawing for this slim and elegant cock is in the Oudry sketchbook at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (see 74).<sup>2</sup> Another moment in the fable of the *Hare and the Tortoise*, with both animals motionless, is seen on chair backs in the 1927 Fleury-en-Bière sale and the Baltimore Museum of Art; the drawing is in the Oudry sketchbook.<sup>3</sup> The *Wolf and the Stork* on a chair back in the Baltimore Museum of Art is close to Oudry's drawing, dated 1729, in the Raphaël Esmerian sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 6, 1973 (part 3, no. 46, illus.). Other fables are frequently found on similar tapestry upholstery pieces.

#### NOTES

1. Hal N. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972 (New York and London, 1977) vol. 2, pp. 682-710, 953, nos. D221-496.
2. Betsy Jean Rosasco, "Jean-Baptiste Oudry et une Suite de Garniture de Sièges en Tapisserie de Beauvais" (term paper, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1971) fig. 40.
3. Rosasco, "Jean-Baptiste Oudry," fig. 32; Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, p. 711, no. D499.

# 101 Caparison

French (perhaps Aubusson); 1750–85, probably made for Anne-Léon I de Montmorency.

Wool and silk.

4 ft. 4 1/2 in. x 4 ft. 6 1/2 in (1.33 m x 1.38 m).

18–20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of James Hazen Hyde, 1953 (53.50).

## DESCRIPTION

The arms of the Montmorency family (Or, a cross gules, cantoned by 16 alerions azure) are shown as a pink cross with beakless, flying birds in three shades of blue on a pale yellow silk ground. The scrolls around the arms are in tones of brown, red-brown, and pale yellow, as is the coronet, which has a pink lining. Between the coronet and the arms is a pale yellow band, inscribed in brown: DIEVAIDE / AU PREMIER BARO[N] CHRETIEN (Dieu aide au premier baron chrétien). Below the shield, on a pale yellow band, is inscribed in brown, in Greek: ΑΛΑΑΝΟΣ (mis-transcription of *Aplanos*, steadily). The mantling behind the shield has the pink cross and blue birds of the coat on the outside and is lined with ermine, shown as brown tails on a gray ground. Two brown-haired angels, in shades of pink and pale yellow, with touches of green, and brown and pale yellow wings, float above gray clouds on either side.

To the left and right, at right angles to the main coat, are coronets and ermine-lined mantlings, each with the letter M (for Montmorency) in brown and red-brown. The ground is pale yellow dotted with the heraldic birds (alerions or martlets, without beaks or feet) in three shades of blue. The border is pink with pale yellow flowers and twisting leaves in the same blues as the birds.

## CONDITION

There are a large number of small repairs and rewoven areas, especially in the silk passages.

## USE AND SUBJECT

The position of the initials at the sides shows that the tapestry is not a peytrel, or chest covering, but is intended

to cover the back of the horse; a similarly shaped piece was designed by Daniel Marot (fig. 75),<sup>1</sup> called a “Caparason,” and one is shown in use in a painting in the Harrach collection, Rohrau, Austria (fig. 76).<sup>2</sup> On a peytrel, the features flanking the main coat of arms appear at an angle, as on a Polish tapestry example formerly in the collection of Count Auguste Krasicki.<sup>3</sup>

The arms, motto, and battle cry are those of Montmorency; the head of this family was called the “premier Baron chrétien de France” from a very early period. The supporting angels, however, should carry palms.<sup>4</sup> Exactly these arms, with a similar coronet but without the angels, appear on the binding of a book published in 1768, owned by Anne-Léon I, baron de Fosseux, called the baron de Montmorency (1705–1785). He succeeded his father in 1750. The tapestry was most probably made for him.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The general scheme of two angels rising from clouds and supporting a coat of arms in an elaborate, ermine-lined mantling appears in several Gobelins and Beauvais tapestries, especially large *Chancelleries* (see 51).<sup>6</sup> It was also used by Hubert Gravelot in a drawing for a print in the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>7</sup> Though points of resemblance can be found in these versions of the design, none is sufficiently close to 101 to be considered the direct source.

## MANUFACTORY AND DATE

The poor quality of the design precludes the Gobelins and Beauvais as places of manufacture. The border resembles an Aubusson type, such as that on a signed tapestry on the Munich art market in 1928.<sup>8</sup> The style suggests a date in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

A caparison with the Metternich arms is in St. Zámek Kynžvart, Czechoslovakia.<sup>9</sup> It shows a similar arrangement of the coat of arms surmounted by a coronet and monograms at the sides.



## PUBLICATIONS

MMA Annual Report 1953–June 1954. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 24. Listed as saddle cloth.  
 Standen, Edith A. "Few but Choice: Some Recent Accessions of European Textiles." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 18 (1959–60) pp. 336, 337, fig. 3. Wrongly identified as a peytrel.

## NOTES

1. *L'Oeuvre de Daniel Marot* (Armand Guérinet, Paris, n.d.) pl. 54 ("Nouveaux Livre d'Ornements propres pour faire en Broderie et petit point"). These trappings, also called "couvre-selles" and "housses de main," were placed over the saddle when the horse was being led by hand (Christian-H. Tavad, *L'Habit du cheval, selle et bride* [Paris, 1975] p. 92, pl. 81 [embroidered examples]).
2. Heinrich Benedikt, "Die Grafen von Harrach," *Alte und Moderne Kunst* 5, no. 4 (April 1960) p. 15, fig. 7.
3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 209b. Dated about 1790.
4. Henri Jouglé de Morenas, *Grand Armorial de France*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1938) p. 102.
5. Eugène Olivier, Georges Herma, and R. de Roton, *Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises* (Paris, 1924–35) vol. 8, pl. 809.
6. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, pls. facing pp. 136, 146 (Gobelins examples). A Beauvais tapestry with a similar scheme was in the Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 23, 1965, no. 345, illus.
7. *J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1912) vol. 3, pl. 97. The prints were engraved by L. Cars.
8. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 2, pl. 286. Dated about 1770, owned by Bernheimer.
9. Jarmilá Blažková, *Barokní Tapiserie ze Sbírky ČSR*, exh. cat., Alšova Jihočeská Galerie (Hluboká nad Vltavou, 1974) no. 35. Called Dutch, seventeenth century.



FIG. 75. Caparison, by Daniel Marot. Engraving from the *Nouveaux Livre d'Ornements*. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1930 (30.4[63]).



FIG. 76. *Horse and Groom*. Oil on canvas. Schloss Rohrau. Photo: Meyer, Vienna.



## 102 The Toilet of Venus

French (Aubusson), about 1770–80.

Wool and silk.

9 ft. 7 in. x 7 ft. 4 in. (2.92 m x 2.24 m).

16–17 warps per inch, 7 per centimeter.

Gift of Karl Bock, 1960 (60.100).

### DESCRIPTION

In a central oval medallion, the pink-cheeked Venus stands by a pool. She is nude except for a striped cream-colored drapery and a garland of dark green leaves and red and pink roses across her hips; she leans on a blue cloth thrown over a dark gray-green rock and places one foot in the blue and gray water. One cupid with blue and white wings stands in the pool, wiping her leg; another, reclining on the blue drapery, holds her arm; a third, flying above, supports a garland of blue-green leaves and pink, white, and yellow flowers. A dull yellow cushion with a tassel lies by her left leg; its upper side has a large red area. At the lower left, two dull yellow ewers and a covered vase stand on a gray dish. Above them is a bush with green and yellow leaves and red and pink roses. The background shows masses of foliage in shades of dull green, yellow, and blue. The sky is dull yellow-gray.

The medallion has a twisted frame in shades of brown, red-brown, and dull yellow, with bright red spots in the centers of the interlacing bands. Garlands of green and blue-green leaves and flowers in shades of red, yellow, white, and blue are draped around it, with two cupids with brown and tan wings holding them in the upper corners. Two gray and brown doves are billing above the central swag of foliage, with red and cream-colored ribbons on either side. Four loops at the foot of the medallion support a swag of red drapery with a yellow and brown fringe, filled with green, blue, and yellow leaves and red, pink, yellow, and blue flowers. Two dull yellow baskets full of green, blue, and yellow leaves and red, blue, and yellow flowers stand on gray, yellow, and brown bases in the lower corners. The background is pale gray. Silk is lavishly used throughout.

### CONDITION

There are many small areas of repair, especially in the silk passages.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Fragonard has been suggested as the ultimate source of the design,<sup>1</sup> which was probably adapted from a print. The figure of Venus has in fact some resemblance to Fragonard's *Toilet of Venus* in a private collection, but the attendant cupids are in different positions and the painting was not engraved until 1841.<sup>2</sup> Venus's pose and the upper part of her body are close to an engraving after Charles Eisen, *L'Été*, an illustration to Ovid's *Métamorphoses*, published by Basan and Le Mire in 1767. The general scheme of a pictorial medallion draped with garlands is derived from Gobelins tapestries such as 57.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A companion piece, differing only in the subject of the medallion, was in the collection of Mme Jacques Balsan.<sup>3</sup> It shows a couple before a statue of Eros, with attendant cupids.<sup>4</sup>

### PUBLICATIONS

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 201. Mentioned as *Bath of Psyche*, "suggestive of Fragonard."

Göbel, Heinrich. "Die Wandteppichmanufaktur von Aubusson." *Cicerone* 17 (1925) p. 459, pl. 12. Called "Die Badende (Fragonard). Aubusson. Um 1770." Owned by P. W. French & Co., New York.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 256, called "nach Fragonard"; vol. 2, pl. 298.

*MMA Annual Report 1960–1961*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 20 (1961–62) p. 71. Listed.

### NOTES

1. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 256.

2. Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard* (New York, 1960) p. 270, no. 314, fig. 140.

3. Information provided by Mitchell Samuels.

4. Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 201, pl. XIII,a. Called the *Triumph of Cupid*, Louis XVI period, owned by French & Co.



## 103 Worship of Cupid

French (probably Aubusson); 1775–90, after Jean Baptiste Huet (1745–1811).

Wool and silk.

2 ft. 5 in. x 1 ft. 11 in. (74 cm x 58 cm).

22 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.431).



### DESCRIPTION

A fair-haired, red-cheeked young woman in a dull yellow dress and blue garters kneels on a pink cushion with a yellow tassel in front of a yellow-gray statue of Cupid on a yellow-brown stone pedestal. She holds a wreath of pink and red roses with dark green leaves in one hand and places roses at the foot of the statue. A flying cupid holds a wreath of roses over her head, and there are roses on the ground by her knee and on the left behind a brown and tan dog, a symbol of fidelity. On the right are two brown and gray sheep. Brown and gray tree trunks and yellow and green foliage are seen behind the pedestal. The sky is pale yellow; the foreground is in shades of green, pale yellow, and brown. Silk is extensively used.

### CONDITION

The sky is largely rewoven.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The composition is exactly copied from a color print by C. L. Jubier (fl. 1760–1770) after Jean Baptiste Huet; an example of the print was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 12–14, 1924 (no. 8, illus.; fig. 77).

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style and quality of weaving suggest an Aubusson workshop in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The same composition without the flying cupid and with two doves in the sky was used for one of three medallions in a large Aubusson tapestry with palm trees, garlands, and trophies filling the upper part and animals and birds in the foreground; this piece was part of a set of four sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4, 5, 1925 (no. 137, illus.). The design was also used on Sèvres porcelain in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

#### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.  
Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Pératé, André, and Brière, Gaston. *Collections Georges Hoentschel*. Paris, 1908, vol. 3, p. 31, pl. 117. In frame.  
Hunter, George Leland. "The Decorative Style of the Louis XVI Period Illustrated by Examples in the Hoentschel Collection of the Metropolitan Museum." *Arts and Decoration* 3 (September 1913) p. 373, illus. p. 371.

#### NOTE

1. Adrian Sassoon, "Two Acquisitions of Sèvres Porcelain by the Getty Museum, 1981," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 10 (1982) pp. 87–89, fig. 3 (on cup dated 1781), p. 197 (on vase owned by the duke of Buccleuch).



FIG. 77. *Worship of Cupid*, by C. L. Jubier, after Jean Baptiste Huet. Engraving. Reproduced from a photograph published in Hôtel Drouot sale catalogue, May 12–14, 1924. Courtesy Courtauld Institute of Art, London.



## 104 Comme par miracle

French (Aubusson); designed by Jean Lurçat (1892–1966),  
and woven in the manufactory of François Tabard

(1902–1969), 1945.

Designer's name and weaver's mark.

Wool.

8 ft. 1½ in. x 10 ft. 7 in. (2.48 m x 3.23 m).

13 warps per inch, 5 per centimeter.

Gift of Seward W. Eric, 1951 (51.193).

### DESCRIPTION

A table covered with a dull yellow and gray cloth stands by an open door; two curved legs in red and gray, casting light red shadows, are visible, and the cloth is edged with gray and black tassels. On it are a brown, gray, black, and white guitar, a pile of leaves and fruit in black, white, dull yellow, and red, a sheet of paper with red letters, a red leaf-filled pot with red liquid pouring from its spout into an overflowing beaker, and another beaker filled with red. On the right side are a dead pheasant in red, gray, black, and dull yellow, with another dead bird, mostly gray, brown, and pink, falling off the edge. A row of spotted fish, chiefly gray, pink, white, and black, is strung along the side of the table. A live bird, with a red head and neck, walks off the table on the left, another stands on the top of

the guitar, and a third is seen at the top of the table in the center. A dull yellow, brown, and red sun is half-visible against a red and bright yellow background through the open door; a flock of tiny yellow and red birds flies toward it and there is a large gray spotted butterfly. The door, chiefly in dull yellow, gray, black, and white, partly covered with leaves, is folded against the wall to the right; at its foot is a walking bird in black, brown, gray, and pink. On the left is a large plant with gray, brown, black, white, and pink foliage. Near the top of the tapestry are two large spotted butterflies in gray, black, white, dull yellow, and red. The background is brown, with red and yellow sections on the left.

The name LURÇAT is in dull yellow in the lower left corner and the weaver's mark in pale brown and red in the lower right.<sup>1</sup> An inscription along the lower edge in yellow reads: *alors comme par miracle des oiseaux de passage passent qui passent comme cela par miracle.*

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

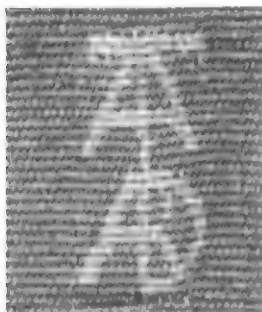
### SUBJECT

The inscription is taken from Jacques Prévert's poem "Comme par miracle." This poem describes a man leaving his house at daybreak, picking and eating an orange, and returning to his wife who is still in bed. They make love and at this moment migrating birds pass high in the sky above them; outside, a priest, his nose in his breviary, slips on a piece of orange peel the man had thrown away. The words "comme par miracle" are repeated throughout the poem.<sup>2</sup>

A very similar tapestry made in 1944 is called *Le Soleil sous la table*; it shows a table in the same position, with the sun underneath it, and dead birds strung along its edge. It has been suggested that this composition symbolizes conquered France. It seems equally likely that *Comme par miracle*, besides expressing the radiant joy of Prévert's poem, is also a symbol of the Liberation.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design was woven four times. The first weaving is in





a private collection in Strasbourg, 104 is the second, the third is in a private collection, and the fourth is in a private collection in Switzerland.<sup>4</sup>

A tapestry of the same design, but without the inscription, dated 1946, was in a private collection in Scotland in 1953.<sup>5</sup>

#### HISTORY

In the collection of Denise Majorel, 1946.

Acquired by Seward W. Eric, New York, several years before 1950.

Given to the MMA by Seward W. Eric, 1951.

#### EXHIBITION

Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1946. *La Tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours*, cat. no. 284. As owned by Denise Majorel.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Bazin, Germain, et al. *La Tapisserie française: Muraille et laine*. Paris, 1946, pl. 49. As in collection of Denise Majorel, Doisneau.

MMA *Annual Report* 1951. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 11 (1952–53) p. 37. Listed among gifts received.

Cassou, Jean; Damain, Max; and Montard-Uldry, Renée. *La Tapisserie française et les peintres cartonniens*. Paris, 1957, p. 76, illus. p. 59.

#### NOTES

1. Reproduced in *Le Grand Livre de la tapisserie*, ed. Joseph Jobé (Paris, 1965) p. 262. The name of the firm was Tabard Frères et Soeurs.
2. Jacques Prévert, *Histoires, 30 Poèmes* (Paris, 1946) pp. 81, 82, 85. As the tapestry was designed in 1945, there may have been an earlier publication in a periodical, or the artist may have read the poem in manuscript.
3. T. Catesby Jones, "Jean Lurçat and the Renaissance of Tapestry," *Magazine of Art* 41 (1948) p. 4.
4. Information provided by Denise Majorel.
5. *20th Century Form: Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*, Whitechapel Art Gallery (London, 1953) no. 28. Called *Les Quatres Coins Bis*.

## FRANCE

### Savonnerie Manufactory

THE SAVONNERIE manufactory at Chaillot was established primarily to make carpets with knotted pile, but from its foundation in the seventeenth century it produced other things in the same technique. A small landscape panel (105) may have been made in the middle of this century, and *Saint Peter as Pope* (106), which is dated 1689, was woven under the directorship of Bertrand Louis Dupont as a banner for the church of Saint Peter at Chaillot.

Several small panels with flowers and birds (107, 109, 113) may date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, but the upholstery for two armchairs (110) is probably contemporaneous with the frames of about 1730. Screen panels designed by François Desportes were made in large quantities between 1719 and 1772; the single panel (111) and the threefold screen (112) show the artist's typical birds. The set of three panels, however, is based on a design by Belin de Fontenay.

A panel with a parrot and a squirrel (114), which was probably made about 1750, exists in several versions, including an English one (133). The portrait of the emperor Joseph II (116) was woven under the directorship of Duvivier the Younger; the emperor went to Paris in 1777 and visited the manufactory. Except for the head, the design is based on a portrait of his father, Francis I.

### Seventeenth-Century Embroideries

FOUR LARGE HANGINGS embroidered on canvas (117) each represent a season, a classical deity, and one of the children of Louis XIV and Mme de Montespan. The designs are derived from works of the Le Brun studio; the hangings were made very probably in the convent of Saint Joseph-de-la-Providence, in Paris, for Mme de Montespan about 1683.

Meleager presenting the head of the Calydonian boar to Atalanta is the main subject in an embroidered panel of the late seventeenth century (118). The background includes representations of several fountains in the gardens of Versailles.





## 105 Landscape

French (Paris); woven in knotted technique,  
mid-seventeenth century.

Wool.

1 ft. 7 in. x 1 ft. 11 in. (48 cm x 58 cm).

121 knots per square inch, 20 per square centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.473a).

### DESCRIPTION

The landscape is rendered entirely in dull tones, the trees in light and dark greens, with yellow-brown trunks, the sky in yellow-brown. The distant landscape and the foreground are in slightly darker shades of the same colors, with brown passages and an area of dark greens in the lower left corner.

### CONDITION

The pile has disappeared in many places around the edges, especially in the upper corners.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

Charles I of England owned two landscapes in the Savonnerie technique. One is described in the 1639 catalogue of his collection by Abraham van der Doort as "a Lan-skippe peece of trees and some moorish water wherein Two Ducks a swiming and some troope of water fflowes, being done in a new way of stuff, whereof they doe make Turkie Carpetts wch was presented to yor Matie by the ffrench Ambassador in an all over gilded frame." The dimensions are given as 1 foot, 10 inches by 2 feet, 5 inches.<sup>1</sup> It was presumably made either at the Louvre by Pierre Dupont or at the Savonnerie by Simon Lourdet; from the description, it may have been like 105. But it has been suggested that 105 is a fragment of one of the carpets woven for the Long Gallery of the Louvre between 1662 and 1689 by members of the Dupont and Lourdet families; many of these carpets have small landscapes at each end.<sup>2</sup>

### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

### PUBLICATION

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 194, fig. 123. Said to have probably formed part of one end of a Louvre Long Gallery carpet.

### NOTES

1. Oliver Millar, ed., "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I," *Walpole Society* 37 (1958–60) pp. 156, 157.
2. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, p. 194.



# 106 Saint Peter as Pope

Processional banner

French (Paris); woven in knotted technique at the Savonnerie manufactory probably under the direction of Bertrand François Dupont (fl. 1687–1720), 1689.

Weaver's name and date.

Wool.

4 ft. 10 in. x 4 ft. 8 in. (1.47 m x 1.42 m).

169–195 knots per square inch, 25–30 per square centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1943 (43.134).

## DESCRIPTION

The saint wears a pale gray alb, a pale yellow and brown cope, a yellow and brown stole, gray sandals, and a yellow and brown tiara with blue gems. His eyes are brown, his hair and beard gray. Except for some pink in the face, the flesh tones are pale gray. One of the keys is blue, the other yellow-gray. The throne is entirely in tones of yellow, brown, and black. The background shows a damask pattern in dull yellow on a pale brown ground. The panel is inscribed in dull yellow in the upper left corner: DV · PONT · and in black by the saint's left foot: 1689.

## CONDITION

The pile has disappeared from some small areas at the base of the panel and is markedly lower in all the very dark passages. The panel appears to have been cut on both sides and at the bottom.

## SUBJECT

The panel represents the patron saint of the parish of Saint Pierre at Chaillot for which it was made as a church processional banner. Ange Nicolas Duvivier, director of the Savonnerie manufactory, described in March 1816 a design among the cartoons as representing "Saint Pierre assis sur une espèce de trône, coiffé de la tiare, donnant sa bénédiction de sa main droite et de l'autre tenant les clefs du Paradis. La bordure du tableau est un dessin imitant le damas. Les dimensions de ce dessin sont de 2,33 m, sur 2,50 m environ. . . ."<sup>1</sup> The banner was thus apparently originally considerably larger.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The pose and the arrangement of the cope are reminiscent of several tomb sculptures of popes in Saint Peter's, such as that of Clement X (died 1676).<sup>2</sup>

## WEAVER

Louis Dupont took over his father Pierre's workshop at the Louvre in 1640 and moved to the Savonnerie manufactory at Chaillot in 1671. His son, Bertrand François, was his partner in 1687 and soon after became the sole director.<sup>3</sup>

## HISTORY

Mrs. Henry Walters sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 30–December 4, 1943, no. 1087, illus. Described as probably Innocent XI, by Louis Du Pont. Purchased for the MMA at this sale through the Rogers Fund.

## PUBLICATIONS

MMA *Annual Report* 1943, p. 32. Described as a pope, probably Saint Peter.

Jarry, Madeleine. "Savonnerie Panels and Furnishing Materials of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Connoisseur* 170 (1969) p. 214. Described as undoubtedly one of the oldest of the many Savonnerie portraits in existence.

Verlet, Pierre. "Objets prestigieux retrouvés." *Revue de l'Art*, no. 34 (1976) p. 62, fig. 2. Identified as the banner made for Saint Pierre de Chaillot by Louis Dupont in 1689.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, pp. 86, 315, 393 n. 14, 463 n. 160, fig. 37. Described as probably a processional banner, presented by one of the Duponts (perhaps Bertrand François) to the church of Saint Pierre at Chaillot.

## NOTES

1. Verlet, "Objets prestigieux," p. 62.

2. F. J. Bayer, *The Book of the Popes* (New York, 1925) p. 122.

3. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 64, 66.





## 107 Flowers in a Golden Vase, with Three Birds

French (Paris); woven in knotted technique at the Savonnerie manufactory, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool.

2 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 4 in. (86 cm x 71 cm).

129 knots per square inch, 20 per square centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.2).

### DESCRIPTION

An orange, yellow, and brown vase stands on an elaborate console of the same colors, with pale green and blue details. It is filled with flowers, including blue convolvulus, orange and yellow tulips, and others in the same colors and pale yellow, and foliage in shades of blue, green, and yellow. A parrot stands on either side of the vase. The one on the left is blue with pale brown and pale orange areas; that on the right is orange and brown, with blue tips to its wings. A small pale-gray and brown bird with red on its head flies in the upper left corner. The

upper part of the background is speckled pink and black; the lower is red-brown behind the large birds and brown below.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The flowers of 107, 109, and 113 are reminiscent of the style of Jean Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699) and of his pupil Jean Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715). The latter is known to have made designs for the Savonnerie manufactory.

### WEAVER AND DATE

The date of 107 and similar floral pieces can only be estimated on stylistic grounds. 107, with its heavy, symmetrical, classical lower part would seem to be the earliest, and was probably designed in the seventeenth century. But designs continued to be woven at the Savonnerie manufactory for many years after their first appearance. In the seventeenth century, the Dupont family is believed to have been responsible for the fine small pieces at first woven in their workshop at the Louvre and later at Chailot.<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to say which of the *entrepreneurs* at the Savonnerie produced panels that are not signed.

### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelberg (Mrs. Alfred Heidelberg), Paris, 1932.

### PUBLICATIONS

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 30. Dated 1675–1750; said to show a close resemblance to the designs of Baptiste Monnoyer.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 462, n. 151. Mentioned as a Savonnerie panel of flowers.

### NOTE

1. Pierre Verlet, "Quelques considérations sur la technique des tapis de la Savonnerie aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens*, no. 27 (1968) p. 72.



## 108 Flowers and Fruit with a Bird and an Animal

### Fragment

French; woven in knotted technique perhaps at the Savonnerie manufactory, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool.

2 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft. 10 in. (66 cm x 56 cm).

99 knots per square inch, 16 per square centimeter.

Bequest of Irwin Untermyer, 1973 (1974.28.1).

### DESCRIPTION

As the piece is mounted on a stool, the hindquarters of the animal on the right and the tail of the bird on the left are not visible from above. The animal, perhaps a monkey, is in shades of brown, with a blue eye; the bird is blue and green with a red eye and some pink feathers. The flowers and fruit are in shades of brown, pink, tan, and cream; the large crown imperial at the top is a golden brown on a speckled pink and dark green stalk. The lily is brown and cream, with pink stamens. The spotted berries under the animal are cream with dark green spots. The foliage is in shades of green, blue-green, and dull pale yellow. The ground is very dark brown or black.

### CONDITION

There is a small slit at the upper right and a bare spot on the animal's left hind leg.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The quality of the drawing suggests a less prestigious manufacture than the Savonnerie. The densely packed design and dark ground are characteristic of Savonnerie work in the late seventeenth century.



## 109 Flowers in a Silver Vase

French (Paris); woven in a knotted technique, at the Savonnerie manufactory, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool.

2 ft. 3 1/2 in. x 2 ft. (70 cm x 61 cm).

143–169 knots per square inch, 25 per square centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.5).

### DESCRIPTION

A blue and cream vase, with two snakes forming the handles, stands on a yellow and brown support. It is filled with flowers in shades of pale yellow, cream, pale pink, and pale brown, with foliage in blue, green, and pale yellow. The background is black.

### CONDITION

There are extensive restorations, especially in the vase and the support. The flowers are badly faded, so that the interior modeling is in many cases no longer visible.

### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelberg (Mrs. Alfred Heidelberg), Paris, 1932.

### PUBLICATIONS

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 30. Dated 1675–1750; said to show a close resemblance to the designs of Baptiste Monnoyer.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 462, n. 151. Mentioned as a Savonnerie panel of flowers.



## 110 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for two armchairs

French (Paris); woven at the Savonnerie manufactory in knotted technique, about 1720–30.

Wool.

Two backs approx. 2 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 1 in. (66 cm x 64 cm);

two seats approx. 2 ft. x 2 ft. 3 in. (61 cm x 69 cm);

four armrests 1 ft. 1 1/2 in. x 6 in. (34 cm x 15 cm).

100 knots per square inch, 16 per square centimeter.

The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma

A. Sheaffer, 1973 (1974.356.191 [110a]; 1974.356.192

[110b]).

### DESCRIPTION

The grounds of all the panels are a light tan. The backs (both alike except in details) show fantastic flowers in shades of blue, red, and dull yellow, with foliage in shades of blue-green, dull green, red, and dull yellow, rising from a turf in dull yellow-green and pale brown. The seats (both alike) show a design with different flowers and leaves in the same colors, rising from a larger expanse of dull green and brown ground. The armrests (all different) have similar flowers and leaves.

### CONDITION

A few worn areas are apparent in dark brown passages.

### RELATED PANELS

Eight other chairs with this upholstery were in the collections of the duc de La Roche-Guyon and Francis Guérault; two of these are in the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris.<sup>1</sup>

### HISTORY

In the collection of the duc de La Roche-Guyon.

Francis Guérault sale, 3 rue Roquepine, Paris, March 21, 22, 1935, no. 62, illus. (two).

Bequeathed to the MMA by Emma A. Sheaffer, 1974.

### EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1975. *The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection: A Selective Presentation*. Catalogue by Yvonne

Hackenbroch and James Parker, no. 11, illus. (one). Said to have been made for these chair frames.

### PUBLICATIONS

“Guérault Auction Offers Collectors Many Fine Pieces.” *Art News* 33 (March 2, 1953) p. 11, illus. (one).

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, pp. 392 n. 6, fig. 45 (one). Dated about 1720.

### NOTE

1. *Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1973) p. 15, no. 38, illus. (one). Dated 1725–30.







## 111 Hawk and Three Pheasants

Panel for a screen

French (Paris); designed by François Desportes  
(1661–1743), about 1718, and woven at the Savonnerie  
manufactory in knotted technique, 1719–72.

Wool.

6 ft. 1 in. x 2 ft. 3 in. (1.85 m x 69 cm).

108 knots per square inch, 17 per square centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.284).

### DESCRIPTION

From two red scrolling forms at the top of the panel hangs a garland of blue-green leaves, white and yellow flowers, and a gray and brown game pouch with red and yellow straps; there is a dead brown and white bird in the pouch. Beneath these, a pale brown and gray hawk hovers over an orange tree with green and yellow leaves, white flowers, and yellow and orange fruit. At either side of the hawk is a gray and brown lure and behind it sprays of dark blue-green leaves and red and yellow buds. Below the lures are scrolling forms in blue and pale yellow. On the ground by the pale gray and brown trunk of the orange tree are three pheasants in brown, blue, red, gray, and pale yellow, with leaves and flowers in blue-green, pale yellow, and pale pink. Blue scrolls flank the group of birds at the bottom of the panel. The sky behind the central scene is white at the top, blue in the center. The background behind the tree is brown. The foreground is in pale tones of yellow, green, and brown. The outer ground is dark yellow at the top, paler below.

### CONDITION

A few very small holes can be seen in the upper corners and elsewhere.

### SUBJECT

The description of the panel in the list of “ouvrages faits par le sieur Dupont en 1719 et 1720” of the manufactory register (*Registre d'Antin*) reads: “une terrasse au bas où sont posé des fessants sous un orenger audeus duquel orangé est un oyseau de proye les ailes employez sur un ciel,

le tout entourez d'un fond pourpre." A description of 1735 in the *Journal du Garde-Meuble* reads: "au milieu un oranger, par le haut un oiseau de proie volant, au dessus une gibeciere entourée d'une guirlande de roses, et par bas deux faisans et un faisandeau."

The other five designs that, with 111, make up a standard sixfold screen of the period, show two rabbits (the same, in reverse, as those on a chair back and seat of 74) and two monkeys; three ducks, a rosebush, a parrot, and a crested cockatoo; two leopards and two parrots; two hounds with the head of a stag seen face-on; and two foxes, a toucan, and other birds.<sup>1</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Desportes was paid in 1719 for designs on paper for three screen panels, each four *pieds* high, and for three others of six *pieds*. 111 belongs to the taller series, the seventh made at the Savonnerie. The central pheasant and the one on the right are found in a sketch by Desportes owned by the Musée National, Compiègne, on exhibition at the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris (fig. 78);<sup>2</sup> this sketch was the basis for a painting, signed and dated 1711, in the Thomas Bodkin sale, Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1959 (no. 30, illus.). The two birds on the left of 111, with the large-leafed plant beside them (a mullein) are found on a *dessus-de-porte* for Marly, signed by Desportes and dated 1714, in the Musée de la Chasse. The bird lying down in 111 appears in another sketch at the same museum, on loan from the Sèvres manufactory; this is said to be a study for a painting of 1702 also made for Marly.<sup>3</sup> Similar birds are found in a signed painting sold at the Hôtel George V, Paris, March 12, 1974 (no. 13, illus.). The swooping bird is found, reversed, on a sketch, *Busard en vol*, in the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (fig. 79).<sup>4</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Screens including panels of this design were woven while the manufactory was under the control of Bertrand François Dupont, 1714–20, Jacques de Noinville, 1721–42, Pierre Charles Duvivier, 1743–74, and Nicolas Cyrien



FIG. 78. *Pheasants*, by François Desportes. Oil sketch. Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris, on loan from the Musée National, Compiègne. Photo: Agraci.



FIG. 79. *Busard en vol*, by François Desportes. Oil on paper. Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris, on loan from the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres.

Duvivier, 1775–1807. A total of 143 leaves were probably woven.<sup>5</sup> The fine quality of 111 suggests that it is an early example.

#### RELATED PANELS

There are complete screens of all six panels at Waddesdon Manor, owned by the English National Trust,<sup>6</sup> and in the Huntington Collection, San Marino.<sup>7</sup> The panel in the latter corresponding to 111 is slightly shorter. The design is found in two three-panel screens in the Swedish National Collection, appearing twice in one of them; both the latter examples show the complete form of the scrolls at the top.<sup>8</sup> This is also true of a version of 111 that was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 14, 1975 (no. 154, illus.), perhaps identical with a panel of pheasants and a bird of prey, owned by the comtesse de Béhagle in 1936.<sup>9</sup> The swooping hawk, sometimes reversed, is found on a panel with different surroundings and water birds below that was woven from 1719 onward.<sup>10</sup> Screens with some of the designs that are associated with 111 are in the Mobilier National, Paris, the Louvre, and at least three private collections in Paris. Two pairs each of the rabbits and monkeys and the ducks, parrot, and crane are in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. A total of at least 59 extant leaves of the six designs has been recorded.<sup>11</sup>

#### HISTORY

Savonnerie screen panels were made for the anterooms of the king and members of the royal family.

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.  
Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Wark, Robert R. *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection*. San Marino, Calif., 1961, p. 75. Mentioned.  
Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 467, n. 20. Listed.

#### NOTES

1. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 330–40, no. 15 (account of Waddesdon screen).
2. Thomas Bodkin, "Desportes as Landscape Painter," *Artwork* 5 (1929) p. 204, fig. III.
3. Georges de Lastic, "Desportes et Oudry, peintres des chasses royales," *Connoisseur* 196 (December 1977) p. 291, fig. 2. See also 74.
4. *L'Atelier de Desportes*, exh. cat., Louvre (Paris, 1982) no. 26.
5. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, p. 337.
6. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, no. 15, fig. 204.
7. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, p. 75, figs. 43–45.
8. John Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af Väfda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1898) vol. 3, pp. 75, 76, pl. 93.
9. *Les Fleurs, les animaux*, exh. cat., Musée de Peinture (Rouen, 1936) no. 320.
10. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 301, 458 n. 83, fig. 183. Examples are in the Mobilier National and the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris; the Musée Ephrussi, Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat; and the Swedish National Collection. One was sold at Sotheby's, New York, May 4, 1984 (no. 33, illus.), called nineteenth century.
11. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 337, 467 n. 20 (locations of all known examples given).
12. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 292, 304, 519.

## 112 Trophies and Birds

### Three panels for a screen

French (Paris); designed by Jean Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715) and (possibly) François Desportes (1661–1743); woven in knotted technique at the Savonnerie manufactory, 1715–50.

Wool.

Each panel 9 ft. x 2 ft. 2 in. (2.74 m x 66 cm).

120 knots per square inch, 19 per square centimeter.

Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958 (58.75.128).

### DESCRIPTION

Each panel shows an arbor supported by golden vertical bars with, at the bottom, a golden urn filled with flowers standing on a blue and yellow pedestal. In the center of each panel is a medallion with a blue ground and two birds. Swags of flowers and fruit hang from the tops of the arbor with, in the center, a trophy supported by a blue ribbon tied in a bow. The background is cream colored above, green behind the urns.

Left panel: The trophy consists of a gold thyrsus and ewer, with a bunch of dull blue grapes, a symbol of Bacchus. The birds in the central medallion are a green woodpecker and a dull orange and golden brown oriole. The flowers in the urn are red, white, blue, and pale yellow-brown, with leaves in shades of blue-green.

Center panel: The trophy consists of a golden flaming torch and a quiver with arrows, a symbol of Cupid. The flying bird in shades of brown and gray is a magpie; the standing one is a brown and gray jay with a blue wing. The flowers in the urn are dull yellow and pale blue with foliage in shades of blue-green.

Right panel: The trophy consists of a golden sheaf of grain, a golden wind instrument, and a pale brown sickle, wreathed with blue cornflowers, a symbol of Ceres. Parrots in red, golden yellow, and blue are perched on a gold rod in the medallion. The flowers in the urn are in shades of golden yellow, red, white, and blue, with ears of golden wheat and red poppies among them. The foliage is blue-green.

### CONDITION

There are small areas of moth damage.

### SUBJECT

The description of the three panels of 112 in the manufactory register (*Registre d'Antin*) reads:

un berceau rempli de feuillages verds, au bas dudit paravent est une terrasse en forme de gazon rempli de petites fleurs sur lequel est posé un vas garni de fleurs au naturel, au dessus est le milieu qui est un fond bleu clair et une petite terrasse sur laquelle est posée un geay et une pie enfermée d'un cartouche orné de fleurs, audessus des festons de fleurs au naturel, à coté les soutiens du berceau autour duquel tourne une guirlande de fleurs, le tout à fond chamois enfermé d'un fond violet . . . même ordonnance excepté que . . . dans le milieu 2 perroquets dont un rouge et l'autre jaune et bleu . . . dans le milieu un loriot et un pivert.

The other three panels of a complete set of six have a cock and a Chinese hen, two pigeons, and two parrots, one gray and the other green and red.<sup>1</sup> From other screens with all six panels, it can be determined that the trophy with the cock and Chinese hen is a royal crown, scepter, and Hand of Justice; with the two pigeons, two floral wreaths; and, for the other pair of parrots, the lyre, bow, and long arrow of Apollo.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The basic design was first used for twelve panels with the arms and emblems of Queen Marie Thérèse, wife of Louis XIV, that were delivered in 1716 and described as “dessein de M. Fontenay.” Belin de Fontenay is also named as the designer of twelve panels with birds, delivered in 1730, but the birds that replaced the queen's symbols were probably ordered from Desportes. The attribution of Bacchus in the panel with the woodpecker and the oriole are replacements for a royal crown.<sup>2</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

Bertrand François Dupont was head of the manufactory when the first screens of these designs were made. They continued to be produced under his successor, Jacques de Noinville, until 1740, when panels of a new design in a later style took their place.<sup>3</sup>



## RELATED EXAMPLES

At least 138 panels were woven of the designs.<sup>4</sup> A screen in the Mobilier National, Paris, consists of the Ceres, Bacchus, Apollo, and pigeons panels.<sup>5</sup> It is shorter than 112, so that the tops of the arbors are missing. Six panels at Versailles show all the subjects except the Apollo design; the royal crown appears twice.<sup>6</sup> A three-panel screen also at Versailles has two Cupid panels and a royal crown.<sup>7</sup> The Ceres and pigeons panels are in a screen in the Swedish National Collection with the two parrots usually found under the Bacchus trophy instead of the cock and hen; the panels are wider than 112, showing more of the crimson ground outside the arbors.<sup>8</sup> Two Cupid panels, an Apollo, and a Ceres make up a screen in the Abbaye de Chaalis; the tops of the arbors are missing.<sup>9</sup> Ten panels in the Mme d'Yvon sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1892 (no. 673), included two each of Bacchus, Ceres, Apollo, Cupid, and the pigeons; the six panels of Cupid, Bacchus, and Ceres were sold by the Seligmann family at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, June 14, 15, 1981 (no. 54, illus.), and are in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.<sup>10</sup> Three Bacchus panels, two Ceres, and an Apollo make up a screen in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection, Lisbon,<sup>11</sup> and three Cupid panels, a Ceres, a royal crown, and the pigeons were in the Mme C. Lelong sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 27–1 May, 1903 (no. 452, illus.). The X sale at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 28, 1935, included a screen (no. 76, illus.) of two Apollos, a Cupid, and the pigeons panel. All the subjects are represented on a sixfold screen sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, April 1, 1965 (no. 133, illus. on cover).

## PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1957–1958*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 17 (1958–59) p. 62. Mentioned.

Dauterman, Carl Christian; Parker, James; and Standen, Edith Appleton. *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. London, 1964, pp. 250, 252, 253, illus. Designs attributed to Belin de Fontenay, dated 1714–50, other examples listed.

Verlet, Pierre. "Les paravents de Savonnerie pendant la première moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle." *L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art* 12 (1967) p. 112, n. 25. Mentioned. Series called fifth screen-panel type made at manufactory; documentary evidence of date and designer (Belin de Fontenay) quoted; Desportes suggested as designer of birds; examples in public collections listed, including 112.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 458, n. 82. Mentioned.

## NOTES

1. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, p. 457, n. 82.
2. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 457, 458, n. 82.
3. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, p. 457, n. 82.
4. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, p. 457, n. 82.
5. Madeleine Jarry, "Savonnerie Panels and Furnishing Materials of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Connoisseur* 170 (1969) p. 217, fig. 12.
6. G. Van der Kemp, "Musées de Versailles et des Trianon: Acquisitions de 1964," *Revue du Louvre*, 1965, p. 284, fig. 10.
7. "La Chronique des arts," supplement to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 79, no. 1237 (February 1972) p. 14, illus.
8. John Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af Väfda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1898) vol. 3, p. 73, pl. 87.
9. Louis Gillet, "Institut de France, Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbaye de Châalis," *Les Arts*, no. 151 (July 1914) p. 19, illus.
10. "Some Acquisitions (1983–84) in the Department of Decorative Arts, The J. Paul Getty Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984) p. 384, illus.
11. *Objets d'art français de la Collection Calouste Gulbenkian* (Lisbon, 1969) no. 20, illus.



## 113 Flowers in a Golden Vase, with a Parrot

French (Paris); woven in knotted technique at the Savonnerie manufactory, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool.

2 ft. 6½ in. x 2 ft. 2 in. (77 cm x 66 cm).

110–121 knots per square inch, 17–19 per square centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.1).



### DESCRIPTION

A golden brown vase stands on a pale brown table. It is filled with a variety of flowers, including pink and white and yellow and red striped tulips, pink roses, white narcissus with yellow and brown centers, red and white striped carnations, a fringed red and yellow poppy, and others in the same colors, with blue and lavender, and foliage in blues, greens, yellows, and browns. On the table stands a blue-green parrot with a red tail, yellow underparts, red eye, and brown beak and claws; it places one claw on a bunch of blue, red, and white grapes. The background is blue.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelberg (Mrs. Alfred Heidelberg), Paris, 1932.

### PUBLICATIONS

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 30. Dated 1675–1750; said to show a close resemblance to the designs of Baptiste Monnoyer.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 462, n. 151. Mentioned as a Savonnerie panel of flowers.



## 114 Parrot and Squirrel

French (Paris); woven in knotted technique possibly at the Savonnerie manufactory, mid-eighteenth century.

Wool.

2 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 9 in. (64 cm x 53 cm).

145 knots per square inch, 22.5 per square centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.3).

### DESCRIPTION

A red parrot or macaw with a pale yellow patch around its black eye, a pale yellow and brown beak, and dull green and blue wings, sits on a branch of a brown tree stump. It holds in its beak the stalk of a twig with two brown and green leaves and a red cherry that it grasps with one claw. At the foot of the stump is an overturned basket in brown and pale yellow, from which blue grapes, red cherries, blue plums, and other fruit, with green vine leaves, have fallen. A yellow-brown squirrel, with black eye and whiskers, holds a grape. The background is a landscape in shades of green, blue, and brown. The sky is pale blue above, pale yellow below. The foreground is in shades of brown, green, dull yellow, and black.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

Two other versions of the design, attributed to the Savonnerie manufactory, have appeared in French sales; they had been owned by noblemen, who may well have inherited them from the original purchasers. There seems no reason to doubt that these pieces were made in France, probably in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. As 114 was received from a donor who lived in Paris, it also is probably French.

### RELATED PIECES

Four other versions show the same scene, with only minute differences, in a rocaille border, on a red ground. This border is exactly the same for two pieces with a





French provenance. One was in the duc de V . . . sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, December 10, 1935 (no. 13, illus.), described as Savonnerie work of the Régence period, coming from the collection of the duc de Mortemart; it was later in the Lopez-Taragoya collection at Neuilly.<sup>1</sup> Another in the comte de S . . . sale, also at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, March 15, 1937 (no. 49, illus.), was described as Savonnerie work of the Louis XV period. Two other versions are presumably English; these panels were woven after 1750, probably from a Savonnerie design (see 133).

#### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelberg (Mrs. Alfred Heidelberg), Paris, 1932.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 30. The decoration said to suggest the designs of J. B. Oudry.
- Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 417, n. 96. Described as made in imitation of Savonnerie work, but certainly not woven at Chaillot. Moorfields suggested as a possible place of manufacture.
- Standen, Edith A. "A Parrot and a Squirrel in a Landscape." *Studien zum europäischer Kunsthandwerk, Festschrift Yvonne Hackenbroch*. Munich, 1983, pp. 251–56, fig. 5. Called Savonnerie, all related pieces discussed.

#### NOTE

1. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, p. 417, n. 96.

## 115 A Parrot, Three Ducks, and a Butterfly

French (?); woven in knotted technique, 1730–60.

Wool.

2 ft. 8½ in. x 1 ft. 11¼ in. (82.6 cm x 59.1 cm).

110 knots per square inch, 16 per square centimeter.

Bequest of Julie Heidelberg, 1932 (35.116.4).

### DESCRIPTION

A red and pink parrot with a pale green beak, blue edges to its wings, some blue tail feathers, and blue and black claws, perches on a very pale brown tree stump, from which spring sprays of brown and dark green leaves. At the foot of the stump are three ducks in red, blue, and white, the uppermost one having a brown and dark green head. They stand on a brown and dark green mound, with some green and white leaves and brown and dark green bulrushes growing on it. The mound rests on a rococo scroll in blues, reds, browns, and white. On the upper right is a butterfly with pale green antennae and red, pink, brown, and dark green body and wings. In the distance is a landscape, with, on the lower left, an orange, pink, and brown house among green trees; on the far right is a green tree. The background is cream colored. The border has a black ground with a pattern in the same colors as the central picture without blue or pale green.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### WEAVER AND DATE

The crude drawing and unsophisticated design suggest that this may be a piece made by a Savonnerie weaver, but outside the manufactory, or an imitation made at another center in France or elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The rococo motif at the base of the panel indicates a date in the second third of the century.

### HISTORY

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. Julie Heidelberg (Mrs. Alfred Heidelberg), Paris, 1932.

### PUBLICATIONS

Phillips, John Goldsmith. "A Bequest of Gobelins, Beauvais, and Savonnerie Panels." *MMA Bulletin* 31 (1936) p. 30.

Loose knotting and somewhat provincial design said to indicate that the panel may not have been made at the Savonnerie manufactory; the decoration said to suggest the designs of J. B. Oudry.

Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, p. 417, n. 96. Said to have certainly not been woven at Chaillot; Moorfields suggested as a possible place of origin.

### NOTE

1. Many such centers existed (Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 128–52).



## 116 The Emperor Joseph II

French (Paris); woven in knotted technique at the Savonnerie manufactory, about 1777.

Wool.

3 ft. 11 in. x 3 ft. 3 in. (1.19 m x 99 cm).

154 knots per square inch, 25 per square centimeter.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.469).

### DESCRIPTION

The emperor has a pale gray wig, gray-blue eyes, and some pink tones in his cheeks and mouth. The hair falling

FIG. 80. *Emperor Francis I*, by Marten van Mytens. Oil on canvas. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida.



behind his back is a darker gray. He wears a yellow and pale brown costume with brown and dark pink markings, a cream-colored jabot and cuffs, and a sword at his left side. The order of the Golden Fleece, with blue stones, hangs below the jabot. He rests his right hand on what appears to be a yellow-brown cane, but probably is intended to represent a scepter. In the lower left corner are the crown of the Holy Roman Empire in yellow and brown, with blue and white stones and a dark pink lining, the imperial orb, and the Austrian archduke's coronet with a turned-up ermine edging.<sup>1</sup> The regalia rest on a dull pink and yellow-brown cushion with tassels. This is supported by a dark brown and pale blue curved dish or tabletop. Behind the emperor is the back of an ornate chair in dull yellow and brown, with details of the upholstery design picked out in dark red. Above this is a looped curtain in shades of blue and blue-green, with a dull yellow border. In the upper left are yellow-brown cords and large tassels. The background is brown.

### CONDITION

There are reknotted areas in the upper background and on the cords in the upper left corner.

### SUBJECT

Joseph II (1741–1790) is shown with the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, so the portrait must have been made after 1765, when his father died and he became coregent with his mother, Maria Theresa. He wears the “Spanish mantle” costume that emperors had worn on formal occasions since the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Portraits of Joseph II wearing the “Spanish mantle” costume are very rare; examples are a half-length of him as archduke, painted about 1760, at Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna,<sup>3</sup> and a full-length, also at Schönbrunn, showing him with the imperial regalia on a table beside him.<sup>4</sup> Neither resembles 116. As Joseph abolished this costume soon after his accession,<sup>5</sup> it seems very unlikely that a print of him wearing it would have been available at the Sa-



vonnerie manufactory. His father, Francis I, however, was frequently so portrayed. An example is the painting attributed to Marten van Mytens (1695–1700) in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida (fig. 80); many others are known, as well as similar prints. They show Francis in the same pose as Joseph in 116, but reversed; in some, the crown is similarly placed on a cushion on a round table. In all of them, the emperor is clearly

holding a scepter, which is shown in front of the other regalia. He often wears the feathered hat that was part of the costume and a wig with long curls. The cords, huge tassel, and cushion under the regalia appear in other imperial portraits by or close to Mytens at Schönbrunn.<sup>6</sup>

The immediate source for 116 was presumably a print of Francis I for the costume, with the head, especially the wig, changed to represent Joseph II.<sup>7</sup>



#### WEAVER AND DATE

Nicolas Cyrien Duvivier was in charge of the Savonnerie manufactory when Joseph II visited it in 1777; it seems probable that 116 was made at this time. Joseph paid a second visit in 1781, but, if 116 had been woven in anticipation of this occasion, his fondness for uniforms and dislike of the "Spanish mantle" costume would surely have been known. No other Savonnerie portrait of Joseph II shows him in this costume.

#### RELATED PIECES

Three other Savonnerie portraits of Joseph II are known. One in the Waddesdon Collection, owned by the National Trust, is a half-length and shows him in armor, holding a scepter, and resting his arms on a crown. A small oval bust in the Louvre, after a painting by Joseph Ducreux, probably dates from 1772.<sup>8</sup> A third portrait, after the same model, but larger and rectangular, was in the Félix Doisteau sales, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 9–11, 1909 (no. 348), and Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 5, 6, 1937 (no. 252), and in the Peñard y Fernandez sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, December 7, 1960 (no. 134).<sup>9</sup>

#### HISTORY

In the Georges Hoentschel collection, Paris, bought as a whole by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.  
Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*The Wing of Decorative Arts*. Supplement to *MMA Bulletin* 5 (March 1910) pp. 25, 27 (illus. on wall of room). Called presumably a portrait of Louis XV.  
Candee, Helen Churchill. *The Tapestry Book*. New York, 1912, p. 162, illus. Called supposedly Louis XV. Repeated in 1935 edition.  
Verlet, Pierre. *The Savonnerie. Its History. The Waddesdon Collection*. London, 1982, pp. 350, 352, 463 n. 175, fig. 220. Said to be probably based on an engraving and almost certainly woven after the emperor's first visit in 1777 and perhaps just before the second in 1781.

#### NOTES

1. Hermann Fillitz, *Die Schatzkammer in Wien* (Vienna, 1964) pls. 42, 46, 9.
2. Herbert Haupt, "Die Aufhebung des spanischen Mantelkleides durch Kaiser Joseph II.—Ein Wendepunkt im höfischen Zeremoniell," *Osterreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II*, exh. cat., Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung (Vienna, 1980) p. 79.
3. *Osterreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. 2, *Die Denkmale der Stadt Wien (XI.–XXI. Bezirk)*, ed. Hans Tietze and Heinrich Sitte (Vienna, 1908) fig. 174.
4. *Osterreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II*, no. 887, illus. The painting is attributed to the workshop of Marten van Mytens and dated about 1765. The caption states: "Joseph II wurde mit den spanischen Mantelkleid selten abgebildet."
5. Haupt, "Aufhebung des spanischen Mantelkleides," p. 79.
6. *Osterreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. 2, figs. 171–73.
7. A portrait of Joseph II in a very similar pose, with the regalia on a table beside him, but in uniform and holding a marshal's baton, is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (*Osterreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II*, no. 1388, illus.). It was painted about 1770. The face and wig are close to those of 116.
8. Verlet, *Savonnerie*, pp. 350–52, no. 18, fig. 218 (Waddesdon portrait), fig. 219 (Louvre portrait).
9. Paul Guth, "Entretien avec M. Penard y Fernandez," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 33 (November 1954) p. 43, illus. on wall of room.

## 117 Seasons and Elements

Four embroidered hangings from a set

- a *Spring*
- b *Summer*
- c *Air*
- d *Fire*

French (Paris); designed and embroidered about 1683, probably in the convent of Saint Joseph-de-la-Providence, for the marquise de Montespan (1641–1707).

Silk, wool, and metal thread on canvas.

Designs embroidered in tent stitch (*petit point*), backgrounds in couched silver and silver-gilt thread in herringbone and spiral patterns.

117a 13 ft. 8 in. x 9 ft. (4.17 m x 2.74 m);

117b 14 ft. 6 in. x 9 ft. 2 in. (4.42 m x 2.79 m);

117c 14 ft. x 9 ft. (4.27 m x 2.74 m);

117d 14 ft. x 9 ft. (4.27 m x 2.74 m).

316 stitches per square inch, 49 per square centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1946 (46.43.1–4).

### DESCRIPTION

Each hanging is made of two pieces of canvas. All have central medallions enclosing a deity within a wreath. The surrounding parts of each panel show a rigid framework in dull yellow and gray, with foliate scrolls in strong red, from which garlands are hung. The borders are brown and gray, with guards of dark and light blue ornamentation on a brown and gray ground.

### CONDITION

The gilt has almost entirely disappeared and the silver has tarnished, making the background nearly black, except where the metal has worn off entirely, leaving the white or yellow core visible.

### SUBJECT<sup>1</sup>

The god Jupiter representing Air is clearly Louis XIV and the other figures are some of the children he had by Mme de Montespan. *Fire*, shown as Mars, must be their son, Louis César, comte du Vexin (1672–1683), as he was abbot of the Abbey of Saint Denis shown in the background of 117d. *Spring* and *Summer* must be two daughters,

Françoise Marie, Mlle de Blois (1677–1749), and Louise Françoise, Mlle de Nantes (1673–1743). The other daughters were dead before 1683, the probable date of 117.

The set almost certainly included the other two seasons, *Autumn*, presumably represented as Bacchus, and *Winter*, as well as the other two elements, *Earth*, probably as Juno, and *Water*, probably as Neptune. It is very likely that the figures on these four hangings represented Mme de Montespan, perhaps as Juno, and her other children by Louis XIV, namely Louis Auguste, duc du Maine (1670–1736), perhaps as Neptune, since he was made Admiral of France in 1683; and Louise Marie, Mlle de Tours (1676–1681). This last child was dead before the probable date of the hangings, so that it was perhaps not inappropriate for her to represent *Winter*, though the deity for this season is usually Boreas. Another daughter, born in 1669, died in 1672, so it is unlikely that she was included.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A drawing from the workshop of Charles Le Brun in the Louvre shows the basic design of the portion of the embroidery surrounding the central medallion in a related hanging in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts;<sup>2</sup> this represents Spring and is close to 117a, except for the central medallion. But the upper part of the girl in 117a is repeated in a painting in the museum of Versailles that shows Mme de Montespan with four of her children and is described as after Mignard.<sup>3</sup> The figure of Louis XIV in 117c is the same, except for a differently colored cloak, as the figure of the king in the ceiling painting of 1683/84 by Le Brun in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, the *Capture of Gent*, and the study for this work in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes (fig. 81).<sup>4</sup> On the basis of these comparisons, the designs of 117 can be attributed to the workshop of Le Brun, with one figure taken from a Mignard portrait, but there is no evidence to indicate any individual artist, except that Henri Testelin (1616–1695) was paid by the king in 1679 for a “tableau pour servir de patron aux portières de broderies représentant le figure de *Jupiter assis sur un aigle*.”<sup>5</sup> The date, however, is several years before Le Brun’s painting in the Galerie des Glaces.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The close connection with Mme de Montespan makes it almost certain that 117 was made at the Saint Joseph convent, which is known to have carried out equally large embroideries that she gave to the Dauphin.<sup>6</sup> An embroidered bed with the kings and queens of France on a silver ground was also made there.<sup>7</sup> A date of about 1683 is probable, as the comte du Vexin (*Mars*) died in that year, and Le Brun's painting of Louis XIV as Jupiter was made in 1683/84.

#### RELATED PIECES

Two other hangings were associated with 117, at least from 1852 to 1928. One, in the Banque de France, Paris,<sup>8</sup> shows a very similar scheme, with, in the central medallion, a kneeling youth (possibly the duc du Maine) and a seated young woman, the latter figure taken from the portrait of Mlle de Nantes at Chantilly,<sup>9</sup> attributed to Marc Nattier and dated in the 1690s. The medallion, however, is a later insertion. The rest of the design shows a globe, two large lions, monkeys, rabbits, fruit, vegetables, and agricultural implements, such as a spade, mattock, and pitchfork. This piece can be presumed to be *Earth* and to have originally had a single figure in the center, probably Mme de Montespan as Juno. If this was the case, the replacement may have been made at an early date, perhaps shortly after Mme de Montespan's death in 1707, especially if the piece was hung in the king's cabinet at Rambouillet in 1718 (see under History).

The second hanging, now at Versailles,<sup>10</sup> repeats the design of 117d, except that the central medallion contains trophies of arms.

Four hangings in the same technique, but without backgrounds, were, like 117, owned by King Louis Philippe and sold with his collection at the Domaine de Monceaux, January 28, 1852 (no. 10). Of these, "Louis XIV foudroyant" and "l'Automne sous la figure de Bacchus" may be two pieces looted from M. Jansen in World War II.<sup>11</sup> *Bacchus* was in a private collection in Paris in 1970; it has no metal thread. Both have three signs of the zodiac, for Winter and Autumn respectively, arranged as on 117a and 117b. Louis XIV on an eagle is from the same design as 117c, but the surrounding composition, which includes several masks, is entirely different.

Another related hanging is in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. This is basically the same composition as 117a, but the medallion holds a seated woman with a flower-filled cornucopia, presumably Flora, who reaches out to accept a basket of flowers from a flying winged youth, presumably Zephyr. There is a large eagle between the watering cans at the base, and the Bull has the central position of the three zodiac signs, between the cornucopias at the top. Above it is the *créquier* (wild plum tree) of the duc de Créquy, overlaid by crossed marshal's batons, and surmounted by a ducal coronet. This must have been made for Charles, duc de Créquy (c. 1623–1697), who was a distinguished military figure. The wreath surrounding the medallion is composed of wind instruments, suggesting that the subject is a combination of an element, Air, and a season, Spring. The hanging may have been one of a set of four, each representing an element and a season.<sup>12</sup> There is no metal thread and the piece is smaller than 117.

Eight related hangings are in the Collegium Maius of the Jagiellon University, Cracow. They do not include metal thread and have yellow silk background. They were originally made with slanting tops and bottoms to be hung in a stairwell. All have the Créquy arms. Four represent the Elements, shown as Cybele for Earth, Juno for Air, Jupiter for Fire, and Neptune for Water; two show trophies of arms in landscapes; one has Bacchus and one the Créquy arms as the main feature of the design. The salamanders at the top of *Fire* are very like those of 117d, as in the border around the medallion.<sup>13</sup>

Another version of *Air* is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>14</sup> It is on pink wool instead of a silver ground, but the design is exactly the same as that of 117c, except that it lacks the narrow band inside the borders. Possibly it is the "Louis XIV foudroyant" that was part of number 10 in the Louis Philippe sale, the wool background being a later addition.

#### HISTORY

What may well have been four pieces of the set to which 117 belongs are recorded in a 1718 inventory of the Château de Rambouillet, owned by the comte de Toulouse: "*Cabinet du Roy. Une tenture de tapisserie de petit point à fond d'or en quatre pièces avec des médailles au milieu représentant les princes et princesses.*" 117c cannot have been in this group,

since Louis XIV would surely have been recognized. What seems to have been furniture upholstered en suite follows immediately: "Un grand sofa de huit pieds de long sculpté et doré couvert de petit point à fond d'or; avec une housse de tafetas vert. Deux fauteuils de commodité de bois sculpté et doré, couverts de même avec broderie autour. Housses de tafetas vert. Six tabourets de bois sculpté et doré couverts de même." In a storeroom above the stable was another hanging that might be identical with the one now at Versailles: "une autre tapisserie de petit point à fond d'or représentant des trophées." It is not impossible that the other four hangings making up the set of *Elements and Seasons* may also have been at Rambouillet at this time, since the four pages covering minor rooms in the king's apartment and the whole of the comte de Toulouse's apartment are missing from the inventory.<sup>15</sup>

In the collection of King Louis Philippe, Palais Royal, Paris.<sup>16</sup> Sold, Domaine de Monceaux, January 28, 1852, no. 9; the catalogue is by Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>17</sup> The figures are identified as "Louis XIV lançant la foudre," the duc de Bourgogne, "probablement la duchesse de Berry en Flore," and "une dame de la cour de Louis XIV en Cérès." The piece with two figures in the medallion and that now at Versailles were included in the same set, called "tapisserie sur canevas au petit point," all "sur fond or très-riche," or "très-beau fond or artistement brodé."

Sold, Hôtel Drouot, May 23, 1887 (Comte Sée), nos. 8–11 (117a and 117b illus.), with the other two pieces from the Louis Philippe sale, nos. 6, 7. Said to be after designs by Audran. *Fire* described as "Louis XIV enfant." The purchaser is recorded as Bradley Martin of New York, who bought the complete set (Marie report, p. 6).

Cornelia, Countess of Craven, sale, Christie's, April 25, 1922, nos. 2–5. With the other two pieces from the Louis Philippe sale, nos. 1 (illus., medallion with two figures), 6. Described as worked at Saint Cyr for Louis XIV and transferred to the Palais Royal in 1793. Bought as a whole by Cubit.

Owned by French & Co., New York, 1928, when they were cleaned and repaired.

Purchased for the MMA by means of the Rogers Fund, 1946.

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York, MMA, 1967. *In the Presence of Kings: Royal Treasures from the Collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, no. 19 [117c], illus. (detail of center).

New York, MMA, 1970. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, no. 299, illus. [117d].

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1946*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947–48), p. 10. Described; said to have been probably executed at the Convent of the Daughters of Saint Joseph about 1683–84 under the personal supervision of Mme de Montespan.

Standen, Edith A. "The Roi Soleil and Some of His Children." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 9 (1950–51) pp. 133–41, all illus. Figures identified; *Earth* said to be owned by the Maharajah Adalji Dinsha and to have originally probably shown Mme de Montespan as Juno; related Le Brun painting and drawings discussed; Henri Testelin suggested as possible designer for Louis XIV figure; dated 1683–84; history from 1852 traced (except for Craven sale); comte de Toulouse suggested as owner of set in eighteenth century.

Remington, Preston. "The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) pp. 65–66, illus. p. 78 [117a].

Schuette, Marie, and Müller-Christensen, Sigrid. *A Pictorial History of Embroidery*. Trans. Donald King. New York, 1963, p. 328, illus. [117d].

Jarry, Madeleine. "La Tenture des Rinceaux." *L'Oeil*, no. 105 (September 1963) p. 66. Mentioned, as recalling the *Rinceaux* tapestry series after Polidoro Caravaggio.

Coen, Renna Neumann. "The Duc de Créquy's *Primavera*." *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 53 (1964) pp. 17–18, 21–23, figs. 2, 3 [117a and d]. Relationship of Minneapolis panel with 117, especially 117a, discussed.

Standen, Edith A. *Western European Arts: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to the Collections*. New York, 1964, pp. 18–19, illus. [117a].

Cavallo, Adolph S. *Needlework*. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1978, pp. 47, 49, 119, illus. frontispiece (117a, detail).

## 117a *Spring*

#### DESCRIPTION

A wreath of flowers and foliage in tones of red, yellow, blue, and green surrounds an oval medallion in the center. This shows a young girl as Flora. She has fair hair and wears a yellow underskirt, blue dress, and red cloak. She holds flowers in both hands and stands beside a brown and cream marble pedestal, on which is a brown vase of red and yellow flowers. A yellow wreath dangles above her head. The sky behind her is blue and white with several red and gray butterflies. The zodiac sign for March,





117a and detail









the Ram, is seen below the medallion on the left; that for April, the Bull, at the lower right, and that for May, the Twins, between two fruit-filled brown and cream cornucopias, above it; each sign is in a wreath of flowers. Above the Twins is an inserted coat of arms of a legitimized child of a French king, yellow fleurs-de-lis on blue ("De France au bâton peri en barre de gueules").

Below the central medallion is a yellow-brown vase, filled with red, blue, and yellow flowers, with blue and blue-green leaves on a pale yellow support. This is flanked by two pale brown and cream watering cans, with pale yellow water streaming from their nozzles. Above them are two rakes, a pitchfork, and a sickle. A basket of red and blue flowers rises from a red and blue scroll on the upper left, one of red and yellow fruit on the right. In the upper left corner is a red and brown bird on its brown nest, in the upper right, a yellow-brown nest with nestlings and the red-beaked mother bird above them. The interstices of the design are filled with flowers, fruit, birds, and butterflies in shades of green, red, yellow, blue, gray, and brown.

#### CONDITION

Areas of the sky show breaks.

#### SUBJECT

Flora has been tentatively identified as Mlle de Blois chiefly on account of her age, as she was six in 1683, but in the painting at Versailles that shows the upper part of her body, also in a blue dress and with a red cloak flying out behind her, she is described as Mlle de Nantes, who was ten in 1683. The motifs of the design refer to Spring (birds' nests, butterflies) or to Flora's role as the goddess of gardens (watering cans, tools).

## 117b *Summer*

#### DESCRIPTION

The wreath encircling the central medallion is made up of red, blue, yellow, and green fruit as well as flowers in the same colors. Ceres has fair hair, with red and blue flowers in it, and brown eyes. She wears a red and yellow



Detail of 117b

costume and carries a sheaf of yellow wheat with scarlet poppies and blue cornflowers. Behind her is a brown tree trunk and at her feet are stalks of yellow grain. The zodiac sign for June, the Crab (represented as a brown crayfish), is seen on the lower left, the yellow-brown Lion of July above the central medallion, and the Virgin of August, dressed in red and yellow, on the lower right, each in a wreath of flowers and fruit. A dull yellow censer with gray and brown smoke hangs below the Lion, and a yellow-brown bowl with animal masks, filled with fruit, foliage, and flowers in shades of red, blue, yellow, and green appears under Ceres's feet. Beneath this is a red-lipped mask which rests on a pile of yellow-brown wheat sheaves, and



a scythe, pitchfork, rake, flail, and sickles, all tied with red ribbons. Quail are feeding on the grain. A fruit-filled cornucopia rises on either side of the upper part of the central medallion. There are a number of birds, dragonflies, butterflies, and grasshoppers.

#### CONDITION

A narrow horizontal repaired area extends across the middle of the panel.

#### SUBJECT

Ceres has been tentatively identified as Mlle de Nantes, chiefly on account of her age, as she was ten in 1683, but if Mlle de Nantes is Spring, Ceres is presumably Mlle de Blois, then aged six.

## 117c *Air*

#### DESCRIPTION

Louis XIV as Jupiter sits on a pale brown eagle amid white, gray, dull blue, and black clouds, holding a pale yellow thunderbolt and a blue and gray shield with a dull yellow Medusa head in the center. He has fair hair and wears a red cloak over blue and yellow-brown armor, with red and yellow leggings and yellow-brown sandals. The wreath surrounding the medallion has bunches of red feathers alternating with red, yellow, blue, and purple flowers, with green and dark blue-green leaves. Above the medallion, resting on a pair of yellow-brown wings and hanging from red ribbons, is a rayed yellow-brown sun head in an oval. Behind this, a yellow-brown crossbar supports two panels of stiff drapery in red, blue, green,

FIG. 81. *Louis XIV as Jupiter*, by Charles Le Brun. Oil sketch. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes. Photo: Giraudon.





and dull yellow. The upper corners have a pale brown bird of paradise on either side and, below them, yellow-brown bowls from which soap bubbles rise; pipes for blowing bubbles stand in the bowls. In the upper center, a blue, yellow, and brown wreath hangs between two blue, yellow, and red parrots and a pair of yellow-brown trumpets. Two similar parrots stand on the draperies. Below these are a hooded falcon and a gyrfalcon, both pale brown, and two yellow-brown hunting horns, on which stand small brown birds and from which hang pale yellow-brown lures.

In the lower part of the panel are trophies of wind instruments, hanging on red ribbons; they include blue, gray, and yellow bagpipes, transverse flute, oboe, panpipes, and recorders, with small bells and castanets, mostly in yellow-brown. Next to these are two red, pale yellow, and brown pheasants and, in the center, a blue and brown peacock standing behind a blue-eyed female mask, with yellow hair and a red and yellow headdress. Below the peacock is a vase of red, yellow, and blue flowers with dark green leaves. In the lower left corner is a hooded hawk in red and yellow-brown and in the lower right is a blue and red parrot. Many butterflies in red, brown, dull yellow, gray, and blue are visible, chiefly in the lower half of the panel.

#### CONDITION

Some dark areas, probably originally black, are worn.

#### SUBJECT

The rayed head is the sun, Louis XIV's favorite symbol.<sup>18</sup> The king owned a shield with the head of Medusa, now in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>19</sup> All the objects depicted refer to the element, Air, but the peacock, Juno's bird, with the female mask below it, may stand for Mme de Montespan.

## 117d *Fire*

#### DESCRIPTION

The wreath around the central medallion consists of blue-green laurel branches with red berries interspersed

with weapons and pieces of armor in yellow and gray. The young boy in the center has light brown hair and eyes and wears classical military costume with a gray breastplate, a red, yellow, and blue skirt, and yellow and red shoulder pieces. He has a yellow and gray sword with a yellow hilt at his side and holds the blue baton with yellow fleurs-de-lis of a French marshal. It rests on a blue, gray, red, green, and yellow marble pedestal, which also supports a gray and yellow helmet with a red and yellow plume. The background is a landscape in shades of gray, blue, and pale yellow, with the Abbey of Saint Denis in the distance; the sky is in the same colors. The foreground is green and yellow.

In a cartouche resting on blue-green and yellow palm branches above the medallion are crossed dull red and yellow thunderbolts and in the center at the top a gray and brown eagle holding a thunderbolt between smoking torches. A gray and brown salamander in dull red and yellow flames is seen on either side, and the garlands that curve beneath them are made of gray and yellow weapons, with other pieces of military equipment, encircled with red ribbons. Below these are smoking yellow braziers. In the center at either side is a red and yellow thunderbolt and below them another garland of warlike objects. Under the medallion is a pile of yellow, gray, and red classical armor and weapons, topped with a red-plumed helmet. On either side is a dull yellow bowl of red and yellow burning coals. Below the armor is a burning dull red and yellow salamander on a blue ground in a dull yellow cartouche, with a brown and yellow bursting bomb and a yellow, blue, and gray cannon with flames pouring from the muzzle on either side. The military implements shown include tools for loading and cleaning cannon, ladles for priming, bandoliers, chain shot, and rockets. The acanthus scrolls that spring from the framework and surround the motifs are in strong red and blue and dull yellow.

#### SUBJECT

The identification of the church in the background as the Abbey of Saint Denis is the chief justification for giving the name of the comte du Vexin to the boy posing as Mars, since he was its abbot. He was eleven in 1683, the year of his death. The objects depicted are all connected with fire or with warfare.





# NOTES

1. The basic research for 117 is recorded in an unpublished report by Alfred E. M. Marie, 1946, in the MMA Archives.
2. Coen, "Duc de Créquy's *Primavera*," fig. 5.
3. Lucy Norton, *The Sun King and His Loves* (London, 1983) p. 78, fig. 42. The children are said to be the duc du Maine, the comte du Vexin, and Mlles de Nantes and de Tours, the latter (born 1676) shown as a baby.
4. *Au Temps du Roi Soleil: Les Peintres de Louis XIV*, exh. cat., Palais des Beaux-Arts (Lille, 1968) no. 5.
5. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1881) p. 1230.
6. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1886) pp. 357, 360, 421.
7. "Un lit à fond d'argent, où l'on voit tous les Rois & les Reines de France, avec les Princes & les Princesses du Sang, en habits de leur tems; le tout en broderie, exécuté à Saint-Joseph." Listed among contents of the Garde Meuble de la Couronne (Hurtaut and Magny, *Dictionnaire historique de la Ville de Paris et de ses environs* [Paris, 1977] vol. 3, pp. 113–14).
8. 2<sup>a</sup> Biennale: Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell'Antiquariato, Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1961) stand no. 131, illus. (owned by French & Co.).
9. *Inventaire des collections publiques françaises: Chantilly—Musée Condé, Peintures de l'école française, XV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1970) no. 126, illus.
10. G. Van der Kemp, "Musée de Versailles, acquisitions de 1965 à 1967," *Revue du Louvre*, 1967, p. 109, illus.
11. Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1947) p. 364, nos. 324, 325, illus.
12. Coen, "Duc de Créquy's *Primavera*," pp. 17–21, fig. 1. The woman is identified as Primavera, rather than Flora. Both figures are taken from the Gobelins tapestry *Spring* from the series of the *Seasons* after Le Brun, where, however, they are shown with Mars and represent Venus and Cupid (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, vol. 3, p. 68, illus.).
13. Karol Estreicher, *Collegium Maius Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie* (Warsaw, 1971) pp. 149, 151, illus. pp. 120, 150.
14. "La Chronique des arts," supplement to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 93 (April 1979) p. 58, no. 295, illus.; previously sold at Christie's, April 6, 1978, no. 84, illus.
15. Auguste Moutié and Adolphe de Dion, "Quelques documents sur le duché-pairie de Rambouillet," *Memoires et documents publiés par la Société Archéologique de Rambouillet* 7, pt. 2 (1884–86) pp. 209, 210, 227, 204.
16. *Earth*, when sold in 1887, had an inscription on the back reading: "8 pièce de tapisserie font or représentant un tableau. H. 13 p. [pieds] L. 8 p. 6 p. [pieds and pouces]," and "Palais Royal, Tenture no. 2." The Palais Royal inventories of 1814–30 do not include the set (Marie report, p. 6).
17. Daniel Meyer, "Les Conquêtes de Louis XIV," *Revue du Louvre*, 1970, p. 164, n. 17.
18. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti—Lever du Roi," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 17 (1963) pp. 173, 174, n. 304.
19. MMA acc. no. 04.3.260. A similar shield is seen on Jean Warin's statue of Louis XIV at Versailles.

## 118 Atalanta and Meleager with Fountains of Versailles

French, late seventeenth century.  
Wool and silk on canvas.  
Embroidered in tent and cross-stitches.  
7 ft. 5 in. x 5 ft. 5½ in. (2.26 m x 1.66 m).  
Center, 484–576 tent stitches per square inch,  
90 per square centimeter;  
border, 169 cross-stitches per square inch,  
25 per square centimeter.  
Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1962 (62.214.2).

### DESCRIPTION

In the center, Meleager, wearing pale yellow armor and a blue cloak, presents the dull yellow head of the Calydonian boar on a yellow platter to the seated Atalanta. She has a small crescent above her forehead and a bow in her left hand. Her dress is yellow and her sandals have blue garters. Smaller figures of hunters with spears or bows in blue and yellow are seen behind Meleager. Behind Atalanta are similar female figures in the same colors. A dull yellow-pink drapery hangs over Atalanta and two flying cupids in blue, yellow, and pink carry a basket of fruit in the upper right. Flowering plants and trees in tones of blue, green, brown, yellow, and pink are scattered between the figures.

At the foot of the panel, Atalanta, in dull pale pink and brown, has wounded the brown and tan boar with an arrow, and Meleager, in blue and yellow, is about to kill it with his spear. Four hounds attack the boar and other hunters in brown, blue, and yellow, with their dogs, approach from both sides. A landscape with a large house, a windmill, trees, and flowering plants is seen in the background.

Between the two hunting scenes, in the center, is a stage set showing a courtyard with a brown and tan floor, surrounded on three sides by blue and yellow columns. Two pale tan figures of gods stand above them on either side; Mercury, with a caduceus and winged sandals, and Neptune, with a trident, can be identified. In the center, in a pale tan and blue cloud, Jupiter, in pink, is seen riding an eagle. A disproportionately large gray and tan pug dog runs across the front of the stage. The fountains of Ver-

sailles are rendered in shades of brown, yellow, and blue. At the top of the panel in the center are the Fontaine du Dragon and the Bassin de Neptune. On the left is the Salle des Festins, and on the right, the Bassin d'Apollon and the Grand Canal. A landscape with hills, trees, windmills, and birds extends behind these views. At the left side of the panel, beside the stage set, is the Bassin de Cérès, with yellow crossed sheaves of grain around the rim of the pool, and on the right, the Arc de Triomphe, with three yellow fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground in the pediment, and four obelisks. The background is dark brown and black.

The upper corners of the border have an unidentified conjoined coat of arms in blue and yellow under a coronet with pale yellow lion supporters: Dexter, azure, a fess dancettée or, indented border or; sinister, azure, a lion rampant crowned or, langued gules. The border has a red ground with a pattern of strapwork and foliate forms chiefly in yellow, blue, tan, and pale brown.

### CONDITION

The lower border is missing. There are many areas of repair, large and small, over the whole surface. Some scenes, such as the Grand Canal, are so extensively restored as to be incomprehensible.

### SUBJECT

Diana sent a huge boar to ravage the country around the city of Calydon, because its king, Oeneus, had not paid her due respect. All the Greek princes assembled to hunt it. Atalanta, a princess vowed to perpetual virginity, wounded it, but Meleager, Oeneus's son, killed it. As he was in love with Atalanta, he gave her the head.

Atalanta was not a nymph of Diana, so there is no reason why she should be shown with a crescent.

The Bassin d'Apollon includes the central group of Apollo in his chariot, which was in place by 1670, and the Grand Canal behind it was extended to its present length in 1671–72. The Bassin de Cérès shows the sheaves





76. *Calidonus ab Atalanta aper primo vulneratus à Meleagro interimitur*

FIG. 82. *Death of the Calydonian Boar*, by Antonio Tempesta. Etching, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Amsterdam. MMA, Gift of S. P. Jones, 1935 (35.6).



77. *Atalanta caput exuuiasq; aperi Meleager offert*

FIG. 83. *Meleager Presenting the Head of the Calydonian Boar to Atalanta*, by Antonio Tempesta. Etching, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Amsterdam. MMA, Gift of S. P. Jones, 1935 (35.6).

Detail of 118





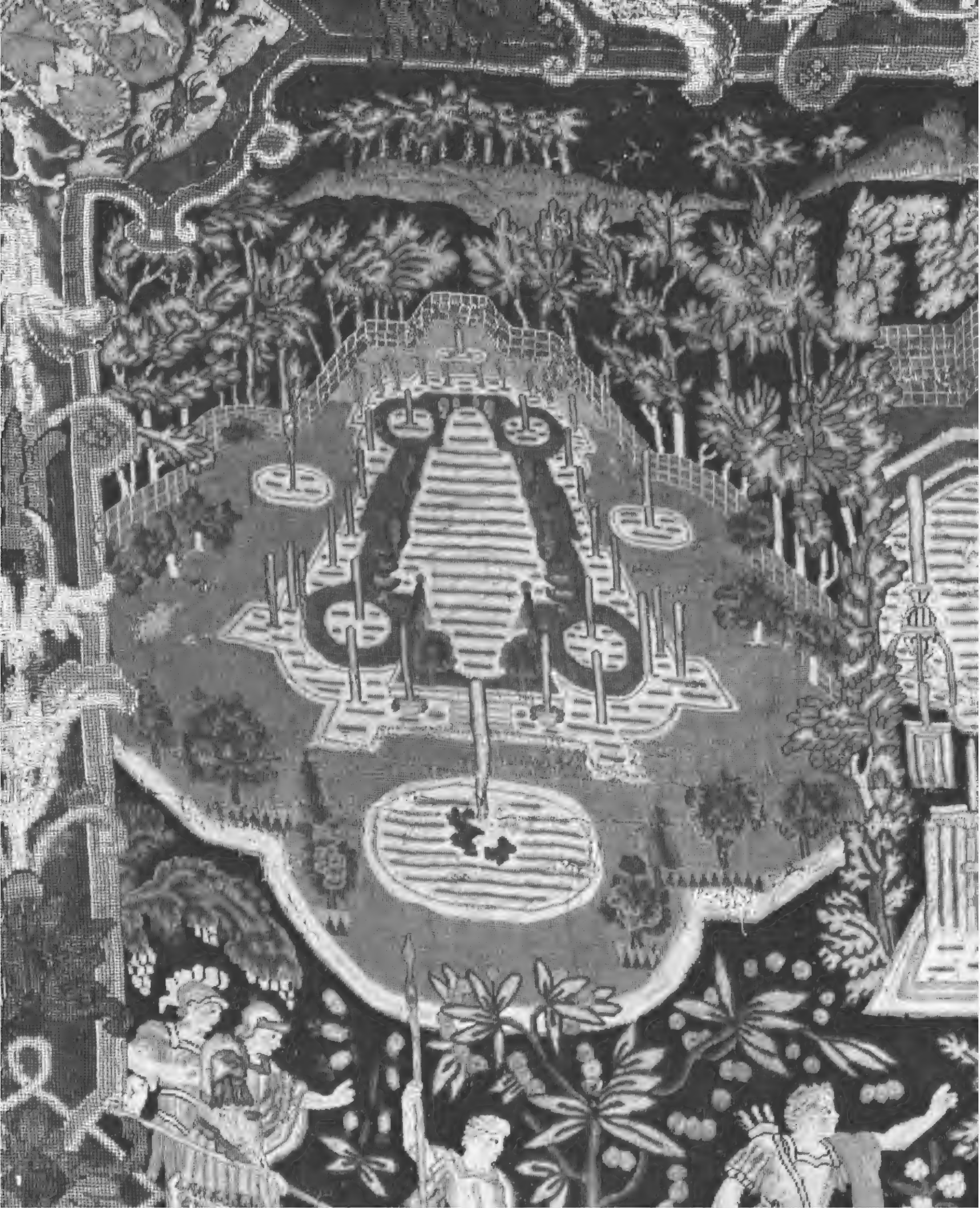




FIG. 84. *Salle des Festins*, by a member of the Perelle family. Engraving, from a collection of views of Versailles. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.41[113]).

around the rim, which were replaced in 1684 by the present plain white marble border. The Fontaine du Dragon and the Bassin de Neptune (called the Grande Pièce d'Eau) are shown as they were in 1685, but they have since been much altered. The other fountains no longer exist; the *Salle des Festins* was completed by 1674 and the Arc de Triomphe by 1682.<sup>1</sup>

#### SOURCES OF THE DESIGN

The Atalanta scenes are derived from prints by Antonio Tempesta (see detail and figs. 82, 83). These were used in an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that was first published in Antwerp in 1606. French copies appeared from 1619.

The fountains were probably copied from engravings by a member of the Perelle family made about 1681 (see detail and fig. 84).<sup>2</sup>

#### PUBLICATIONS

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) pp. lxii, lxiii, pl. 143, fig. 186, pp. 58–59. Called French, 1675–1700; gardens and fountains said to recall engravings of Versailles by Le Pautre; stage set related to Giacomo Torelli's designs in *Il Bellerophon*, Venice, 1642.

MMA Annual Report 1962–1963. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 22 (1963–64) p. 84. Listed as French, last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Standen, Edith A. "A Boar-Hunt at Versailles." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 22 (1963–64) pp. 143–55, illus. Arms said to be probably those of a nobleman of the Holy Roman Empire; Tempesta and Perelle prints for all scenes except stage set illustrated and discussed.

#### NOTES

1. Standen, "A Boar-Hunt," pp. 148–55.
2. Standen, "A Boar-Hunt," pp. 146–54.



## ENGLAND AND IRELAND

THE FIRST documented English tapestry manufactory, set up by William Sheldon at Barcheston and Bordesley in the west of England, made many small pieces. A long cushion cover with three scenes from the New Testament (119) has the initials of a member of the Jones family of Chastleton House, near Barcheston; two small cushion covers from a set of six with scenes from the *Parable of the Prodigal Son* (120), one of *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (121), one of the *Circumcision* (122), and a very small one of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (123) were all woven on the Sheldon looms, probably in the early seventeenth century.

Charles I followed the example of his father-in-law, Henri IV, and established a tapestry manufactory at Mortlake, near London. Two pieces with mythological scenes showing figures on horseback are from a series known as the *Horses* (124); they were designed by the Danish artist Francis Clein and made for the earl of Peterborough, probably between 1650 and 1670. The manufactory also copied Flemish tapestries; the *News of the Stag* (125), from the series called the *Hunters' Chase*, first woven in 1645, is derived from the *July of the Hunts of Maximilian* (see 47).

An immigrant, presumably of Flemish origin, known in England as John Vanderbank, produced an unusual type of tapestry design that shows Indian and Chinese motifs, usually on a black ground. Two pieces (127) are typical of these fantastic tapestries, woven in London. A later London weaver, Joshua Morris, made a number of tapestries with flowers and birds (128); they may well have been designed by the Frenchman Andien de Clermont.

Another Flemish weaver, John van Beaver, worked in Dublin and presented his portrait of George II (129) to the Weavers' Guild there in 1738; the design is adapted from a mezzotint of the king.

Furniture upholstery was also made by the London tapestry weavers. A set of covers for four armchairs (130) was probably designed by Tobias Stranover, a Bohemian painter who worked in England, and woven by William Bradshaw. Knotted pile fabrics were made by Peter Parisot at Fulham from 1751 to 1755 and the *Parrot and Squirrel* panel (133) may be his work; it shows the same design as a Savonnerie piece (114). Tapestry upholstery for a chair, with a parrot on the back and a landscape on the seat (132), may also have been made at Fulham.

William Morris revived tapestry weaving in England at Merton Abbey. A small *Head of a Woman* (135) is a replica of a head in a large hanging, the *Passing of Venus*, after Edward Burne-Jones, first woven between 1901 and 1907. Morris's chief assistant was John Henry Dearle, who designed *Greenery* (136), woven at Merton Abbey in 1915.





# 119 Annunciation, Adoration of the Shepherds, and Adoration of the Kings

Cushion cover

English (probably Barcheston); woven in the early seventeenth century, probably by Francis Hickes (c. 1566–1630), on the Sheldon looms, probably for a member of the Jones family.

Silk and wool, and silver-gilt thread.

1 ft. 8 in. x 3 ft. 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (51 cm x 1.11 m).

18–22 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950 (50.145.56).

## DESCRIPTION

Each scene is shown under an arch, which has yellow, white, green, dark blue, and dull pink ornamentation on a red ground. At the keystone of the central arch are the letters TE (joined) I, in gold thread (see detail). The supporting capitals are red-brown with yellow borders, the columns imitate marble in red, white, and yellow, and the bases are in shades of blue with red and yellow centers. The spandrels between the arches have black grounds and are filled with flowers and leaves in red, white, yellow, and green; roses, a pink, and a honeysuckle can be distinguished. At the foot of each scene is a white band with red, yellow, and pale blue decoration.

The Virgin Annunciate has yellow hair and a yellow and gold halo. She wears a white dress and a blue cloak, and has a book on a pale brown prie-dieu beside her. Gabriel is in red and yellow with a gold wand; his wings are yellow, white, red, and blue. He floats on blue and white clouds, which extend into the sky above him; the dove flies down above his right wing. Behind the Virgin is her bed, with green and yellow curtains and pale brown woodwork. Between the figures is a dull yellow vase with two white lilies. The floor is red, yellow, white, pale brown, and green.

The Virgin of the central scene is in the same costume. Saint Joseph, standing behind, has a red cloak, yellow sleeves, and a pale brown robe. The foremost kneeling shepherd on the left has brown hair and beard, and wears a yellow and orange cloak, green and yellow breeches, red and yellow stockings, and pale blue shoes (modern repair). The man behind him is in blue. The kneeling angel is

in yellow with a gold collar and wings like Gabriel's. The nude child lies on a white cloth. Behind the Virgin on the right are the orange-brown ox and gray ass, with the red-brown and yellow manger in front of them. Behind Saint Joseph rises a blue, white, and yellow pillar, and the low walls of the stable in grays and browns are seen behind the whole group. In the distance on the right is a yellow, green, and blue landscape with two shepherds, identical except for their coloring; one has a red hat, the other red shoes. There are several sheep in front of them. The angel flying down above is in red and yellow. To the left of the pillar are white buildings with a red roof and a yellow street. The foreground is in shades of dull pink, pale brown, and yellow.

The Virgin of the *Adoration of the Kings* has the same costume as in the earlier scenes. Saint Joseph, holding his blue and yellow cap, is in red and yellow. The kneeling king on the right removes the lid from his gold cup; he is in pale yellow and white and has a blue and dull pink bag and a dark brown sword slung from a pale green belt. His red and white hat, with a gold crown encircling it, lies on the ground in front of him. The king standing behind him is in blue, pale brown, and white, and holds a two-handled gold, blue, and white vessel. The king on the left is in red and yellow, with a brown sword at his side; he holds a red cap and a gold vase. Ruined arches in shades of blue, gray, white, red, and yellow rise behind the group, with the star streaming rays onto the Virgin in the center. A landscape with buildings and trees in blue, white, pale pink, yellow, green, and red is seen in the background. The foreground is brown and pink, with some white and pale blue stones.

A narrow yellow band surrounds the three scenes. The horizontal borders have each a central section showing two confronted birds with two pears between them, and fruit, leaves, and flowers on either side in shades of red, yellow, green, blue, and white. The ground is red. There are hunting scenes on either side of each central section. On the upper border on the left, a man with a white dog chases a rabbit; behind him on the left is a white castle and a blue pond, with two red-beaked white ducks in it. On



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the right of the upper border, a man with a long spear and three dogs pursues a brown boar. On the lower border, on the left, a fox, with a red-legged white bird thrown over its back, flees from two dogs and a man. On the right, a man and two dogs chase a spotted brown stag with pale gray antlers. Each upright border has a central motif of a long-stemmed blue vase flanked at the base by two birds. The vases are filled with flowers and fruit in shades of red, white, blue, and yellow. The lower left and the upper right corner have identical figures of women in red standing in landscapes under arches; the colors are slightly varied. The upper left and lower right corner have men in differently colored costumes in landscapes under arches. The modern guards are dull lavender-gray.

The tapestry is almost entirely silk, wool being used only for the dark brown or black outlines and backgrounds. Gold thread is sparingly employed.

#### CONDITION

A silk fringe, seen in a photograph published in 1928,<sup>1</sup> had been removed and replaced by a narrow border of

modern tapestry when 119 was received by the Metropolitan Museum. A similar fringe on the related cushion cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum is considered unlikely to be original.

There are a number of small areas of repair and others where the wefts have perished.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The tapestry has been assigned on stylistic grounds to the manufactory, or cottage industry, in and around Barcheston in Warwickshire, established by William Sheldon (fl. 1537–1570/71) about 1561, and continued under his son Ralph (1537–1613) at least until 1611. It belongs to a group of similar pieces believed to have been made by or under the supervision of the weaver Francis Hickes after 1603.<sup>2</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A small cushion cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows the *Flight into Egypt* under a similar arch and

has the same borders and initials.<sup>3</sup> Similar hunting scenes appear on many Sheldon tapestries, including 119; a scene of this type, with two men blowing horns, two dogs, and a stag, carried out in tent-stitch embroidery, was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, March 23, 1974 (no. 62).

#### HISTORY

The initials, read as T.E.I. (for J), are probably those of a member of the Jones family of Chastleton House, near Barcheston. The family was connected with the Sheldons and similar initials (W. I., for Walter Jones; E. I., for Eleanor Jones, his wife; H. I., for Henry Jones, their son) are found on tapestries that were preserved at Chastleton House until 1920.<sup>4</sup>

Owned by Basil Dighton, London, in 1920, from whom the related cushion with the *Flight into Egypt* was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1926.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Barnard, E. A. B., and Wace, A. J. B. "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and Their Work." *Archaeologia* 78 (1928) pp. 294, 309, pl. XLII fig. 1. Listed with cushion covers related in style, size, and plan to established Sheldon works; initials associated with the Jones family; attributed to Francis Hickes, after 1603.

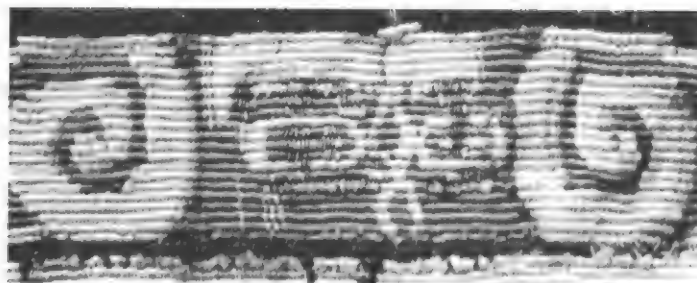
MMA Annual Report 1950. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 10 (1951-52) p. 36. Listed among items of Mary Stillman Harkness bequest as North German, late sixteenth century.

Standen, Edith A. "The Carpet of Arms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 20 (1961-62) p. 227, fig. 4. Called Sheldon, early seventeenth century.

Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 80. Mentioned.

#### NOTES

1. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," pl. XLII fig. 1.
2. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," p. 309.
3. Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, no. 71d.
4. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," pp. 291, 292.



Detail of 119



## 120 The Parable of the Prodigal Son

Two cushion covers from a set of six

a *The Prodigal Son Driven Out by Harlots*

b *The Repentance of the Prodigal Son*

English (probably Barcheston); woven in the early  
seventeenth century on the Sheldon looms.  
Silk and wool.

120a 1 ft. 8 in. square (51 cm);

120b 1 ft. 8½ in. x 1 ft. ¾ in. (52 cm x 50 cm).

22 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1954 (54.7.6, 7).

### DESCRIPTION

Each scene is shown under an arch which has a dark pink ground and yellow, white, blue, and pale green decoration. The arches rest on mottled columns, imitating marble, which stand on blue, pink, and yellow bases. The spandrels of 120a have dark blue grounds, those of 120b are yellow-brown (modern replacements). Both show, on the left, a pink with green and yellow leaves, on the right, a dangling bell-shaped flower in pinks and yellows. A narrow yellow border edges the central panel.

The vertical borders are the same, except for the upper corners. 120a has on each side a red, yellow, and green apple, flanked by grapes and surmounted by a large green and yellow leaf, with smaller fruit and leaves; on 120b, the apple and large leaf are replaced by two pears and three white or pale blue flowers. In all four vertical borders, these bunches of fruit rest on red and yellow baskets. A man, in pink and yellow, stands holding a spear in the center of each border, with a landscape background, enclosed by a white or blue and pink arch. Below are bunches of fruit, flowers, and leaves in greens, blues, reds, and yellows, in blue and yellow vases, standing on gray-white supports. The grounds are dark pink. The guards, seen complete only on the sides of 120b, are dark blue with a light green stripe. Both pieces are almost entirely in silk; wool is used for faces and bare limbs.

### CONDITION

Both pieces are very extensively restored; there are also substantial areas of bare warps.

### SUBJECT

The six tapestries of the series show the Prodigal Son taking his portion from his father and saying farewell, wasting his substance with riotous living, being driven out by harlots when he had spent all, repenting when he had been reduced to feeding swine, returning to his father, and feasting on the fatted calf (Luke 15:11–32). In 120 the background scenes show the Prodigal Son begging for work in 120a and being directed to tend the swine in 120b.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

Some of the scenes show resemblances to sixteenth-century German and Flemish prints. Thus, the two main figures and the servant carrying the best robe in the *Return* are fairly close to a copperplate in a set of four by Claes Jansz Visscher after David Vinckeboons. But no source for the whole series has been identified. It may have been copied from a set of six tapestry cushion covers with the story of the Prodigal Son made in Flanders in the last third of the sixteenth century and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>1</sup>

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style of the borders is typical of the Sheldon manufactory in the early seventeenth century.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Four tapestries in an American private collection in 1929 are probably the other pieces of the set to which 120 belongs; one of them shows the Prodigal Son taking his portion.<sup>2</sup> The scene takes place under an identical arch with the same flowers in the spandrels and has the same upright borders; the upper border is the same as the lower border on 120a, the lower border as the upper of 120a. The other three pieces presumably show the other scenes of the set. However, the missing *Prodigal Son Driven Out* may be a tapestry in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, rather than 120a.

Another set is represented by a tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum showing the Prodigal Son taking his portion; the standing men in the upright borders are replaced by herms.<sup>3</sup> A long cushion with three scenes (*Riotous Living*, *Driven Out*, *Repentance*) and the same herm borders belonged to Major General E. H. Goulburn in 1934;<sup>4</sup> he also owned a short cushion with the *Farewell*. Both pieces were sold at Christie's, London, December 11, 1980 (nos. 153, 154, both illus.).

Two cushion covers with somewhat altered figures in the upright borders were in the Henry Barton Jacobs sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, December 10, 12, 1940 (no. 842, illus.); they represent the *Repentance* and the *Return*. A *Farewell* was in the Emma Budge sale, Paul Graupe, Berlin, September 27–29, 1932 (no. 438). The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, owns a *Return* with herm borders.

Two Sheldon cushion covers in the Mrs. Elmer E. Smathers sale, Parke-Bernet, March 6, 1948 (no. 64, illus.), described as showing scenes from the story of the Prodigal Son, actually represent episodes in the life of Abraham.

The Flemish tapestry cushion covers of the same story have the same central scenes, but in square panels without arches and with typically Flemish borders. They are better drawn and show finer workmanship than the English versions.

#### HISTORY

In the collection of Mortimer L. Schiff, New York, but not included in the sale of part of his collection at Christie's, London, June 22, 23, 1938.  
Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1954.

#### EXHIBITION

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Baltimore Museum of Art, 1951–52. *2000 Years of Tapestry Weaving*, cat. no. 105. Dated 1550–1600. Lent by Irwin Untermyer.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MMA *Annual Report 1953–June 1954*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 25. Listed.  
Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960, pp. xxii, 14, 15, pl. 20, fig. 32. Dated after 1603. 120b said to be taken from an engraving by Pieter de Jode after Adrian van Nylant.



### 120a *The Prodigal Son Driven Out by Harlots*

#### DESCRIPTION

The Prodigal Son is dressed in dull yellow and pink. A striding woman, holding three keys on a cord, is in blue, with pink puffs at the shoulders, a yellow purse at her waist, and yellow boots. The woman beside her, wielding a green and yellow club-shaped object, probably a broom, is in dull pink. The woman at the left, with a pink and yellow headdress, has a green dress with pink sleeves and a pink shoe. The house behind the group is dark brown and pale yellow. In the distance on the right is a building in dull yellow, blue, and brown; the Prodigal is seen approaching a figure in a doorway. The sky is dark blue at the top, then striped horizontally in pale yellows and pinks; some distant blue trees are visible. The foreground is dark blue; on the left is a strawberry plant with flowers and fruit in dull

pink and yellow, on the right, a honeysuckle in yellow, pale brown, and blue. The outlines are dark brown or black.

The upper border shows a dark brown boar with a red-brown and tan hound on either side. On the right is a man in yellow, blue, dull pink, and brown blowing a horn. In the background on the left is a gray and dull pink castle, on the right, a row of blue and blue-green trees. In the lower border, a rabbit or hare is chased by two gray and pale brown hounds, with a man in pink and yellow blowing a horn. There is a castle in the distance on the right, some trees on the left. The skies of both hunting scenes are in shades of pink and yellow.

#### CONDITION

There is an area of bare warps on the Prodigal's right thigh and very extensive ones in the horizontal borders.



#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The version in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, is very similar indeed to 120a. The central scene is slightly wider and higher, so that more is seen of the farmhouse on the right and there are distant buildings above it; the boar hunt is in the lower border and the hare hunt in the upper.

The same scene appears on the long cushion formerly in the Goulburn collection; it is slightly narrower, showing less of the woman on the far left, but has only the most minute differences elsewhere.

The Flemish version in the Victoria and Albert Museum is better drawn, the raised broom and the background buildings being much more clearly distinguished.

### 120b *The Repentance of the Prodigal Son*

#### DESCRIPTION

The Prodigal Son, wearing the same costume as in 120a but barefoot, holding a long pale yellow-pink stick, kneels beside a red and yellow trough. Four pigs in shades of brown, gray, and white, with dull pink tongues, feed at the trough, and another is seen to the right. In the background on the left is a farm, similar to that seen in 120a, with a man in dull pink and blue gesturing to the Prodigal, who here has his pink boots. A large pale brown and tan tree rises behind the pig on the right; it has blue-green and yellow leaves. The sky is pale blue above, with horizontal stripes of cream, yellow, and white below. There is a pale brown fence near the farmhouse and trees and hills in shades of blue and yellow in the distance. The foreground is dark blue, with a pink below the Prodigal and a pansy on the right, both plants being in shades of pink, yellow, and blue-green. A few of the outlines are black, but most of them are yellow-brown replacements.

The upper border shows a brown and dull yellow stag pursued by two brown, white, and tan hounds, with a man in pink, blue, and yellow holding a horn. The landscape is in shades of yellow, blue, and blue-green, with a house on the right and distant trees in the center. The lower border shows a red and yellow fox, with a white bird slung across its back, chased by two pale brown and white hounds, with a man in pink and blue holding a horn. The landscape is similar to that in the upper border.

#### CONDITION

The pigs are much repaired. The large tree trunk and the Prodigal's stick are mostly replacements, as are substantial areas of the borders.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The basic design of this episode was established by Dürer in his engraving of about 1496 (Bartsch 28). The Prodigal is here shown kneeling, his hands clasped in prayer, leaning on a heavy stick, in front of a trough from which several pigs are feeding. The setting is a farmyard. Hans Beham's print of 1538 has a landscape background, with a large tree behind the Prodigal and a farmhouse in the distance.<sup>5</sup> The Prodigal is seen asking for work in the background of Julius Goltzius's print after Hans Bol.<sup>6</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The same scene appears on the long cushion formerly in the Goulburn collection; it is narrower, lacking the tall

pansy plant on the lower right, and with some other small differences in the flowers and landscape.

The example in the Jacobs sale has slightly different flowers and does not have the pink in the upper left span-drel.

The Flemish version in the Victoria and Albert Museum is reversed. The drawing is much more competent, especially in the two twisting pigs and the tree trunk, which has ivy growing up it.

#### NOTES

1. George Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London, 1980) no. 62.
2. Eleanor B. Sachs, "The Earliest English Tapestries," *International Studio* 94 (December 1929) pp. 78–80, illus.
3. Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, no. 71a.
4. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 165, pl. 125b, as owned by the Kent Gallery, London.
5. F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700* (Amsterdam, n. d.) vol. 3, p. 32, illus.
6. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, n. d.) vol. 8, p. 141, no. 20.





## 121 Judith with the Head of Holofernes and Her Maid

Cushion cover

English; woven in the early seventeenth century on the Sheldon looms.

Wool, silk, and silver-gilt thread.

8 1/4 in. x 1 ft. (21 cm x 30 cm).

24 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Bayard Cutting, 1942 (42.27).

### DESCRIPTION

Judith holds a short blue sword in one hand and grasps the dull red and yellow hair of Holofernes's head in the other. She has a metal-thread ornament in her dull red and yellow hair and wears a dull yellow and red dress over a dark blue underskirt and yellow shoes. Her maid is similarly dressed and has a dull red and tan cap. A bag hangs from her right elbow. In the background on the left are three dull red and yellow tents and, in the upper left, a dull red and white city, Bethulia, with a winding road leading

to it. Holofernes's head is stuck on a pole protruding from one of the towers. In the middle distance on the left is a stretch of pale blue water with dull green plants and a white swan; another lake is seen farther away to the right. The sky is pale blue above, white below. The hilly landscape is largely dull yellow and pale green, with a number of green and yellow trees. The foreground is green, with yellow plants, including a strawberry with a white flower on the left and a honeysuckle on the right.

The border has a dull yellow ground with an inscription in metal thread outlined in green. It reads, above: SI · DEVS · NOBISCVM · and below: QVIS · CONTRA · NOS · (If God be for us, who can be against us? [Romans 8:31]). The upright borders have flowers, leaves, and fruit in dull red, yellow, blue, white, and green. The guards are striped pale blue, yellow, and white. Metal thread is lavishly used throughout the piece, including the borders.

#### CONDITION

There are several areas of bare warps, including the part of Judith's robe that is blown by the wind, the servant's bag, and the central tent. The gilt has largely worn off the metal thread, which has tarnished.

#### SUBJECT

Judith is seen making her way from Holofernes's camp on the right to the city of Bethulia on the left. She carries the head of Holofernes, though the biblical story states that she gave it to her maid, who put it into her bag (Judith 13:9, 10).

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style is typical of the Sheldon manufactory in the early seventeenth century.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

At least seven other versions are known. One, very close to 121 except that it has no inscription, is at Packwood House, Warwickshire, owned by Baron Ash; it may be the example sold at Christie's, London, December 13, 1933 (no. 160), though this was said to show Judith "with attendants." Holofernes's head on a pole is clearly seen. Another, also very close to 123, is in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow; it includes the inscription. Judith in a landscape, but apparently without her servant, was sold at Sotheby's, London, January 19, 1951 (no. 27). A somewhat larger version, very close to 121, belonged to R.

Lauder in 1932. Two cushion covers have Judith on a background of flowers instead of a landscape. One, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows her with a wide cloak; her servant stands, partly concealed, behind her.<sup>1</sup> The other, with Judith almost exactly as she appears in 121, has a flowered background with two birds; the servant is missing. It was sold at Sotheby's, London, January 19, 1951 (no. 28), and November 10, 1967 (no. 18, illus.); in 1977 it was owned by the London dealer Mayorcas. A very similar figure of Judith, but with a long piece of drapery falling from her head, appears on a background of flowers and birds at Sudeley Castle,<sup>2</sup> owned by Mrs. Dent-Brocklehurst. The two figures of the Victoria and Albert Museum version are found on a long cushion cover owned by the parish church of Sleaford, Lincolnshire; the figures stand under an arch, with a landscape background (not the same as that of 121) surrounded by flowers.<sup>3</sup>

#### PUBLICATION

Wingfield Digby, George. *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. London, 1980, p. 79. Mentioned.

#### NOTES

1. Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, no. 71b. Called second half of the sixteenth century.
2. Arthur Oswald, "Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire—III: The Seat of Major J. H. Dent-Brocklehurst," *Country Life* 88 (December 7, 1940) p. 501, fig. 4; Donald King, "Textiles," in *The Tudor Period 1500–1603*, Connoisseur Period Guide (London, 1956) pl. 55b.
3. *A Loan Exhibition Depicting the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 22 and 23 Grosvenor Place, exh. cat. (London, 1933) no. 320, illus.

## 122 The Circumcision

Cushion cover

English (probably Barcheston); woven in the early seventeenth century, probably by Francis Hickes (c.

1566–1630), on the Sheldon looms.

Wool, silk, and silver and silver-gilt thread.

2 ft. 1/2 in. x 3 ft. 3 1/4 in. (62 cm x 1 m).

20–21 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1281).

### DESCRIPTION

The Circumcision is shown taking place in a room. The nude Christ Child lies on a large dull yellow, brown, and silver support, covered by a pale yellow and silver cloth. He is held by a man in red and dark blue. The priest performing the operation has a red and blue cap, a short blue jacket, red sleeves, a red robe with bells at the hem, and a blue underskirt. He is seated on a folding chair with a pale blue back and a green cushion. The Virgin, in blue and silver, with a white headdress and yellow skirt, stands on the left. Behind her is another woman in pale yellow and red. The head of a man with a tall yellow hat appears on the right and two other men in green and red are seen to the waist behind the priest. An attendant on the right wears a dull pink dalmatic-like garment with a red underskirt and holds a large black and silver book.

In the background on the left under a blue and silver arch is a distant landscape with a pale yellow sky and buildings and fields in shades of blue and green. On the far right is a red curtain with a green and yellow valance with tassels over a blue structure; the wall behind it is red. The foreground is yellow with a row of small blue-green plants. The scene is framed by variegated columns in blue, red, yellow, and silver, standing on blue bases with red panels; the Corinthian capitals are red and silver. They support an arch in dull yellow with a red and silver pattern. The area surrounding the central scene has a dark blue-green background covered with flowers and foliage in yellow, green, red, white, blue, and silver. On the left is a brown and silver bird with a blue head and a yellow crest; on the right a blue and silver peacock with a red wing. Among the plants, pinks, honeysuckles, daffodils,

cornflowers, pansies, and strawberries can be distinguished.

The border has a yellow silk ground. In the upper left corner, under an arch, is a standing woman in blue, yellow, red, and silver with three nude children in a landscape. The yellow sky is inscribed in black: CHARITAS. In the upper right corner a similar figure (Justice) holds a large sword and a pair of scales. In the lower left corner a woman seated in a chariot with two wheels and green drapery wears a blue and silver skirt and has a wreath of silver ears of wheat; she holds similar ears in both hands. To the left of her is inscribed in black: CERES. In the lower right corner a similar woman in red, yellow, and silver holds a red apple and a green pear. On either side of her head is inscribed in black: POMANA.

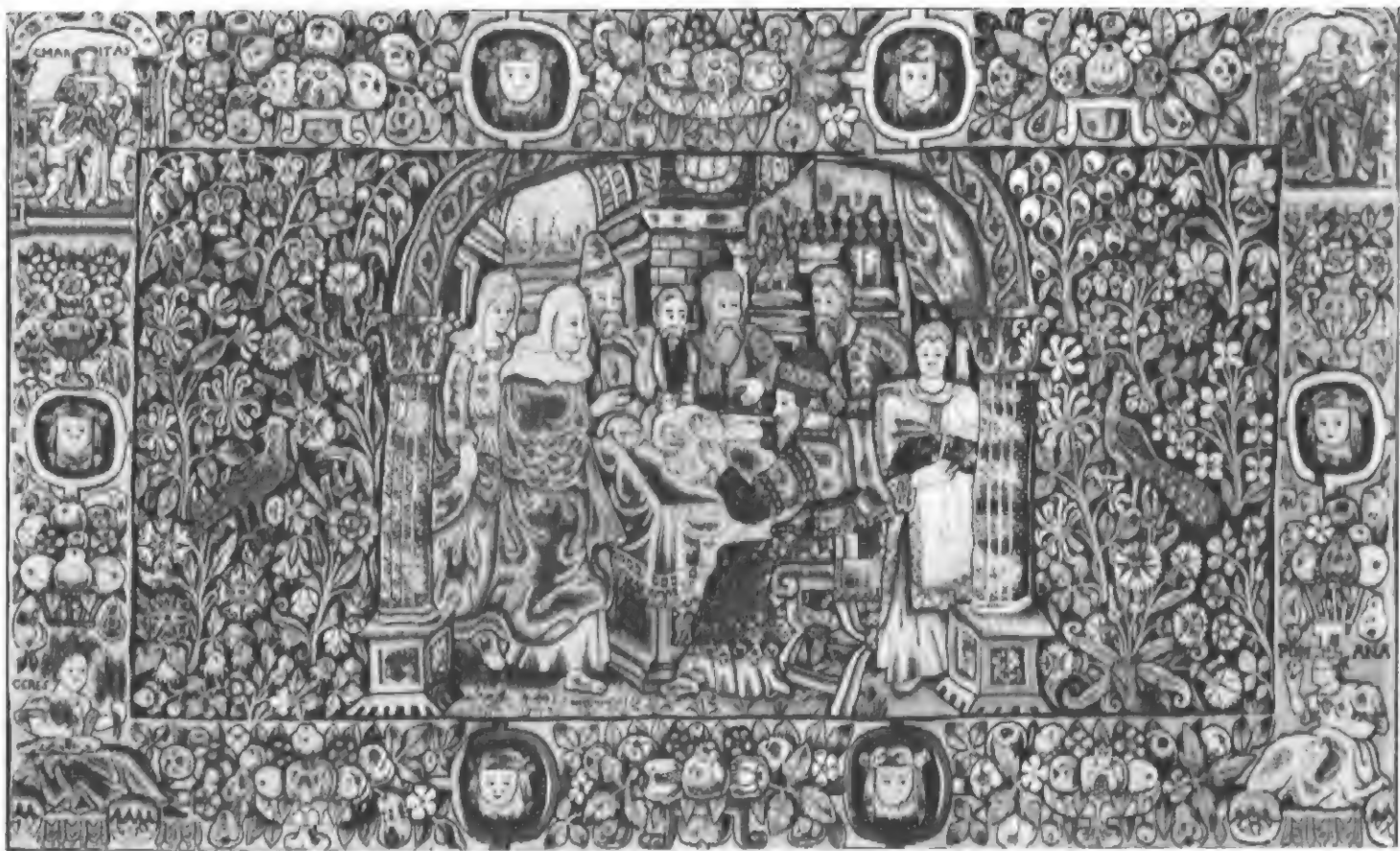
Six medallions in the borders have female heads on blue grounds spotted with metal thread; the frames of the medallions in the lower border are red, the others white. Above the medallion on each side border is a blue, red, yellow, and silver two-handled vase, filled with leaves and flowers, and below is a basket filled with fruit. The upper border has a blue dish on a low foot, filled with fruit, in the center; two similar dishes are seen in the lower border. Some rudimentary strapwork and more fruit, leaves, and flowers fill the interstices. The guards are blue. Silk and metal thread are lavishly used throughout. The figures are outlined in black.

### CONDITION

The silver thread has blackened and there are numerous small areas of repair, especially in the silk passages.

### SUBJECT

The Circumcision of Christ is mentioned in Luke 2:21. The representation of two Virtues, one Theological (Charity), the other Cardinal (Justice), is appropriate, but Ceres and Pomona have no connection with the main scene.



#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The figures of Charity and Justice are taken from engravings after Martin de Vos by Crispin de Passe.<sup>1</sup>

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style is similar to that of Sheldon tapestries made early in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Similar figures of Charity and Justice are found as the main subjects on a pair of cushions sold at the American Art Association, New York, April 26–30, 1927 (nos. 995, 996, illus.), and on cushions in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight. Charity alone appears on cushions in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, and in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.<sup>3</sup> Similar flowers and birds were used

for the background of a cushion with the Sacheverell arms and another with Judith in the Victoria and Albert Museum, as well as for the *Virtues* cushions in Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup>

#### HISTORY

Said to have been in the Iklé collection, Saint Gallen, Switzerland, and to have been owned by the Kent Gallery and the Spanish Art Gallery, London, before 1934.<sup>5</sup>

In the collection of Irwin Untermyer, New York, 1953.

Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1964.

#### EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1977. *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection*, no. 347. Dated late sixteenth-early seventeenth century.



#### PUBLICATIONS

Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pp. 167, 308 n. 64, pl. 127.  
Dated about 1605.

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960, pp. xxii, 14, pl. 19 fig. 31. Dated 1575–1600. Charity and Justice said to be from engravings by Adriaen Collaert after Martin de Vos; Ceres and Pomona, patrons of the protection of fruits and flowers, as on the title page of *The Herball* by John Gerard, London, 1633.

#### NOTES

1. Hackenbroch, *English and Other Needlework*, p. lxxvii, In. figs. 101, 102.
2. E. A. B. Barnard and A. J. B. Wace, "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and Their Work," *Archaeologia* 78 (1928) pp. 308–11. Arcading and a "rich floral ground" are said to be characteristic of the second group of Sheldon tapestries made after 1603.
3. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," pp. 296, 297, pls. XLVII, XLVIII, I, LI.
4. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," pls. XLVIII fig. 1, LI fig. 1, LI.
5. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pp. 167, 308. It was not included in the Leopold Iklé sale, Zürich, 1923.



## 123 The Sacrifice of Isaac

English; woven in the early seventeenth century on the Sheldon looms.

Silk, wool, and silver thread.

8½ in. x 11¾ in. (22 cm x 30 cm).

27–29 warps per inch, 12 per centimeter.

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1282).

### DESCRIPTION

Abraham, wearing a pink hat and robe, with a yellow hem, and a blue cloak with a pink-spotted silver border, raises a blue sword and places one hand on the head of his son. Isaac, in yellow with pink leg coverings, kneels on a blue slab; his wrists are tied with a brown rope. In the upper right corner, the angel, in pink with pink, red, blue, and silver wings, appears above blue clouds against a yellow

low background. On the left is the white ram, partly seen between vine branches bearing purple grapes and pink flowers. In the middle distance on the right is a servant in pink and yellow, holding a long stick and leaning on a white ass with a blue saddle and pink rein. In the lower right corner is a blue two-handled vase with smoke pouring from it.

The vine on the left twists around a chestnut tree with a red and brown trunk and green and yellow leaves. At the foot of the tree is a hillock covered with green and yellow grass and pink, blue, and white flowers. The sky is blue, pink, yellow, and white; a blue building is seen in the distance between Abraham's arm and the tree. There are green and yellow trees behind the boy with the ass and silver rays extend from the angel's clouds. The ground is

yellow and green; there is a plant with pink flowers in the lower right corner. A carrying case with a strap is seen by Abraham's foot.

The upper and lower borders are in silver thread, inscribed in brown:

HAVE · A · STRONGE · FAITH · IN · GOD · ONELY  
NOT · THIS · BVT · THY · GOOD · WILL ·

The vertical borders have green grounds, with a seated brown and silver animal in the center of each. Pink and yellow flowers with silver stalks are seen on either side. The guards are striped pale pink and blue.

The tapestry is almost entirely in silk on wool warps with extensive use of metal thread.

#### CONDITION

The brown thread is largely gone from the lettering in the upper border. There are small areas of repair, especially in Abraham's left hand. The silver thread has blackened.

#### SUBJECT

The moment in the story is that described in Genesis 22:10–12, when Abraham, having bound Isaac, "laid him on the altar upon the wood and . . . stretched forth his hand and took the knife to slay his son." The angel of the Lord is seen in heaven, telling Abraham not to kill his son; on the left is the sacrificial ram "caught in a thicket by his horns." The fire is mentioned as on hand; there should be two young men with the ass in the distance (verses 3, 5). That the thicket is a grapevine may be a symbol of the Eucharist; the inscription, though its exact meaning is not clear, seems to refer to Christ's words in Gethsemane, "not my will, but thine, be done" (Luke 22:42).

The animals in the borders have been described as cats or monkeys,<sup>1</sup> or as lions or dogs.<sup>2</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Several prints show the characters and important features of the composition in much the same way, notably the woodcut by Bernard Salomon illustrating the *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* (Lyon, 1553).<sup>3</sup> Isaac kneeling on a stone altar, Abraham raising his sword with one hand

and placing the other on his son, the angel appearing in the clouds, the half-seen ram to one side, and the smoking vase are all in this woodcut. A reversed copy of 1555 by Cornelis Bos is even closer to 123, as the vase has handles.<sup>4</sup> But in the Bos the ass in the distance is seen from the rear and there are two men with it. No exact prototype has been identified.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The style is that of Sheldon tapestries made in the early seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

An almost exact replica was sold at Sotheby's, London, March 4, 1927 (no. 76), and belonged to the duke of Rutland in 1940.<sup>6</sup> One plant in the lower right corner has only six flowers. Another version of the scene, with many differences in detail and another border, was in the S. R. Vereker collection, Newcastle, in 1940,<sup>7</sup> and the same subject, with a different composition, framed by an arch like those of 120, is in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow.<sup>8</sup> A *Flight into Egypt* in the Victoria and Albert Museum is the same size as 123 and has a similarly placed Latin inscription.<sup>9</sup>

#### HISTORY

Sold at Christie's, London, July 31, 1928, no. 44. Bought by Smith.

In the collection of Colonel Henry Howard, Kidderminster, before 1929. Sold after his death at Sotheby's, London, May 11, 1934, no. 159, color illus. Bought by Benjamin.

In the collection of Irwin Untermyer, New York, 1934. Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1964.

#### EXHIBITIONS

London, Lansdowne House, 1929. *English Decorative Art*, cat. no. 50. Lent by Colonel H. Howard. Called early seventeenth century.

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Baltimore Museum of Art, 1951–52. *2000 Years of Tapestry Weaving*, cat. no. 106, pl. XII. Lent by Irwin Untermyer. Called last quarter sixteenth century.

New York, MMA, 1977. *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection*, cat. no. 347. Dated 1575–1600.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Kendrick, A. F. "An English Tapestry Panel: *The Sacrifice of Isaac*." *Burlington Magazine* 53 (1928) pp. 287, 288, pl. 1, color. As owned by Colonel Howard, Stone, near Kidderminster. Called Elizabethan. Associated with the *Flight into Egypt* and *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* panels in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Said to have "dark blue selvages, relieved by red and orange lines."
- Barnard, E. A. B., and Wace, A. J. B. "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and Their Work." *Archaeologia* 78 (1928) pp. 293, 309. Attributed to Francis Hickes, from 1603 onward. Associated with the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Rutland collection, the *Adoration of the Magi* owned by Lady Binning, and the *Flight into Egypt* and *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Humphreys, John. *Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries*. Oxford, 1929, p. 26, pl. XIII. (Not included in Humphreys, "Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries," *Archaeologia* 74 [1925] pp. 181–202.)
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 164.
- Hackenbroch, Yvonne. "An Exhibition of Tapestries." *Magazine of Art* 45 (1952) p. 36, illus. p. 37.
- "The Editors' Attic: Tapestry in Review." *Antiques* 62 (1952) p. 140, illus. p. 136.

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960, pp. xxii, 15, pl. 21 fig. 21, color. Dated 1575–1600. Exhibitions, sales, and references listed.

## NOTES

1. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," p. 293.
2. Kendrick, "English Tapestry Panel," p. 287.
3. Hackenbroch, *English and Other Needlework*, p. iv, In. fig. 57.
4. Sune Schéle, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherlandish Grotesque* (Stockholm, 1965) p. 114, no. 11, pl. 3, no. 12.
5. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," pp. 308, 309. The "barber-pole border" is said to be characteristic of the second group of Sheldon tapestries, made after 1603.
6. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," p. 293, pl. XLI fig. 2.
7. Barnard and Wace, "Sheldon Tapestry Weavers," p. 296, pl. XLIX fig. 3; R. E. [Ralph Edwards], "The Role of Antiques Today: Furniture and Tapestry at Hamsterley Hall," *Country Life* 87 (March 2, 1940) p. 230, fig. 2. Described as resembling the duke of Rutland's panel. It was not included in the Mrs. S. L. Vereker sale, Christie's, London, March 13, 1953.
8. From the Rothermere collection, sold at Christie's, London, May 21, 1942, no. 66.
9. George Wingfield Digby, *Victoria and Albert Museum, The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London, 1980) no. 71e. Dated late sixteenth century.



## 124 The Horses

Two tapestries from a set

a *The Destruction of the Children of Niobe*

b *The Seizure of Cassandra by Ajax*

English (probably Mortlake); designed by Francis Clein (1582–1658) before 1637, and made between probably 1650 and 1670 for Henry Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough (1623–1697).

Manufactory mark on 124b.

Wool and silk.

124a 12 ft. 8 in. x 19 ft. 4 in. (3.86 m x 5.89 m);

124b 12 ft. x 16 ft. 6 in. (3.66 m x 5.03 m).

16–19 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

124a Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie, 1936 (36.149.1);

124b Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie, 1937 (37.85).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces have the same border, with, in the upper center, the arms in red, white, yellow, brown, and blue, of the second earl of Peterborough and his wife, Penelope O'Brien, daughter of the earl of Thomond, surmounted by a yellow earl's coronet with red and blue gems. The ground of all the borders is very dark blue, with bands of yellow-gray and pink or brown at the sides. An oval medallion in each vertical border shows two riders in red, yellow, and blue on gray and brown horses in a blue, gray, yellow, and green landscape. The medallions are set in yellow-gray, pink, and brown scrolling frames with a yellow and pale gray cockleshell below. An oblong medallion in each lower border has a falling gray horse with a rider in red and blue, set in a brown, gray, and yellow frame.

The vertical borders have, above the medallions, two gray and pale yellow cornucopias tied with red ribbons and filled with red, yellow, and green fruit and leaves, with swags of red and yellow drapery. Below each medallion is a pale yellow and gray herm with a blue cushion on its head and pink or red and yellow drapery, standing on a yellow-gray and blue pedestal. Below these is an oblong in yellow and blue, or dark gray and blue (missing on the right side of 124b and distorted by an introduced patch on the right side of 124a). The horizontal borders have scrolls with leaves, flowers, and fruit in cream, red, blue, yellow, gray, and brown. Pomegranates with red seeds, red grapes,

red-spotted yellow tulips, apples, and pears can be distinguished. The guards, preserved only at the sides, are dark blue, with the Mortlake mark, a red cross on a white shield, on the right of 124b.

### SUBJECT

The function of all the tapestries of this series is to show one or more splendid horses of the type known as "Great Horses." These had been developed in medieval times as warhorses, strong enough to carry a man in armor while wearing armor themselves, but were beginning to die out in the early seventeenth century; they were usually black and were the ancestors of the modern Shire cart horse.<sup>1</sup> Each tapestry, however, also represents a scene taken from classical myth. *The Destruction of Niobe's Children*, *Perseus and Andromeda*, and *Meleager*, shown on horseback with the head of the Caledonian boar on his spear, can be identified without difficulty. A fourth tapestry, previously called *Penelope Saying Farewell to Ulysses* or *Adromache and Hector*, has been recognized to represent Circe about to change Picus into a woodpecker.<sup>2</sup> The fifth subject is known from two tapestries, each containing a portion of the design, which have been called *Helen Watching the Departure of Paris* or the *Desertion of Ariadne*, and *Achilles before Troy*;<sup>3</sup> it actually represents Scylla falling in love with Minos while he was besieging her father's city, Megara. All these subjects are taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; *Niobe's Children*, *Circe and Picus*, and *Scylla and Minos* are among the stories illustrated in prints after Francis Clein for an English edition of 1632, translated by George Sandys. The subject of 124b is less certain, but the seizure of Cassandra is mentioned in passing by Ovid and a footnote in the Sandys edition mentions that she was ravished by Ajax.<sup>4</sup> The series may have been of eight subjects, but the two others are not known.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The attribution to Francis Clein is established by a letter from Sir Sackville Crow, director of the Mortlake manufactory from 1662 to 1667, dated May 7, 1660. Crow lists

the *Hero and Leander* series as “a very good patterne made by Dr. Clyne” and continues: “The Horses, also, are by Clyne, the figures noble enough, but the rest of the designe not soe excellent.”<sup>5</sup> As a set of the *Horses* was sold to the king in June 1637, when he bought the manufactory, the designs must have been made before this date.<sup>6</sup> They are included as “Six peeces of the Horses” among the “Designes at Mortlack for makeing of Tapistrey hanginge reserved from Sale by order of Parliamt dated y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1651,” a list which is annotated “All y<sup>e</sup> designes are now remaining at Mortlack”; the *Horses* were appraised at £40, higher than any other designs except “Eight very good peeces of y<sup>e</sup> Apostles” at £80.<sup>7</sup>

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The mark on 124b indicates an English origin and probably Mortlake as the manufactory, though the mark was used by other workshops. Lord Peterborough was married in 1644; he was active in the Civil War and went into exile when the royalist cause was defeated. He returned after 1649 and is known to have made improvements at Drayton House in the 1650s.<sup>8</sup> If the set was made at Mortlake, a date after 1670 is unlikely, as the factory was then moribund and most English tapestries of the period came from small London workshops.<sup>9</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The four other known pieces of the set are at Drayton House, Northamptonshire, owned by Lionel Stopford Sackville;<sup>10</sup> they are *Perseus and Andromeda*,<sup>11</sup> *Meleager*,<sup>12</sup> *Scylla and Minos* (in two parts),<sup>13</sup> and *Circe and Picus*.<sup>14</sup> A set of three is at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, owned by Lady Hesketh; they are *Niobe's Children*,<sup>15</sup> *Meleager*,<sup>16</sup> and *Cassandra and Ajax*. Individual pieces include what is probably a *Cassandra and Ajax* sold at Christie's, London, March 18, 1897 (called the *Rape of Helen*) with the cipher and feather of Charles II as Prince of Wales, and so presumably made before the beginning of the Civil War in 1642. The horseman on the left of *Niobe's Children* appears on a tapestry at Hopetoun House, West Lothian, owned by the marquess of Linlithgow, with another piece from the series, and another *Niobe's Children* is at Stapleford Park, Leicestershire, owned by Lord Gretton. The latter is a companion piece

to a *Cassandra and Ajax* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see 124b).

In the inventories of Charles I's goods made between 1649 and 1651 are entries for “Eight peeces of the horses Cont 567 ells” and “One peece of Tapistry of the horses cont 72 ells at three pounds the ell & is Suitable to 7 other peeces at ye Councell of State.” One set containing eight pieces was sold to John Jackson, a lawyer, on October 23, 1651, for £1701.<sup>17</sup>

Another series showing large horses is known as *Horse-manship*; the designs are derived from the illustrations to a book on equitation by the duke of Newcastle, printed in Antwerp in 1658. This was formerly believed to be English,<sup>18</sup> but is now known to have been made by Michel Wauters in Antwerp for the English market.<sup>19</sup> The compositions are not related to those of the *Horses*.

Very similar vertical borders are found on a Mortlake series of the *Five Senses*; the subjects in the medallions differ. An example of *Smell* was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, February 18, 19, 1944 (no. 415, illus.).<sup>20</sup> A *Stag Hunt* at Berkeley Castle also has a similar border.<sup>21</sup>

#### HISTORY

Made for the second earl of Peterborough and preserved at his seat, Drayton House, Northamptonshire. The house and contents were inherited in 1697 by his daughter the duchess of Norfolk, who was divorced in 1700 and married Sir John Germaine. She died in 1705, leaving Drayton to him. He then married a daughter of the earl of Berkeley and died in 1718. His widow died in 1769, leaving Drayton to Lord George Sackville, whose son succeeded him in 1785 and became the duke of Dorset in 1815. The duke left it to his niece, Mrs. William Bruce Stopford, in 1848. She died in 1908, leaving it to her son, Colonel S. G. Stopford Sackville; he died in 1926.

Sold at Christie's, London, March 11, 1920, no. 110. Described as the *Seizure of Cassandra* and the *Death of the Children of Niobe*, with the arms of the second earl of Peterborough and his wife, made by W. Benood at Lambeth in the seventeenth century. Bought by Souhami.

Sold, Georges Spetz collection, American Art Galleries, New York, January 14–17, 1925, nos. 836, 837, illus. (both). Called *Rape of the Sabine Women* and *Slaying of Niobe's Children*, attributed to the workshop of Francis Poyntz at Hatton Garden, London.

Owned by Dalva Brothers, New York, 1936.

Given to the MMA by Christian A. Zabriskie, 1936 [124a], 1937 [124b].

## EXHIBITION

Birmingham, England, City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1951. *Exhibition of English Tapestries*, cat. nos. 29, 30. With *Circe and Picus* (called *Penelope Taking Farewell of Ulysses*, no. 28) of the same set lent by Colonel Stopford Sackville, one of five said to be still at Drayton. Lord Hesketh's set at Easton Neston mentioned. Attributed to Mortlake, dated 1653–60.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Tipping, H. Avray. "Drayton House, Northamptonshire: The Seat of Col. Stopford Sackville." *Country Life* 31 (1912): pt. 1 (June 15) p. 906, illus. (State Bedroom with part of *Scylla and Minos* visible on wall); pt. 2 (June 22) pp. 934, 936. Set mentioned as made for the second earl of Peterborough, with arms impaling his wife's; *Perseus and Andromeda* named.
- Tipping, H. Avary. *English Homes: Period IV—Vol. 1, Late Stuart, 1649–1714*. London, 1920, pp. 264, 266. Set mentioned as presumably Mortlake.
- Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 224. Mentioned as in the Spetz sale; 124b called a duplicate of the piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the *Elopement of Helen of Troy*, from a set of *Classic Scenes* made at Lambeth, "re-drawn from some Gothic version."
- Marillier, H. C. "The Mortlake Horses." *Burlington Magazine* 50 (1927) pp. 13, 14, pls. A [124b], B [124a]. Series identified as the Mortlake Horses, designed by Francis Clein before 1637; 124 noted as sold at Christie's in 1920, and as in the Spetz sale, New York, 1925; five pieces said to be still at Drayton House; 124b called *Ajax and Cassandra*.
- Thomson, W. G. *A History of Tapestry*. Rev. ed. London, 1930, p. 360. Mentioned as a pair of Lambeth tapestries sold at Christie's, 1920. Repeated without change in 3rd. ed., 1973.
- Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 177. Set mentioned, 124 noted as in the Spetz sale, 1925; said to be probably Mortlake.
- "Dalva Brothers Show Tapestries of Rare Interest." *Art News*, January 4, 1936, p. 13, cover, both illus.
- MMA *Annual Report* 1936, p. 24. 124a mentioned as Mortlake tapestry designed by Francis Clein in the middle of the seventeenth century or shortly thereafter.
- MMA *Annual Report* 1937, p. 28. Mentioned; 124b called *The Seizure of Cassandra by Agamemnon*.
- Phillips, John Goldsmith. "The Gift of a Mortlake Tapestry." *MMA Bulletin* 32 (1937) pp. 27–30, 186, 187, both illus. Said to be from a set of eight Mortlake tapestries called the *Royal Horses*, made for the earl of Peterborough, 1660–80; designs related to Francis Clein's illustrations for John

Ogilby's Virgil (first published in 1654) and Antonio Tempesta's illustrations for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (first published in 1606). 124b called the *Seizure of Cassandra by Agamemnon*, though it could possibly represent her with Ajax; Mortlake mark in border noted.

- Lane, James W. "Notes from New York." *Apollo* 26 (1937) pp. 227, 228, illus. [124b].
- Taylor, S. W. "'The Forward Seat' in Greek Mythology and Ancient Art." *The Rider and Driver* 91, no. 11 (March 1937) p. 5, illus. cover [124a].
- Wingfield Digby, George. "Some Important English Tapestries Exhibited at Birmingham in 1951." *Connoisseur* 129 (1951) p. 13, fig. 8 [124a].
- Hackenbroch, Yvonne. "An Exhibition of Tapestries." *Magazine of Art* 45 (1952) p. 37, illus. [124a].
- Jones, Mary Eirwen. *British and American Tapestries*. Hadeligh, Essex, 1952, p. 76, illus. [124a].
- Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: IV. Baroque and Régence." *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 35, fig. 7 [124a].

## 124a *The Destruction of the Children of Niobe*

### DESCRIPTION

Two of Niobe's sons are on horseback. The one on the left, whose brown horse has yellow-gray harness with dull red and blue ornamentation, wears a red and yellow cloak, yellow classical armor, a yellow-gray skirt, and gray, blue, and red sandals. He has a red and yellow sword in a brown sheath at his side. The other rides a pale brown horse and wears a blue cloak over yellow, red, and blue armor, and a red and yellow plumed helmet. Both horses have blue and white shoes. In the sky on the left is Apollo, nude except for pale blue drapery, shooting his arrows, and in the center is Diana in pale yellow.

On the left behind the main figures are two more sons on foot, one with a rearing gray-brown horse, the other holding out his shield, with a brown horse fallen beside him. Another son lies prone on the ground, and one, with an arrow in his throat, supine; they are dressed in gray, blue, dull yellow, and dull red. On the right, Niobe, crowned and wearing a yellow dress and red cloak, holds one of her daughters; the latter is in a yellow dress deco-



rated with red, white, and green flower sprays. The bodies of three other daughters in pale yellow and dull red lie on the ground; one has red and blue ribbons in her hair and a blue skirt ornamented in dull yellow. Another dead daughter is seen under the brown horse; she has a gray dress and a blue cloak. In all, seven sons, but only five daughters, are shown.

In the distance in the center are some buildings and, on the right, a landscape of low hills and trees in shades of pale yellow, green, gray, and brown. The sky is blue at the top on the right, yellow-gray below, with yellow and yellow-gray clouds and sunbursts around Apollo and Diana. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, green, and

yellow, with some dark blue-green and pale yellow plants; there is a red poppy on the left.

#### CONDITION

A number of large and small inserted patches are visible, especially on the right, in the sky and the foreground; at least one has been painted to match the adjacent fabric. Others are seen at the top of the coronet, where it extends into the modern guard, and elsewhere on the upper border. Bare warps are noticeable in dark passages, especially on the horses. There are many small holes, some repaired, in the upper half.



## SUBJECT

Niobe induced the people of Thebes to break off their sacrifice to Latona, because she had seven sons and seven daughters and Latona had only Apollo and Diana. The god and goddess, at their mother's request, thereupon killed all Niobe's children with arrows.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The horse on the left, Apollo and Diana, and Niobe with the daughter on her lap are close to the comparable figures in Clein's illustration to the sixth book of Ovid, which includes the story of Niobe.<sup>22</sup> The horse on the right is taken from Antonio Tempesta's *Aetas Ferrea*, an illustration for an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that was first published in Antwerp in 1606.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The figure on the left and Apollo above are seen combined with *Circe and Picus* in a tapestry at Hopetoun House, West Lothian, owned by the marquess of Linlithgow. The *Niobe* at Stapleford Park, owned by Colonel Gretton, is a companion piece to the *Cassandra* in the Victoria and Albert Museum which was made at Lambeth. The example at Easton Neston has the same border as 124, except that the coat of arms is replaced by an oblong medallion with the same two riders that appear on the side borders.

## 124b *The Seizure of Cassandra* by Ajax

### DESCRIPTION

A warrior, with a blue and pale yellow helmet and blue and green armor with a red band at the edge of his sleeve, sits on a cream and gray horse with red and yellow bejeweled harness. He holds in his arms a struggling woman, who wears a gray and brown dress decorated in pale yellow, with red gems. She has a pearl necklace and red and blue jewels, with a red and yellow crown, and blue sandals with red gems in yellow settings. A man in a yellow-gray cap, red armor with yellow straps, a blue skirt, and yellow

and dull red sandals, lifts her by the feet. A sword with a blue and white lion-head hilt and a brown scabbard hangs at his side. The horse is held by a young man in blue, with red leg coverings and a gray, blue, and brown shield on his arm. At the left are two men on gray horses with red and yellow harnesses. The fair-haired one in front has red, blue, and pale brown plumes in a blue and yellow helmet with a dragon on it, gray, yellow, and blue armor, a red cloak, and red and yellow sandals; he carries a short yellow-brown baton. The rider partly seen behind him has blue plumes on a dull yellow animal-mask helmet and a gray-brown beard. Beside the horses is a small boy (or a dwarf) holding a blue-tipped brown javelin; he has a red hat with a jewel and blue and pale brown feathers, a red and yellow costume, yellow-gray stockings, and red sandals.

In the background on the left is a classical building in tones of blue, gray, brown, and yellow. In the interior, a gesticulating woman is being seized by a helmeted warrior. Another soldier, in blue and yellow-gray, raises his sword to strike a fallen man and a number of women in yellow-green, blue, and gray are being led away as captives. A pile of looted treasure is at the lower left. Several more women in pale yellow, gray, and blue, with their captors in armor, are seen between the legs of the foreground horses. On the right is the yellow-brown prow of a ship, ending in a huge fantastic mask; a protesting woman in pale yellow and blue is led toward it. A man on horseback with a yellow-gray banner showing a double-headed eagle and a warrior in gray-blue, with a yellow lion on his helmet, thrusts his sword into the head of a sprawling, screaming man in pale gray-blue.

In the distance on the left is a pale brown obelisk with simulated Egyptian hieroglyphs in dark brown and on top a crescent. Behind is a curved yellow-gray building with a balustrade, statues, and arches. The sky is blue above, with some gray clouds, and pale yellow below. The foreground is in shades of brown, gray, green, and dull yellow, with some green and yellow plants. All the flesh tones have a grayish tinge.

### CONDITION

The four corners, now blank dark brown replacements, are shown in the reproduction of 1927 filled with plant forms, not identical with those of 124a.<sup>23</sup> There are bare



warps in many dark areas, especially the foreground and the brown horses. There are substantial areas of repair in yellow silk passages, such as the distant architecture and the sky. The upper left corner is much damaged, with patches, small holes, and repairs. The bottom of the right border from the middle of the herm down is also extensively repaired, with some additions painted to match to some extent the corresponding areas on the left.

#### SUBJECT

After the fall of Troy, Cassandra, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, was raped by Ajax in the temple of Minerva, but taken to Greece by Agamemnon. The building on the left has been identified as the temple and the struggling woman and the warrior inside it as Cassandra and Ajax, while the man on horseback has been called Agamemnon or Ajax. This interpretation of the scene is probably cor-

rect, but there are inconsistencies: the double-headed eagle on the distant banner is usually associated with imperial Rome, the obelisk with hieroglyphs and crescent suggests Egypt, and the small boy or dwarf is unaccounted for. As all the other subjects of the series can be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it has been suggested that the poet's passing reference to Cassandra in his Book 13 has provided the source for the subject: "By her annointed head / *Apollo* / Priest they drag, her hands in vaine / To heaven upheld. The Victor *Greekes* constraine / The *Dardan* Dames." The translator's note to this passage is: "Cassandra, the daughter of Priamus, a Prophetess and Priest to Apollo, ravished by Ajax Oileus."<sup>24</sup> The scene shown in 124b can hardly be said to illustrate these lines. Clein's print in John Ogilby's translation of the *Iliad*, published in London in 1654, page 212, shows her attacked in the temple of Minerva; she has "dishevell'd hair," as the text demands, and an obelisk in the background does not have hieroglyphs or a crescent. No other interpretation of the scene, however, has been convincingly argued.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The same composition is found on a tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum called *A Scene from the Story of Troy*, said to represent most probably the seizure of Cassandra by Agamemnon with her rape in the temple of Minerva in the background. It is marked in the lower guard border "Made at Lambeth," so it is attributed to William Benood and dated 1670–80. The borders are the same as those of 124, except that the coat of arms is that of the second earl of Meath, who died in 1675, and his wife, who died in 1685.<sup>25</sup> The scene is extended on the right to show more of the ship, with a small boat alongside; two men in the boat hold out their arms toward the woman prisoner. There is more space between the ship and the large figures, so that additional warriors are visible. An even wider version is at Easton Neston; here almost the whole of the large ship on the right is visible, as well as a small boat alongside. The ship has three masts and is hung with shields. On the left is a temple with columns extending across the whole height of the scene and a man, or

statue, holding a spear in the foreground. Except for the coat of arms, the border on this tapestry is also the same as that of 124.

#### NOTES

1. William Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (Cambridge, 1905) pp. 355–68.
2. The identification of all the doubtful subjects has been made by Wendy Hefford.
3. Marillier, "Mortlake Horses," pls. E, F.
4. Ovid's *Metamorphosis* [sic] *Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures* (Oxford, 1632) p. 432.
5. Historical Manuscripts Commission, 12th Report, Appendix, Part V, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, vol. 2 (London, 1889) p. 16.
6. W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England* (London, 1914) p. 83.
7. Oliver Millar, ed., "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, 1649–1651," *Walpole Society* 43 (1970–72) p. 423.
8. John Cornforth, "Drayton House, Northamptonshire—II: The Home of Colonel and Mrs. Stopford Sackville," *Country Life* 137 (May 20, 1965) p. 1217. A date after the Restoration has been suggested (Phillips, "Gift," p. 30).
9. *English Tapestries*, exh. cat., Birmingham, p. 8.
10. John Cornforth, "Drayton House—IV," *Country Life* 137 (June 3, 1965) p. 1350. Said to be "part of the only known complete set of eight, of which five remain at Drayton."
11. Marillier, "Mortlake Horses," pl. C.
12. Cornforth, "Drayton House—IV," p. 1348, illus.
13. Marillier, "Mortlake Horses," pls. E, F.
14. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 134.
15. John Kenworthy-Browne, "Easton Neston, Northamptonshire: 2," *Connoisseur* 157 (1964) p. 142, illus. (partly seen on the wall of Lady Hesketh's bedroom).
16. Marillier, "Mortlake Horses," pl. D.
17. Millar, "Inventories," pp. 332, 397.
18. H. C. Marillier, *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1930) pp. 52–55, pl. 19.
19. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "Contribution à l'histoire de la tapisserie anversoise: Les Marques et les tentures des Wauters," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 5 (1935) pp. 35, 44; George Wingfield Digby, "Tapestries by the Wauters Family of Antwerp for the English Market," *La Tapisserie flamande aux XVII<sup>me</sup> et XVIII<sup>me</sup> siècles, Colloque international, 8–10 octobre 1959*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1959) p. 240.
20. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 178, pl. 136.
21. Marillier, *English Tapestries*, p. xv.
22. Ovid's *Metamorphosis Englished*, pl. facing p. 201.
23. Marillier, "Mortlake Horses," pl. A.
24. Ovid's *Metamorphosis Englished*, p. 432, note m.
25. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1924) no. 4, pl. 5.





## 125 News of the Stag

From the series known as the *Hunters' Chase*

English (probably Mortlake); designed before 1645 and woven 1646–70.

Manufactory mark.

Wool.

11 ft. 4 in. x 15 ft. 3 in. (3.45 m x 4.65 m).

15–16 warps per inch, 6–7 per centimeter.

Gift of Amory S. Carhart, 1957 (57.127).

### DESCRIPTION

In the center a dark-haired man wearing a red-brown costume and gray shoes gesticulates excitedly as he brings the news that a stag has been located. He has a blue and brown horn and a hunting knife in a blue-tipped sheath at his side and holds a brown hound with a red collar on a gray leash. A young man in a gray hat over a red cap, yellow-red jacket with dark blue showing through the slashed sleeves, and gray leggings is mounted on a gray and brown horse with a dark blue saddle; he listens to the news. Behind him, extending one arm, is another mounted figure in a yellow hat and red costume; his gray horse lowers its head. Above the gesticulating man in the center is partly seen a gray horse with the rider in blue and dull red. They are beside the large gray and brown trunk of an oak, broken at the top, with dark and light green leaves, and ivy climbing up it. A young man in blue and gray stands at the foot of the tree, holding his brown cap in one hand and indicating with the other where the stag has been seen. He has a hunting knife in a brown sheath at his side. A man in a yellow-gray cap, red and yellow jacket and slashed breeches, blue leg coverings, and gray-brown shoes stands on the right; he has a dull blue horn slung from one shoulder and holds a light yellow cane. Behind him is a greyhound with a red and yellow collar. To the right, a man with windblown dark hair points to the location of the stag; he is dressed in gray and brown and carries a gray horn.

On the far left are two gray-brown tree trunks and on the far right a hollow stump. A forest extends behind the mounted figures, with another horse and rider wearing pale yellow-gray, raising one hand, dimly seen in front of it. The background on the right is a landscape with a long

gray building and a church with a steep dull blue roof and a slender tower behind it. Dull green, brown, and cream trees are seen behind the buildings and a fenced yellow and blue pond in front of them. The sky is gray-blue, gray, and dull yellow. The foreground is in shades of gray, brown, yellow, and green, with some large dark green and yellow plants in the lower right corner. On the left is a plant with red buds.

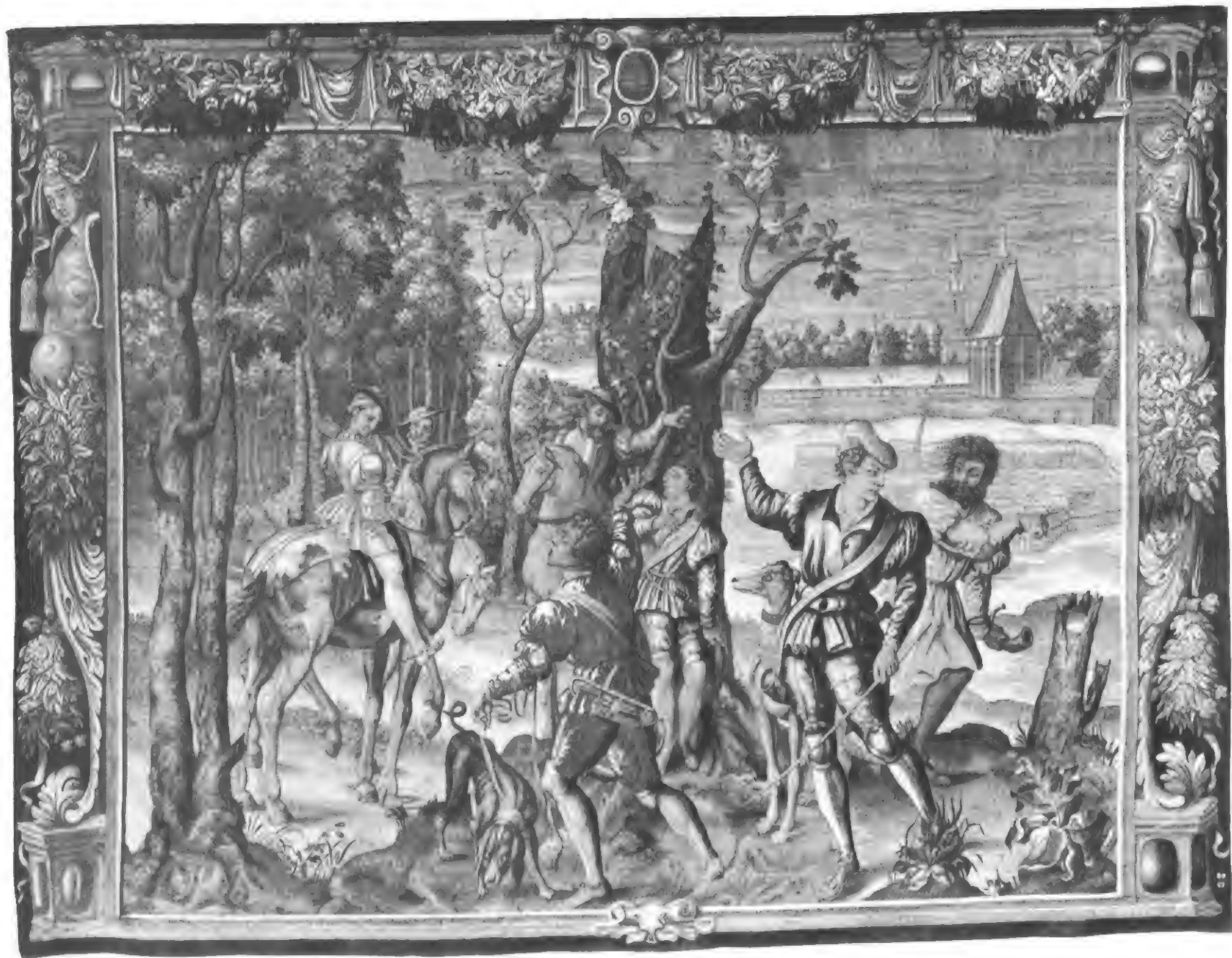
A narrow framelike red-brown, yellow, and gray band surrounds the scene. The narrow lower border has no decoration except a yellow and red-brown ornament, perhaps an animal mask, in the center. The wider side borders have, on the left, a gray and yellow female stone herm and, on the right, a bearded male one, both with dull red and yellow wings and drapery supporting a large tassel falling from their heads. They stand on massed blue-green, red, and dull yellow leaves and flowers; these rest on red and yellow scrolls, supported by gray and yellow blocks with red medallions. A swag of red, green, and yellow leaves and flowers hangs at the side. The ground is very dark blue. At the lower right is a yellow shield with a red cross (Mortlake). The upper border has a red-brown blank oval medallion in the center between red and yellow scrolls and drapery. Swags of dark green, red, yellow, white, and blue flowers alternate with red and yellow drapery on either side. The ground imitates carved stonework in gray and brown, terminating in blocks with blank red and yellow medallions at the corners.

### CONDITION

Some bare warps are visible in brown and black passages.

### SUBJECT

The series has been identified with the *Hunters' Chase* commissioned from the Mortlake manufactory by the Dutch Church in London in 1645. This set consisted of six pieces and was finished in October 1646.<sup>1</sup> A set of five pieces is at Chatsworth, owned by the duke of Devonshire; it consists of a *Boar Hunt*,<sup>2</sup> *Wolf Hunt*, *Death of the Stag*, *Hunt Breakfast*, and *Evening Entertainment*.<sup>3</sup> Other



subjects are *Singeing the Boar*, *Two Trackers*, *Youth and Maiden Conversing*,<sup>4</sup> and *Assembly for the Stag Hunt*.

The subject of 125 is that of the sixteenth-century Brussels tapestry from which the composition is derived, one of the series called the *Hunts of Maximilian* (see 47). Hunt servants with tracking dogs are reporting to the master of the hunt.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

All the men, including the rider in the forest and the landscape, are taken from *July, Le Rapport*, of the *Hunts of Maximilian*,<sup>5</sup> probably designed by Bernaert van Orley (see 47). In this the hounds are different and the central tree in the original is fully alive and extends to the top of the tapestry. In 125 the entire design was greatly simplified, and many details, such as the monks in the grounds of the monastery in the distance, were omitted.

However, 125 is even closer to the drawing usually attributed to van Orley in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> than it is to the sixteenth-century tapestry. Details that are seen in it and in the drawing, but are not found in the early tapestry, include the fence around the pond, instead of reeds, and the cane in the left hand of the foremost figure on the right instead of a rope. The attitude of the man standing beside the tree, the gestures of several other figures, the large tree trunk, and the tree on the left are all more like the drawing than like the Flemish tapestry. The other published version of 125 also reproduces the trees on the far right of the drawing rather than those of the Flemish tapestry, and shows the tail of the greyhound between the two men on the right dangling, as in the drawing, instead of curled up.

Several other pieces of the *Hunters' Chase* series are also derived from the *Hunts of Maximilian*, including the *Boar Hunt*, *Death of the Stag*, and *Singeing the Boar*. Some, such as *Evening Entertainment*, are not connected with any earlier series; it has been suggested that they might have been conceived by the official designer at Mortlake, Francis Clein.<sup>7</sup>

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

Though the mark probably identifies the manufactory as Mortlake, there is no certain indication of when the set to which 125 belongs was made, except that the designs must have been available in 1645.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Two pieces of the same set, the *Wolf Hunt* and the *Fox Hunt*, both with the Mortlake mark, were in the J. P. Morgan collection with 125.<sup>8</sup> They were lent to the Metropolitan Museum by Mrs. Amory Carhart in 1916 and in 1962 belonged to her descendant Mrs. George S. Amory. They were sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, November 11, 1972 (nos. 256, 257, illus.). The *Wolf Hunt* was sold again at the same auction house, June 1, 1978 (no. 396, illus.), and is now in the house museum Agecroft Hall, Richmond, Virginia. Each shows two men and three dogs attacking the wild animal.

Another version of 125 was formerly in the Metropolitan Museum;<sup>9</sup> it is extended on the right, like the sixteenth-century prototype, to show another dog and two men in the distance, with some trees beside the pond. The central tree extends to the top of the tapestry and the man on the right holds a dog on a leash instead of a horn. There are no borders. The same differences in the design are also found in a tapestry formerly in the E. Bellenot collection (sold in Paris, 1882, 1883), but this is said to have a border, though not that of 125.<sup>10</sup> A *Stag Hunt* (probably the *Death of the Stag*) is recorded as at Berkeley Castle, but its exact subject is not known; it has the same border as 125.<sup>11</sup>

As well as the set of five pieces at Chatsworth, a set of three pieces (*Fox Hunt*, *Hunt Breakfast*, and *Evening Entertainment* called the *Prodigal Son*) is in the Musée Ernst Rupin, Brive-la-Gaillarde; it was formerly in the Château de Cosnac.<sup>12</sup> Another set belonged to the earl of Iveagh at Elveden Hall (*Fox Hunt*, *Wolf Hunt*, *Youth and Maiden*, and *Singeing the Boar*) and was sold on the premises by Christie's, May 22, 1984 (nos. 1750–53, all illus.).<sup>13</sup> An example of the *Assembly for the Stag Hunt* was exhibited at the Symons Galleries, New York, in 1953;<sup>14</sup> this may be the same piece as one in the E. Bellenot collection, sold in Paris in 1882 and 1883.<sup>15</sup> An *Evening Entertainment* and a *Fox Hunt* were in the collection of Chr. Langaard in Norway in 1922.<sup>16</sup> The former is now in the Oslo Kunstindustrimuseet. They have the same borders as 125, without the ornament at the base. A reversed *Fox Hunt* with another border was once owned by P. W. French & Co., New York.<sup>17</sup> A *Wolf Hunt* with one man and three dogs was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, October 9, 1971 (no. 275),<sup>18</sup> a *Hunt Breakfast* (formerly at Madingley Hall, Cambridge) at Sotheby's, London, April 11, 1975

(no. 31, illus.), and a *Boar Hunt* at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, December 2, 1977 (no. 182, illus.).

#### HISTORY

At Knole, Kent, owned by the Sackville and (after 1843) Sackville-West families. Acquired in 1911 by J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.

Lent to the MMA by Mrs. Amory Carhart, 1916.

Given to the MMA by Amory S. Carhart, Tuxedo Park, New York, 1957.

#### PUBLICATIONS

De Ricci, Seymour. *Catalogue of Twenty Renaissance Tapestries from the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*. Paris, 1913, p. 34, no. 14, illus. Identified as Mortlake, the design by a Flemish sixteenth-century artist, "not unlike the *Chasses de l'Empereur Maximilian* by Barendt van Orley."

Rubinstein, Stella. "A Tapestry from a Cartoon by Bernard van Orley." *Art in America* 4 (1916) p. 261, n. 7. Mentioned as in the Pierpont Morgan collection.

MMA *Bulletin* 11 (1916) pp. 130, 184. Mentioned as Mortlake, *Scenes from Wolf Hunt of Maximilian*, lent by Mrs. Amory Carhart.

MMA *Annual Report* 1957–1958. In MMA *Bulletin*, n.s. 17 (1958–59) p. 62. Listed as gift of Amory S. Carhart.

Wingfield Digby, George, and Hefford, Wendy. *The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries*. London, 1971, p. 70, fig. 33. Set said to have been adapted by Francis Clein from the *Hunts of Maximilian* and other sources.

De Pazzis-Chevalier, Nicole, and Chevalier, Dominique. "Les Tapisseries anglaises de Mortlake." *L'Estampille*, no. 66 (February 1984) p. 34, illus., as in Pierpont Morgan collection.

#### NOTES

1. W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England* (London, 1914) p. 89.
2. *Chatsworth, an Illustrated Guide & History* (n.p., after 1957) p. 8. View of Sketch Gallery, showing tapestries on wall, with the *Boar Hunt* identifiable.
3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 180 (all except *Boar Hunt* listed).
4. A. J. B. Wace, "The Hunters' Chase," *Burlington Magazine* 67 (1935) p. 29 (nine subjects listed).
5. Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman, *Les Chasses de Maximilien* (Brussels, 1982) fig. 36.
6. Schneebalg-Perelman, *Chasses de Maximilien*, fig. 105, attributed to François Borreman and Pieter Coecke.
7. Wace, "Hunters' Chase," p. 30.
8. De Ricci, *Twenty Renaissance Tapestries*, nos. 12, 13, illus.
9. Rubinstein, "Tapestry from a Cartoon by Bernard van Orley," pp. 258–62, fig. 1.
10. De Ricci, *Twenty Renaissance Tapestries*, p. 34.
11. H. C. Marillier, *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1930) p. xv.
12. De Pazzis-Chevalier, "Tapisseries anglaises," pp. 27–35, all illus. Dated 1640–45.
13. Lord Leconfield is also said to own pieces of the series at Petworth, but only Brussels hunting tapestries are now in this collection (information from the Secretary, Petworth House).
14. "Symons Galleries Show Tapestries in Notable Display," *Art News*, December 14, 1935, p. 21, illus.
15. De Ricci, *Twenty Renaissance Tapestries*, p. 34.
16. Hans Dedekam, "Tapisserie i Chr. Langaards Samlinger," *Kunst og Kultur* 10 (1922) pp. 203, 205 (both illus.); Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 140 (*Evening Entertainment*, as owned by the Munich dealer L. Bernheimer), pl. 139a (*Fox Hunt*, as owned by the Munich dealer J. Bohler; called *Wolf Hunt*, but the animal's brush shows it is a fox).
17. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 139b.
18. Perhaps the piece once owned by Sir Robert Kinderley (Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 180).



## 126 The Seasons

Two tapestries from a set

a *Spring*

b *Autumn*

English (London); woven by John Chabanex, early eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

126a 8 ft. 9 in. x 13 ft. 1 in. (2.67 m x 3.99 m);

126b 8 ft. 9 in. x 12 ft. 11 in. (2.67 m x 3.94 m).

18–21 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Bequest of Mary Anna Palmer Draper, 1914 (15.43.311 [126b]; 15.43.312 [126a]).

### DESCRIPTION

The borders are in shades of brown and dull yellow; they were originally wider and simulated wooden frames. The guards are missing.

### SUBJECT

Both tapestries show rural occupations for the three months of a season. These occupations are Continental ones, not English, especially the vintage scene of *Autumn*. Another foreign detail is the *houlette* held by the shepherd in *Spring*, instead of the English crook.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

The ultimate source of the series is presumably a Flemish sixteenth-century set of the *Seasons*, but this has not been identified.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The existence of a *Summer* of the same series and possibly the same set signed by John Chabanex suggests that this weaver was responsible for 126. John Chabanex (Chabaneix, Chabanel) was a Huguenot refugee known to have been in England from at least 1696; he was dead by February 1744.<sup>1</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A set of four pieces has been described as in a Scottish collection in 1930. Each piece has the names of three months in a medallion and borders of wreathed sandstone columns. *Autumn* is said to have the same design as 126b.<sup>2</sup> A *Summer* was in the Frederick Seymour Clarke sale, Christie's, London, February 9, 1933 (no. 191, illus.);<sup>3</sup> a medallion in the upper border is inscribed: "Julius / Augustus / September." Another *Summer* in the Dundas Historical Society Museum, Dundas, Ontario, is signed "I. Chabanex F."; its borders have elaborate scroll motifs at the corners that correspond exactly to what is left of apparently similar motifs at the corners of 126. It may therefore be from the same set. A panel with the March and April scenes of 126a was sold at Christie's, London, July 7, 1966 (no. 159, illus.); a companion piece in the same sale shows January and February (no. 159, illus.), presumably representing some of the occupations of *Winter* in the series to which 126 belongs.

Several other English series of the *Months* and *Seasons* are known, some with the same subjects as 126, but based on different designs.<sup>4</sup>

### PUBLICATIONS

MMA *Annual Report* 1915, p. 50. Listed as bequests of Mary Anna Palmer Draper, called "Spring and Autumn, after cartoons by Teniers, Flemish, eighteenth century."

Hunton, W. Gordon. *English Decorative Textiles*. London, 1930, pls. 30, 31. Called Mortlake, second half seventeenth century.

Marillier, H. C. *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century*. London, 1930, p. 67, pl. 24 (both). Called English.

## 126a *Spring*

### DESCRIPTION

In the center, a seated shepherd, holding his brown *houlette* with a blue tip, wears a yellow-gray hat and a dull red costume, with a brown pouch or water bottle at his side.



Beside him kneels a woman with a pale yellow kerchief and a red and blue dress. She hands a wreath of red and white flowers with blue leaves to a stooping woman in pale yellow-blue, with a red sash and cross-gartering, who holds up her flower-filled apron. A pale yellow and gray dog prances in front of her. On the left is a man in pale red, with a blue cap, orange and blue trousers, red stockings, and brown shoes; he has a pale yellow sheep on his shoulder. Farther to the left, a seated woman in a blue dress and a dark pink jacket, shears a pale yellow sheep held on her lap, and a man in red with purple boots bends

to lift another. Some pale yellow wool and a pair of gray shears lie on the ground by the woman.

A large green, brown, and yellow tree is seen between the seated shepherd and a couple on the right. The man, wearing a yellow hat and breeches, a red jacket, and blue sleeves and apron, holds a large chopping knife as he prepares to trim a small bare tree; the woman, in blue, with a pale yellow kerchief and red sleeves and stockings, lifts a bundle of green and brown sticks. A tied bundle of similar sticks lies at the root of the large tree, which has a brown squirrel in its branches. Other, mostly bare, trees rise be-

hind the couple, with a man in purple on a tall brown ladder lopping their branches. At the far right is a broken tree, with three pale yellow sheep beyond it. In the background are two brown and dull yellow cows and, beyond them, a bridge and a town, in shades of gray and yellow, with red roofs. Between the branches of the large tree a woman in pink is seen carrying a bundle of sticks on her head, and a pale yellow rabbit appears in front of gray and brown farm buildings; a number of houses on a hill are visible in the distance. There are several red and brown birds perched on the branches of the trees. The scanty foliage is in shades of green and yellow.

The background to the central group shows some pale yellow sheep, a brown fence, and a large gray and brown farmhouse, with blue roofs. On the left is a woman in dull yellow milking a yellow and brown cow, with another cow partly visible. A large tree in full leaf separates the farmyard from a garden with pale brown paths and blue-green flower beds; a woman in pale purple kneels to pick red and pink tulips. Farther to the left is an arbor with brown uprights and green and pale yellow foliage; three people are sitting in it at a table with a gray and pale yellow cloth. There are a blue bottle, dishes, and food on the table. The company is waited on by a man in dull pale pink. A tall pale brown fence divides this scene from a hill topped by a gray and yellow ruin, with a basin of pale blue water beneath it. The sky is pale yellow-gray. The foreground is in tones of brown, green, and gray.

#### CONDITION

The piece has been cut at the top, but not at the sides. It has also been cut vertically in the center and rejoined. The entire sky is extensively repaired, as well as all the other silk areas, such as the sheep and the lighter costumes.

#### SUBJECT

Suitable occupations for March, April, May, and perhaps June are illustrated from right to left: trimming trees, sheep shearing, milking, gardening, and eating out-of-doors.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

In addition to the replica in a Scottish collection in 1930, the central and right-hand scenes are found on a

tapestry of *March and April* sold at Christie's, London, July 7, 1966 (no. 159, illus.). The tree trimming is on the left, the seated shepherd and his companions, with the cow being milked in the distance, on the right. The dead tree is between the two scenes. The dog is lying down. This piece is probably identical with a tapestry sold by Lord Vernon, Sudbury Hall, at Puttick and Simpson, London, December 14, 1923.<sup>5</sup> A companion piece, *June*, in the Vernon sale shows the left side of 126a, the shepherds and their flock.

## 126b *Autumn*

#### DESCRIPTION

In the left center is a large brown tub in which stands a man wearing a yellow dress and blue cap and belt. A boy in a red dress, blue cloak and stockings, and gray shoes, empties a basket of yellow and red grapes into the tub; another, wearing a red cap, blue dress, and gray leg coverings, leans against it as he reaches for a brown bucket, filled with red juice, standing in a low open brown barrel under a spigot in the big tub. In the foreground are two boys in ragged red, blue, yellow, and pink clothes, one lifting a bunch of yellow grapes above his head, the other holding similar grapes on his lap. Each has a yellow basket beside him, the one on the left filled with yellow grapes and green vine leaves. Some enormous bunches of dull yellow and purple grapes with green and yellow leaves lie on the ground in front of the large tub. Behind it is the gable end of a gray building, with a man in red pouring juice into a brown barrel through a yellow funnel. The building stops abruptly on the left and the space where its side should be is filled with foliage and part of a distant landscape. On the right, beyond the large tub, are three women in blue, pink, and gray picking grapes from yellow and green vines.

Two large trees with green, brown, and yellow trunks, green and reddish leaves, and dull red fruit form a boundary to this scene on the right. One is an oak, with acorns hanging from its boughs; a vine with dull yellow grapes climbs up it. A man in pale red with yellow-gray trousers knocks down acorns to feed some yellow-brown pigs. Behind him, two women in dull blue and red are scutching



and breaking pale yellow flax on low tables; some bundles of flax lie on the ground beside them. To the right, a dull yellow and red slaughtered pig hangs on the wall of a gray and brown house. Part of a kneeling man in red is seen below. There are gray buildings behind the flax workers, with a yellow river and a bridge in the distance. A remote castle is visible in the center. The sky is pale yellow-gray. The foreground is in shades of green, brown, and gray, with a tree on the far left and some large green and yellow plants; these include a large pink thistle on the right.

#### CONDITION

The tapestry has been cut on all sides. An oblong in the lower left corner is from another tapestry or from a missing section of 126b. Two vertical cuts, one on the left beyond the large building and one just to the right of the boys in the foreground, have been rejoined. The silk areas have largely perished, including the entire sky, the live and dead pigs, and several costumes; extensive coarse repairs have been effected, but there remain substantial patches of bare warps.



## SUBJECT

The vintage is a standard occupation for October and, though inappropriate, is found in other English tapestries of the months.<sup>6</sup> Knocking down acorns for pigs is common for an autumn month and treating flax is shown, in a different design, in an English tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>7</sup> The slaughtered pig stands for December. The partly seen kneeling man belongs to a pig-killing scene.

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The two boys eating grapes in the foreground are derived from a painting by Murillo, believed to date from 1645–55, in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.<sup>8</sup> In the painting the boy on the right is eating a melon and has no basket, but in other respects the design has been closely followed.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

An extended version of the design in the Sir James Curry sale, Puttick and Simpson, London, February 5, 1932, includes a pig-killing scene on the right, with the singeing of the carcass over a fire in the distance. The boys eating grapes are also shown. This may be the tapestry sold at Sotheby's, London, December 16, 1977 (no. 50). A similar combination of autumnal and winter scenes is found on a tapestry in the Benjamin Thaw sale, New York, December 12, 1931. A tapestry inscribed "October, November, December," a companion piece to the one inscribed

"July, August, September" that was formerly in the F. S. Clarke collection, was on the London art market in the 1930s.<sup>9</sup> An example of the design was in the Symons Galleries sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 5–7, 1949 (no. 539, illus.); the house on the left ends where an inexplicable break in the design occurs on 126b. The boys eating grapes are missing and the pigs are differently placed. The tapestry is lower, ending just above the house on the left. The boys eating grapes appear, reversed, in a vintage-scene tapestry owned by the Berlin dealer Herbert Klewer in 1957;<sup>10</sup> the composition is otherwise unrelated to 126. This is probably the tapestry formerly owned by Donaldson Studson, Market Drayton.<sup>11</sup>

## NOTES

1. Information from Wendy Hefford.
2. Marillier, *English Tapestries*, pp. 66, 67.
3. W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England* (London, 1914) fig. 39. Called *Autumn*.
4. Marillier, *English Tapestries*, pp. 61–69, pls. 21–23, 25; Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pp. 172, 173 (Mortlake), 184 (Thomas Poyntz), 193 (Stephan de May), pls. 130, 139, 144, 146.
5. Marillier, *English Tapestries*, p. 67.
6. An example is in the Mortlake set formerly owned by the earl of Ilchester, Melbury Court (Marillier, *English Tapestries*, pl. 23); another, with a different composition, was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, May 23, 1970, no. 146, illus.
7. Marillier, *English Tapestries*, pl. 23 (as owned by Miss Rendell).
8. Murillo, *l'oeuvre du maître* (Paris, 1913) pl. 203.
9. Information from the Marillier Archive, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
10. Rolf Parow, "Berlin auf der Antiquitätenmesse in München," *Weltkunst* 27 (1957) pp. 8, 9, illus.
11. Information from the Marillier Archive.

## 127 Indo-Chinese Scenes

a *The Concert*

b *The Toilet of the Princess*

English (London); designed about 1690 and probably woven at the Great Wardrobe by John Vanderbank (fl. 1683–1717), 1690–1715.

Wool and silk.

127a 10 ft. x 15 ft. (3.05 m x 4.57 m);

127b 10 ft. x 12 ft. 10 in. (3.05 m x 3.91 m).

19–20 warps per inch, 7–8 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. George F. Baker, 1953 (53.165.1, 2).

### DESCRIPTION

Both tapestries have predominantly black grounds, but with dark brown areas, usually bounded by straight vertical lines. On this ground are islands, blue-green at the top, dull yellow below, with their lower edges bordered by shallow bands in shades of gray, blue, and brown, giving a three-dimensional effect. The smaller islands at the top have only plants and shrubs in dull green, blues, and yellow with fantastic red and white flowers. Exotic or imaginary floral forms in similar colors are found on all the islands.

The borders have red-brown grounds with fairly extensive gray areas; there are crude dull yellow and pale red acanthus leaves at each corner. A dull pale yellow bar along the center of each border has a spray of conventional flowers and leaves in shades of red, blue, yellow, and white twined around it. The guards are pale brown.

### CONDITION

Both tapestries have many repaired and rewoven areas, with gaps where wefts have perished. The color variations in the grounds appear to be original, probably intended to mitigate the severity of an all-black background.

### SUBJECT

The tapestries are chinoiseries and cannot be said to have subjects. The titles are modern and are taken from prominent motifs in each piece.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The general scheme, floating islands with exotic vegetation and figures on a dark ground, is derived from Oriental lacquerwork, especially “Coromandel” (Chinese) screens.<sup>1</sup> The buildings are mostly Chinese in character, the figures Indian (derived from miniatures) and Chinese, with some Turkish elements, such as the group of Janissaries in 127a.<sup>2</sup>

Robert Robinson (fl. 1674–1706) has been suggested as the designer of tapestries of this type on the strength of his signed chinoiserie wall paintings, dated 1696, in Duke Lane, Aldgate, London, and unsigned, but very similar, panels in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>3</sup> In one of the latter is a four-wheeled chariot with a fantastic, very tall structure rising up to a small canopy at the back; this is close to a motif in several tapestries of this type, including one formerly owned by the Vigo-Sternberg Galleries, London,<sup>4</sup> though in the painting the chariot is drawn by an elephant and in the tapestries by two leopards. Both chariots may have been imitated from a Chinese original and the attribution of the tapestry designs to Robinson must be considered doubtful.

Two canvas panels painted in oils that were said to have been in an American collection in 1955 have been described as cartoons for English chinoiserie tapestries.<sup>5</sup> They show several motifs, mostly from the “Chinese” type of these tapestries, on dark grounds, but they could as well be copies of the tapestries as cartoons for them.

### WEAVER AND DATE

John Vanderbank was yeoman arras-worker at the Great Wardrobe tapestry workshop in Great Queen Street in the parish of Saint Giles-in-the-Fields, London, from 1689 to his death in 1717.<sup>6</sup> In 1690, 1691, and 1696 he provided nine tapestries for Queen Anne at Kensington Palace, described as “designed after the Indian manner,” and listed in the 1697 inventory of the palace as “Seven peices of Tapistry hangings with India ffigures 9 foot deep.”<sup>7</sup> The weaver’s name, as Vandrebanc, is found on an “Indian” tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>8</sup> A set that can probably be dated exactly is one at Castle

Howard, owned by Mr. George Howard, since a letter of 1706 from Hawksmoor, the architect, to Lord Carlisle mentions two sets of tapestries to be made for the house by Vanderbank.<sup>9</sup> Though no subjects are mentioned, the dimensions of three pieces intended for "my Lds Bed-chamber" correspond fairly closely with three of the five pieces of "Indian" tapestry now at Castle Howard. Two tapestries of the set at Yale have the Mortlake mark, probably used here merely as an indication of English manufacture.

The name of M. Mazarind is found on a tapestry of this type formerly owned by the late Christabel, Lady Aberconway;<sup>10</sup> three motifs of this tapestry also appear on 127a and elsewhere, suggesting that Mazarind was an associate of Vanderbank.

The two panels (joined) that were sold by Sir Walter Blount of Mawley Hall, Kidderminster, at Christie's, London, July 7, 1932 (no. 118), have the arms of the fourth baron Aston, and his wife, who were married in 1698. She died in 1723, so that the tapestries were presumably made between these dates.<sup>11</sup>

Some tapestries of the type may have been supplied by Vanderbank's widow before her death in 1727, or by their son Moses, who held the Great Wardrobe post until 1730.<sup>12</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Only one piece has been located with exactly the same borders as 127; it was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 27, 1969 (no. 25, illus.). However, it is only 7 feet, 10 inches high and repeats the motif of the man smoking a long pipe at the entrance to a tent, found on 127a, so it probably was not part of the same set as 127.

The set of four pieces that were at Glemham Hall, Suffolk, and are now at Yale University, New Haven, were presumably made for Elihu Yale after his return from India in 1692. It has been suggested that some of the motifs of these tapestries were taken from works of art that he took home, but Vanderbank had already made tapestries "after the Indian manner" for Queen Anne in 1690. The Yale set consists of other versions of both pieces of 127, with two other combinations of different motifs, known as the *Promenade* or the *Harpist*, and the

*Palanquin*.<sup>13</sup> Versions of the *Harpist* are owned by the marquess of Linlithgow at Hopetoun House, Scotland, and Sir Alfred Beit at Russborough, Ireland (from Melville House, Fife; sold at Christie's, London, November 19, 1959, no. 143, illus.); others were in the James W. Barney sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 8, 1948 (no. 134, illus.), sold again at Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco, July 25, 1984 (no. 3243, illus.); a Weinmüller, Munich, sale, December 9–10, 1960 (no. 377, illus. in part, combined with part of the *Toilet*); Sotheby's, London, June 27, 1969 (no. 25, illus., combined with one motif from 127a and several not found elsewhere). The *Palanquin* motifs are all repeated on a tapestry that was sold at Christie's, May 15, 1952 (no. 168, illus.).

Motifs not included in these four designs are found on a tapestry in the Art Institute of Chicago (formerly in the A. M. Legh collection, Adlington Hall), the most conspicuous being a seated couple, attended by a servant, under a huge canopy; it occurs again in a piece formerly owned by Christabel, Lady Aberconway.<sup>14</sup> Some ten or twelve other major motifs are found on tapestries of the same type. It is apparent that the motifs were not always mixed at random, but tended to be reproduced in standard combinations. At least a dozen different borders have been identified, the most usual being acanthus leaves twisted around a rod.

Another group of chinoiserie tapestries by Vanderbank consists of pieces with some motifs derived from illustrations to John Ogilby's translation of Arnold Montanus's *Atlas Japannensis* (London, 1670).<sup>15</sup> Examples include tapestries at Belton House, owned by the National Trust (one signed by Vanderbank),<sup>16</sup> Lord Bradford at Weston Hall (also signed),<sup>17</sup> Major N. Chamberlayne-Macdonald, Cranbury Park, Hampshire,<sup>18</sup> and the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>19</sup> In this group the islands are less sharply defined, giving more the impression of an actual landscape, and the figures and objects are more solid. Some have light grounds. Very occasionally motifs from the two types are combined.<sup>20</sup>

Dark-ground chinoiserie tapestries were made by Joshua Morris about 1720–30; they include some motifs from Vanderbank's series. A set of three was sold by Viscount Sidmouth at Sotheby's, London, November 23, 1979 (nos. 2–4, illus.).<sup>21</sup>

Nineteenth-century imitations with motifs from both types have been sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, June 1,

1967 (no. 30, illus.), Sotheby's, London, May 7, 1976 (no. 59, illus.), and Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, December 9, 1978 (nos. 476–79, two illus.).

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1953–June 1954*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) p. 24. Listed.

Remington, Preston. "The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) pp. 69, 120, illus. [127b].

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: VI. Some Exotic Subjects." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 46, 47, figs. 5–7.

Standen, Edith A. "English Tapestries 'After the Indian Manner.'" *MMA Journal* 15 (1980) pp. 119–42, figs. 3, 4, 13, 18, 20. Weaver, date, designer, and many examples of type discussed, with comparative illustrations of lacquer screen, Indian miniatures, and prints from travel and interior decoration books.

## 127a *The Concert*

#### DESCRIPTION

A blue, white, and pale yellow bird with spread wings stands on the uppermost inhabited island on the left side. Farther to the right are two seated women, both with red and white, halo-like headdresses; one in yellow plays a pipe, the other, in pale blue, holds a fixed fan. On the island below and to the right are two seated men, one in red holding a cup, the other, grasping a bottle, in yellow. A yellow, red, and pale blue bird flies above them. Under the bird with spread wings is an island with a tentlike building in red, white, blue, and yellow-brown. The island below the girls with the pipe and fan supports a palm tree in dull yellow, pale blue, and pale brown; three men in red, yellow, white, and blue stand under it. Below and to the left is an island with a tall tree with blue-green and pale yellow leaves bearing pink pomegranates; two red parrots are perched on the branches and there is a pale yellow-brown butterfly at the upper left side. On this island is a Chinese boy in pale red, carrying two dull-yellow rectangular boxes with blue lids on a stick balanced on his shoulders. On this level, at the extreme left, is part of a large tent in red, white, blue, and dull yellow; in front of it is a seated man with a red cap and a red, white, and blue costume,

smoking a long pipe. The island below supports a blue-green palm tree with a dull yellow monkey sitting in it.

A group of three dull yellow horses with riders and four men on foot occupy the island below the boy with two boxes; the headgear of some of the men shows them to be Turkish Janissaries (see detail). The man on foot leading the group has a red cap, yellow sleeveless jacket, blue sleeves and shirt, and red stockings; he holds a sword with a red hilt. The foremost rider is in yellow with a red saddle cloth; he beats two dull yellow Turkish kettledrums, decorated in red, with red sticks. The second rider, blowing a European trumpet, is in red with blue sleeves and yellow headdress. The third is in red and yellow; his horse has a horse's tail (a Turkish *wuntshuk*) hanging from its elaborate head harness. Two identical men stand on either side of the horse; they have fantastic yellow hats, long red sleeveless robes with blue and yellow trimmings, and blue sleeves and stockings. The head of a man in a pointed yellow hat is seen on the other side of the horse.

Above and to the right of this group is a blue and yellow pavilion decorated with red flowers, the roof supported by red struts and square yellow columns, the sides of which are covered with blue and white vases. The pavilion stands between two blue and white palm trees, and two red, blue, and yellow birds perch on its blue and white dome. In front of it is a large red carpet ornamented with blue

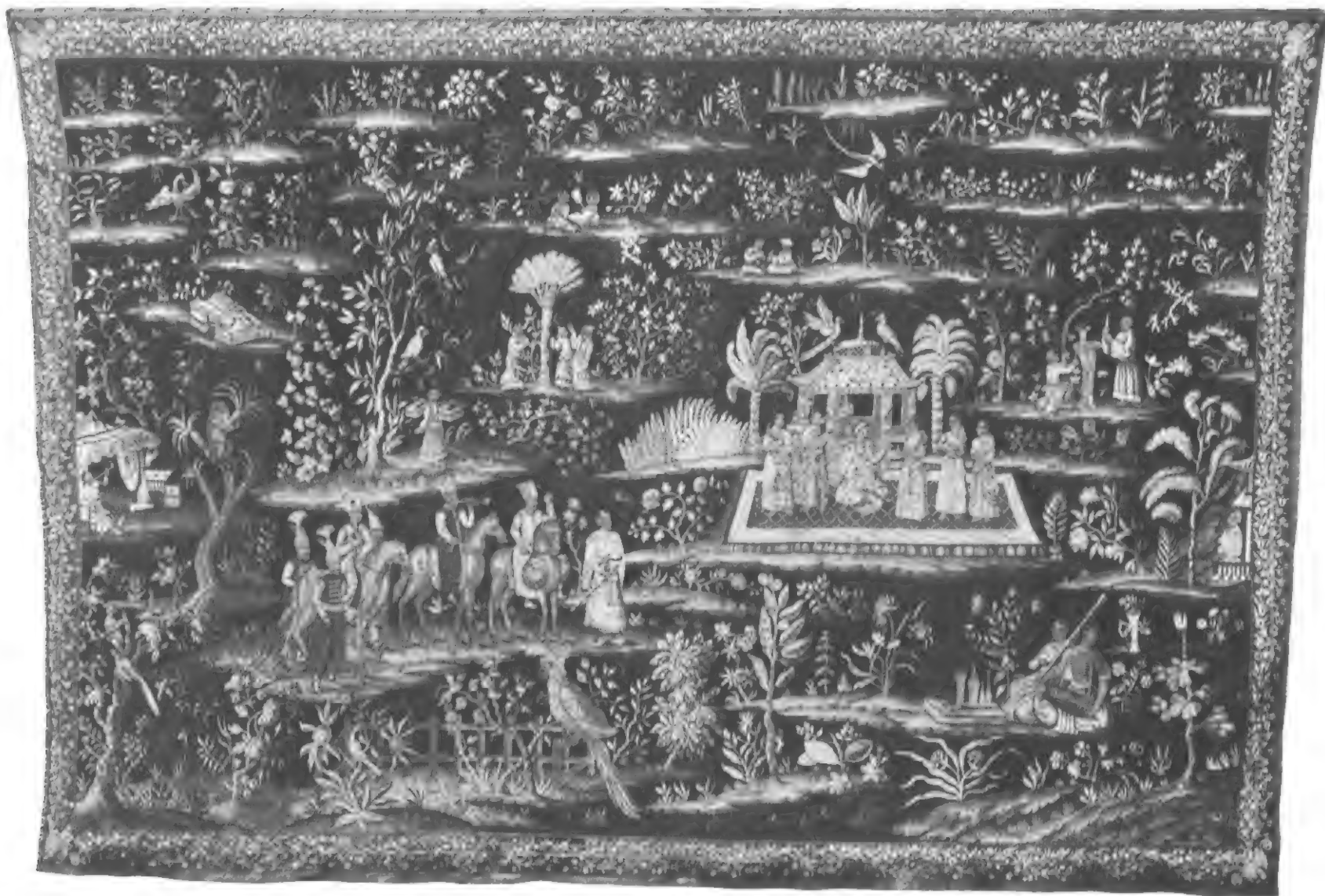


Detail of 127a









127a

flowers and a pale yellow border. On this sits an Indian prince with a large dull yellow and gray cushion behind him. He wears a red and yellow turban, a blue and yellow costume spotted with red leaves, and a dull yellow sword. Three barefoot women in red, blue, and yellow stand on either side of him. The foremost on the right holds a yellow dish with blue and white vessels on it; the woman in the center on the left extends a pink fan over the prince's head. The island above and to the right supports a yellow stand with a blue and white vase and bowl on it. A kneeling bare-legged man in red and yellow holds a red stick; a standing man in red has a white one. Below, at the extreme

right, is part of a white, blue, red, and pale yellow Chinese house; a figure in red, white, and yellow is seen to the waist by a railing.

In the foreground on the far left is a brown, blue, and dull red tree with large pink flowers; two multi-colored birds are seen in its branches. Farther to the right is a red fence with a large yellow, red-tailed parrot sitting on it; a smaller bird sits on a flowering tree to the left. On the far right are two Indian women sitting on the ground; both are dressed in red and yellow (see detail). The one in front has a pale brown Indian two-ended drum slung around her neck; the one behind has a yellow *sitar* or *tambura*. A

red stand in front of the musicians supports some gray vases. There are fantastic plants on the islands in the foreground, some with blue, red, purple, and white flowers or fruit. The one on the extreme right has dull yellow and blue pomegranates.

#### CONDITION

The repaired and rewoven areas are especially noticeable in the large parrot and in the dark ground on the lower right side. Gaps are conspicuous in the group of horsemen.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Comparable Indian miniatures have been identified for the girls playing a drum and a stringed instrument, the prince sitting on a rug under a canopy with female attendants on either side and the standing figure in the front of the group of horsemen.<sup>22</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design of the version made for Elihu Yale is in reverse.<sup>23</sup> It is wider, showing the whole of the Chinese house with a man by a railing, partly seen on the extreme right of 127a, and two more horsemen on the other side. The tree with the monkey is omitted and there are other small differences. A second *Concert* at Yale University, also in reverse, is very close to the first, though it is less tall,<sup>24</sup> and an example at Castle Howard is also reversed. A *Concert* that was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 24, 25, 1939 (no. 101, illus.), is like 127a, though less tall, ending immediately above the fan-shaped tree with three men at its foot, and wider, including the whole house on the right and a beetling cliff above it; the tree with the monkey is omitted.<sup>25</sup> The set at The Vyne, Hampshire, owned by the National Trust, includes a *Concert*; it is similar to 127a and has the tree with the monkey, but is not as tall.<sup>26</sup> A borderless *Concert* owned by M. Harris & Sons, London, in 1950, is in reverse to 127a. It shows the whole of the house with the figure by the railing, but ends immediately beyond the man carrying two boxes over his shoulder; the group of horsemen is replaced by a second standing man.<sup>27</sup> A version of the *Concert* was apparently among a set of three pieces sold at Sotheby's, March 17,

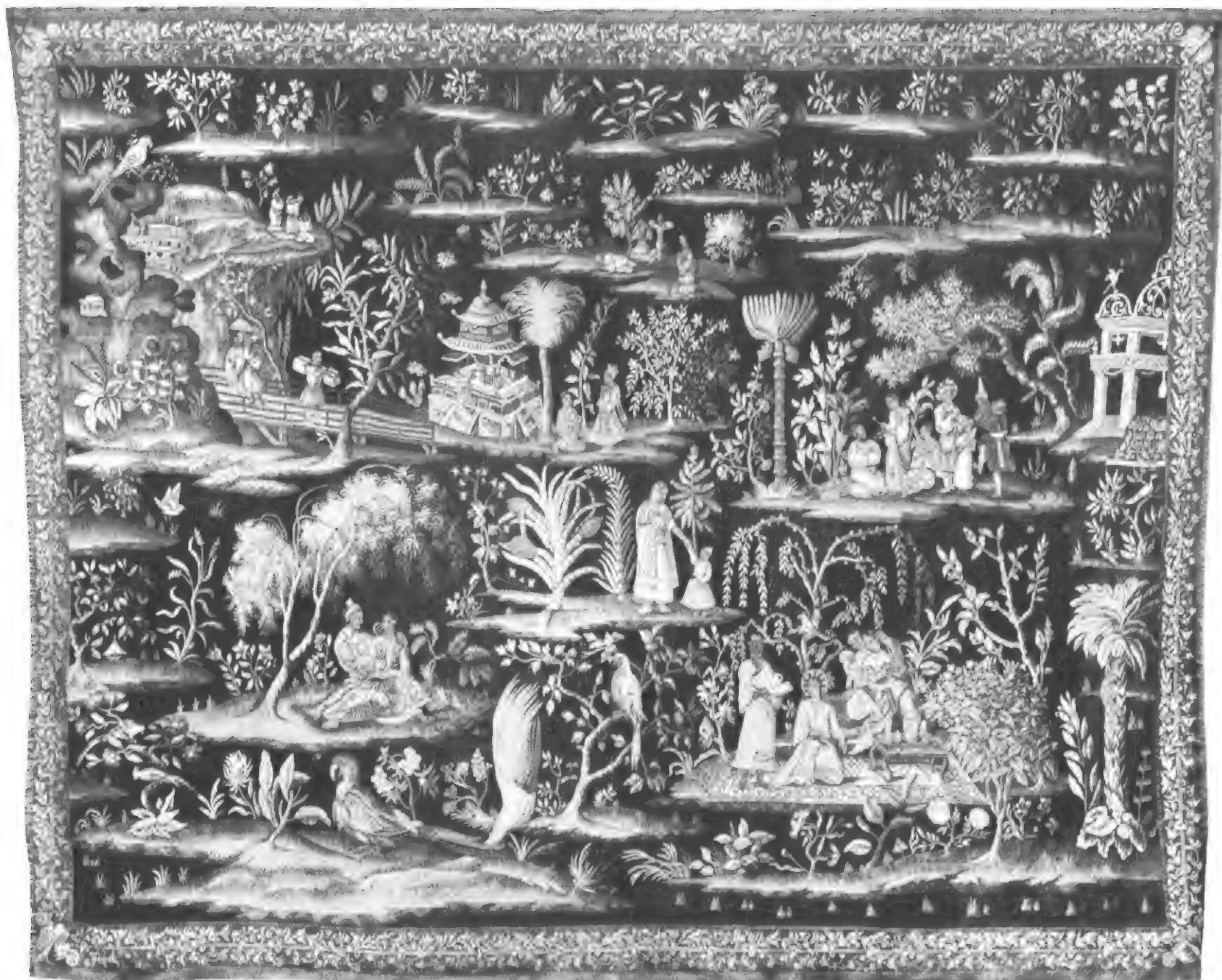
1950 (no. 141; described as including "a seated man with six female attendants"). Another set of three was sold by Lady Sackville at Brighton, June 25–July 3, 1923 (nos. 1280–82, two illus.), one of which contained most of the *Concert* motifs.

Individual motifs are sometimes found on tapestries of this type in combination with others not in 127a. The man smoking outside a tent and the monkey up a tree are on one of the tapestries formerly owned by the late Christabel, Lady Aberconway (signed "M. Mazarind"),<sup>28</sup> and the latter on a piece in the L. V. Hart sale, Christie's, London, November 12, 1962 (no. 162, illus.). Three standing women of the seated prince group appear on a tapestry sold at Sotheby's, London, December 10, 1965 (no. 30, illus.). The large parrot is seen on the fragments of a tapestry of this type, which also include the harpist, owned by the marquess of Linlithgow, Hopetoun House, West Lothian. The man smoking has the complete tent behind him on a tapestry from Ickwell Bury, sold by John Harvey, at Knight, Frank and Rutley, London, November 11, 1927 (no. 4, illus.), now in the C. L. David Collection, Copenhagen. The two pieces joined to make one panel from Mawley Hall, sold at Christie's, July 7, 1932 (no. 118), show the two musicians, as does a piece in the Barbican House Museum, Lewes, Sussex, and one of the three pieces sold from Godmersham Park, Kent, by Christie's, June 6–9, 1983 (no. 79, illus.), that was owned by the Munich dealer Eberhard Hermann later the same year.

## 127b *The Toilet of the Princess*

#### DESCRIPTION

Near the top on the left is a round, dull yellow face, presumably representing the sun. The island on the upper left side is mountainous, with dark blue-gray Chinese-style rocks; a yellow, red, and blue parrot perches on a bush at the top. A castle with dark blue windows is seen below it. On a beetling crag to the right are two standing men and one seated man in pale blue, red, and white. Below them is a bridge with red railings; on it are a man in pale red, with a servant in pale blue holding a white parasol over his head, and a Chinese boy in pale red carrying two pale blue boxes with yellow fringes slung on a stick





over his shoulder. The bridge leads to a temple in red, white, blue, and yellow. A palm tree stands on the right, with, below it, a kneeling man in yellow with a red cap, holding a blue dish. Beside him is a standing man in Indian dress with a red striped scarf. The island above this group supports a crouching man in blue and white, a seated man in a red jacket holding his hands clasped over his head, a blue vase, and a standing man in pale red and blue. Below and to the right is a date palm with a ringed dull yellow trunk and fruit. Beside it is a group of Chinese musicians. A kneeling man in lavender-gray and a red cap holds a dull yellow instrument. A woman standing beside him has a red-outlined chime gong; she wears a pale blue jacket, yellow skirt, and red-striped scarf. A seated woman in pale yellow with red stripes and flowers; a standing man with a red, white, and blue headdress and red and yellow costume; and a girl beside him, with a similar headdress, in white and yellow, play various instruments. A dancing man in red with blue stockings raises a red triangular instrument above his head. On the right is part of an openwork temple in white, gray, and pale yellow with a bird perched on the roof. There are red swags above the entrances and a red carpet with blue flowers is spread in front of the central opening.

On the far left, below the mountain, is a pale yellow flying bird with a pale blue tail and red stripes and blue spots on its wings. To the right, below the temple, is a pale blue plant with huge dull yellow fruit, possibly intended to represent pineapples. On the same island is an Indian woman in yellow, with red stripes, and pale blue; she holds a small child in one arm and extends her other hand to a boy in pale yellow with red socks. On the left, below the bridge, is a barefoot Indian couple. He sits on the ground with the woman on his lap, holding a long-necked bottle. He is in yellow, with a red and yellow turban, she, in red, yellow, and blue. Below the standing woman with two children is a pale brown tree with red flowers and a blue and yellow parrot sitting in it. The island to the right is largely covered by a blue and white rug with red and yellow ornamentation. A woman in yellow with a blue, white, and pink halo-like headdress sits on the rug; an attendant in yellow and red on the left holds a yellow tray with a blue and yellow jug and cups on it. In the background is a red sofa with two girls in yellow, red, and blue sprawled across it; one holds a yellow looking glass. In

front is a low gray and brown table with blue and yellow vases on it.

The foreground island at the far left has a small tree with red flowers and two crested birds in red, blue, yellow, and gray perched on the trunk. To the right is a large red parrot with blue and yellow wing and tail feathers, and yellow beak, eye, and feet. Behind its tail is a tall strange blue and white growth and a tree with red roses and a blue and yellow parrot. The foreground island on the right, beside trees and plants with red, white, and blue flowers, supports a tall palm tree with red and yellow fruit; on the trunk is a yellow monkey with red eyes and white beard. Just above the lower border are small stands of blue and white reeds, as if the dark background was here intended to represent water.

#### CONDITION

Repaired areas and gaps are particularly apparent in the costumes of the seated couple and of the group on the rug.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

A comparable Indian miniature has been identified for the man with a woman on his lap.<sup>29</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The design of the version made for Elihu Yale is in reverse.<sup>30</sup> It is narrower than 127b, ending just beyond the three people on the beetling cliff on one side and the group of musicians on the other. An example at Castle Howard is also reversed. What is apparently a fragment, showing, in reverse, the left side of 127b, from the figures on the railed bridge to the standing man on the other side of the temple, was in a set of three pieces sold at Sotheby's, London, March 17, 1950 (no. 141, illus.). Most of the right side of 127b appears as the left side of a tapestry sold at Weinmüller, Munich, December 9, 10, 1960 (no. 377, illus.), but no other published tapestry repeats a large number of the motifs. The temple, the woman and child, the crouching and standing worshipers, and the date palm appear on a tapestry sold at Sotheby's, London, December 10, 1965 (no. 30, illus.); the temple on one sold at the same auction house, May 29, 1964 (no. 69, illus.); the

openwork building (on the extreme right of 127b), seen in its entirety, with an idol standing on the carpet in front of it, in the piece owned by Sir Alfred Beit; the openwork building in its entirety in the *Harpist* (or *Promenade*) at Yale,<sup>31</sup> in a piece sold at Sotheby's, London, June 27, 1969 (no. 25, illus.), with the harpist and other motifs from the *Harpist*, and in the James W. Barney sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 8, 1948 (no. 134, illus.), also as part of the *Harpist*. A panel in the Barbican House Museum, Lewes, has the woman holding a child by the hand, the temple above them, and the man with the woman on his lap. The marquess of Linlithgow's fragment reproduces the left side with the motifs reversed; a man on horseback from the group of designs known as the *Tea Party* is seen on the right.

#### NOTES

1. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 127, fig. 11.
2. Standen, "English Tapestries," pp. 128–31, figs. 12–20.
3. Edward Croft-Murray, "An English Painter of Chinoiserie," *Country Life Annual*, 1955, pp. 174, 177, 179, fig. 6.
4. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 131, figs. 21, 22.
5. George Wingfield Digby, "English Tapestries at Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine* 97 (1955) p. 388; Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 135, n. 40. There are photographs of these panels in the Marillier Archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum.
6. *Survey of London*, vol. 34, *The Parish of St. Anne Soho*, F. H. W. Sheppard, ed. (London, 1966) Appendix 1, "The Soho Tapestry Makers," p. 515.
7. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 119.
8. Standen, "English Tapestries," fig. 1.
9. Standen, "English Tapestries," pp. 20–22.
10. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 126; Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (New York, 1962) pl. 29.
11. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 122.
12. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 123.
13. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 119, figs. 2, 5; William Tappan, "The Tapestries of Elihu Yale," *International Studio* 82 (1925) pp. 208–14, all illus.
14. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 124, figs. 6, 7 (called the *Tent*).
15. Standen, "English Tapestries," pp. 135–37, figs. 28–31.
16. Standen, "English Tapestries," pp. 131–34, fig. 23.
17. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 134, fig. 24.
18. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 134, figs. 25, 26; Gordon Nares, "Cranbury Park, Hampshire—III: The Home of Mrs. Tankerville Chamberlayne," *Country Life* 120 (November 15, 1956) p. 1118, illus.
19. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 139.
20. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 139.
21. Standen, "English Tapestries," pp. 139, 142, fig. 36.
22. Standen, "English Tapestries," pp. 129, 130, figs. 14, 16.
23. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 123, n. 12 (all known versions listed); Tappan, "Tapestries of Elihu Yale," p. 208, illus.
24. M.T.J.R. [Margaret T. J. Rowe], "An Important New Tapestry," *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University* 10, no. 1, (November 1941) pp. 1, 2, illus.
25. George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance* (New York, 1912) p. 147.
26. *The Vyne*, National Trust (n.p., 1973) pl. facing p. 25 (on wall of Tapestry Room).
27. Advertised in *Apollo* 126 (September 1950) p. xvii.
28. W. Gordon Hunton, *English Decorative Textiles* (London, 1930) pl. 44.
29. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 128, figs. 12, 13.
30. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 123, n. 13; Tappan, "Tapestries of Elihu Yale," p. 212, illus.
31. Standen, "English Tapestries," p. 119, fig. 21; Tappan, "Tapestries of Elihu Yale," p. 210, illus. Called the *Promenade*.

## 128 Arabesques

From a set of three or more pieces

English (London); possibly designed by Andien de Clermont (fl. 1716–1783) and probably woven by Joshua Morris (fl. 1700–1728), 1720–30.

Wool and silk.

8 ft. 10 in. x 9 ft. 7 in. (2.69 m x 2.92 m).

20–22 warps per inch, 9–10 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Screven Lorillard, 1952 (52.195.22).

### DESCRIPTION

A large gray and pale yellow vase in the center is filled with flowers and leaves in shades of red, green, pale yellow and cream; tulips, Easter lilies, a sunflower, and roses can be distinguished. On the left, is a pale yellow cockatoo with a red crest; on the right, a pale yellow and brown owl. Below each bird is a dull yellow basket filled with flowers and leaves in the same colors as those in the vase. Above the birds are floral swags in the same colors. The vase stands on a gray, blue, and yellow support, the birds on dull yellow acanthus leaves. All the main motifs are surrounded by an elaborate framework, with tan bands edged with dark blue and acanthus scrolls and leaves in red, blue, and yellow. Thin sprays of flowers and leaves in the same colors spring from the framework on both sides of the tapestry. The ground is pale yellow-gray behind the vase, birds, and swags, pale greenish gray behind the baskets, and yellow outside the framework.

The border is edged with pale tan inner and outer bands, decorated with small flowers and spots in yellow and brown. The ground of the main section is pale greenish gray. There are shell forms in yellow and pale red at the corners and stylized flower and scroll forms in red, blue, yellow, and gray in the center of each side. Between these are twisting sprays of naturalistic flowers and leaves in shades of red, blue, yellow, and green. The guards are in several shades of brown and are largely original.

### CONDITION

Areas that now appear as tan, notably the inner and outer framing bands of the borders and some of the scrollwork in the center, were originally a deep dull terra-cotta.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designs of tapestries of this type have been attributed to Andien de Clermont on stylistic grounds;<sup>1</sup> his painted ceiling of the Monkey Room at Kirtlington Park, Oxfordshire, shows similar birds, including an owl, and vases.<sup>2</sup> The scrolling forms in several colors, separating dark and light areas, are found on wall panels, one signed by Clermont and dated 1742, in a private collection.<sup>3</sup> The artist's debt to contemporary French tapestry design has been pointed out.<sup>4</sup>

### WEAVER AND DATE

Though none of the pieces in this set has a weaver's mark, some tapestries in the same style are inscribed "I. Morris" and dated 1723. The identification of "I. Morris" with Joshua Morris of Frith Street, Soho, and the Golden Ball in Pall Mall, has been generally, though not universally, accepted.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

128 and two other pieces of the same set were owned by Lionel Harris of the Spanish Art Gallery, London, in 1930.<sup>5</sup> Both companion pieces were in the Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 23, 1965 (nos. 343, 344, one illus.). One, with a bust in the center, was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;<sup>6</sup> the other, with two busts, which had been in the Mrs. John E. Rovensky sale, Parke-Bernet, January 19, 1957 (no. 1018), was sold at Christie's, London, March 12, 1970 (no. 155, illus.).

Another version of 128 was in the Samuel Untermyer sale, Parke-Bernet, May 17, 1940 (no. 903, illus.), and the Alvin Untermyer sale at the same auction house, October 2, 3, 1964 (no. 373, illus., called Beauvais, about 1710). It has no border, the owl is replaced by a parrot, and there are differences in the flower sprays and scrollwork. A very similar piece from the W. S. Bell collection was sold at Christie's, April 10, 1975 (no. 138, illus.); the central vase, the cockatoo (on the right), and one of the flower baskets are the same as those of 128. There are more flower sprays and four small birds are perched on the lower strapwork. There is a narrow border.

A set of six pieces, four large and two small, with very similar borders, is owned by Viscount Cobham at Hagley Hall, Worcestershire; one is signed "I. Morris."<sup>7</sup> Three pieces, one large and two small, were owned by W. D. Wauchope of Edmonstone House, Midlothian, and sold at Dowells, Edinburgh, November 20, 1936 (no. 147, all illus.); they were later in Kensington Palace, owned by Prince Michael of Kent.<sup>8</sup> One piece has the same design as the central unit of the third tapestry in the same set as 128, a vase of flowers, flanked by parrots, with a monkey, pheasant, and squirrel below.

A panel owned by the London dealer Mallett in 1975 shows the design of the left side of 128 with the cockatoo, but with two smaller birds above the basket of flowers. A set of three pieces made in the 1720s is at Squerryes Court, Kent, owned by Major J. R. O'B. Warde.<sup>9</sup> One has the central vase and cockatoo of 128 and the other two both include the eagle with spread wings of the Boston example; it is also found on a piece in the Gubbay Collection at Clandon Park, Surrey, owned by the National Trust. Several pieces belong to the earl of Ancaster at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire (formerly at Normanton Park, Rutland); the borders are close to those of 128 and the eagle and a pheasant that are found on the other pieces of the set are present. One piece is signed "I. Morris." The set was made for Sir Gilbert Heathcote about 1723.<sup>10</sup> Two pieces were in the sale of Edward H. Clive of Perrystone Court, Herefordshire, at Christie's, July 20, 1916 (nos. 111, 112, illus.). One of these (no. 111) was in the Mrs. John E. Rovensky sale, Parke-Bernet, January 15-19, 1957 (no. 1017, illus.). It is signed "I. Morris" and dated 1723; it has the spread-winged eagle. The other was owned by the New York dealers Seidlitz and Van Baarn in 1934;<sup>11</sup> it has the same vase of flowers and the parrot with spread wings that appear on the Boston tapestry. An exact replica of this piece is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>12</sup> A piece sold at Sotheby's, London, January 29, 1960 (no. 85, illus.), and at Christie's, November 18, 1982 (no. 3, illus.), was owned by the Munich dealer Bernheimer in 1983;<sup>13</sup> it has a basket of flowers very similar to that on the left of 128 in the same framework. One spread-wing parrot of the Boston tapestry is also seen on one piece of a set of three in the Bosanquet collection, Dingestow Court, Monmouthshire; these have no borders. The Victoria and Albert Museum owns two pieces (inv. nos. T.32,33-1979) that had belonged to the Strickland family and have

a frieze of cresting inside the borders, not found on other examples.<sup>14</sup> What are presumably pieces of the same type were in the sale of John Harvey of Ickwell Bury, held at Frank, Knight and Rutley, London, November 11, 1926 (no. 6), and a long, narrow piece sold at Christie's, December 2, 1926 (no. 49), inscribed "Supra fernenstram [*sic*]."

Tapestries of a related type, but possibly from another workshop, are a panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>15</sup> and one in the Ulster Museum, Belfast; the latter includes two nude children as well as three vases of flowers.<sup>16</sup> An embroidery closely related to 128 is owned by the duke of Northumberland;<sup>17</sup> it appears to have been copied from the tapestry formerly in the Alvin Untermyer collection.

A chair back in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a bunch of flowers within surrounding strapwork and acanthus leaves exactly like those of 128; it must have been made for furniture intended to accompany wall hangings of this series.<sup>18</sup> A long panel in the Viscount Leverhulme sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, February 9-13, 1926 (no. 488, illus.), has three floral motifs, of which the central one is very close to the basket of flowers on the left of 128; it appears to be made up of three fragments, possibly furniture upholstery. A five-panel screen in the Green Drawing Room, Warwick Castle, has the white cockatoo with a red crest seen on the left side of 128 reversed.

## HISTORY

Owned by the Spanish Art Gallery, London, 1930.  
In the collection of J. Insley Blair, Tuxedo Park, New York.  
Lent to the MMA by Mrs. J. Insley Blair, 1943-49.  
Given to the MMA by her daughter, Mrs. Screven Lorillard, 1952.

## PUBLICATIONS

Marillier, H. C. *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century*. London, 1930, p. 10. Mentioned as one of a set of three owned by the Spanish Art Gallery, woven by Joshua Morris; sets from Perrystone Court, Grimsthorpe, and Hagley Hall listed, as well as similar tapestries formerly at Meresworth Castle, Kent; at West Dean Park, Sussex; and sold by Colonel Harvey of Ickwell Bury.  
Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 196. Mentioned as part of the Spanish Art Gallery set.  
MMA *Annual Report* 1943, p. 34. Mentioned as lent by Mrs. J. Insley Blair.





MMA Annual Report 1952. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 12 (1953–54) p. 19. Listed.

Remington, Preston. "The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954–55) pp. 69, 121, illus. Said to be in the style of Joshua Morris and dated 1700–25.

Cavallo, Adolph S. *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston, 1967, p. 169. Mentioned as belonging to the same set as the tapestry in Boston; Andien de Clermont considered as possibly the designer; French elements in the design enumerated; identification of the weaver, "I. Morris," as Joshua Morris considered probable, but not certain, with either his house in Soho or his shop in Pall Mall as the place of weaving; dated 1700–50; other tapestries of the type listed.

#### NOTES

1. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, 1537–1837, vol. 2 (London, 1970) pp. 40, 192.
2. Francis Lenygon, *Decoration in England from 1640 to 1760*, 2nd ed., rev. (London, 1927) p. 199, fig. 211.
3. *Rococo, Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1984) no. C12.
4. Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 166.
5. Marillier, *English Tapestries*, p. 10.
6. Cavallo, *Tapestries*, pp. 166–70, no. 53, illus.
7. *Hagley Hall . . . Official Guide* (n.p., n.d.) illus. inside back cover, three pieces on wall of Tapestry Room; George Wingfield Digby, "English Tapestries at Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine* 97 (1955) p. 390, fig. 35 (one), described as woven by Joshua Morris of Soho, probably after designs by Andien de Clermont, 1725–50.
8. M.J., "The Collection of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent at 3, Belgrave Square," *Country Life* 83 (May 7, 1938) p. lxxxviii, one described.
9. Arthur Oswald, "Squerries Court, Westerham, Kent—III: The House of Major and Mrs. J. R. O'B. Warde," *Country Life* 143 (June 27, 1968) p. 1754, figs. 6, 7 (set seen on walls of Tapestry Room); Therle Hughes, "The Elegance of English Tapestries," *Country Life* 151 (January 27, 1972) p. 193, fig. 5 (one).
10. Christopher Hussey, "Grimsthorpe Castle—III, Lincolnshire, the Seat of the Earl of Ancaster," *Country Life* 55 (April 26, 1924) p. 656, fig. 8, illus. (on walls of Blue Drawing Room); *Illustrated Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of English Decorative Art*, Lansdowne House (London, 1929) nos. 346, 347, illus.; Hughes, "The Elegance of English Tapestries," p. 192, cover illus.
11. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 158a.
12. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1924) no. 7, pl. 6. The tapestries in this museum were not destroyed in 1976 when the rest of the textile collection was lost ("Textiles and Costumes in the Ulster Museum," *Irish Arts Review* 1 [1984] p. 36).
13. *Kunst und Antiquitäten* 4 (July–August 1983) p. 100, illus.
14. Clive and Jane Wainwright, "Letter from London," *Antiques* 118 (1980) p. 260, one illus.
15. Kendrick, *Catalogue*, no. 7a, pl. 7.
16. W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England* (London, 1914) pl. 56.
17. *English Decorative Art*, Lansdowne House, no. 345, pl. 69.
18. Kendrick, *Catalogue*, no. 7c.

## 129 Portrait of George II

Irish (Dublin); woven by John van Beaver (fl. 1727–1750), possibly in the workshop of Robert Baillie (fl. 1727–1735), Abbey Street, 1732–37. Wool and silk. 2 ft. 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. x 1 ft. 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (76 cm x 60 cm). 21–22 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter. Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1331).

### DESCRIPTION

The king has brown eyes and red lips. He wears a gray and pale brown wig and a white lace neckpiece. His robe is red, with an ermine cloak in white, gray, brown, and black covering his right side. The Order of the Garter is in shades of brown, tan, and dull red, with blue discs; these have meaningless lettering in dull yellow. The George is in blue, tan, and white. There are pink bows at the king's shoulders. The background is light tan.

The original frame is inscribed at the top:

The Workemanship of John Vanbeaver  
Ye Famous Tapistry Weaver.

Below:

Alex<sup>r</sup> Riky  
Master  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Whelling } Wardens.  
Will<sup>m</sup> Beasley. } A.D. 1738.

### CONDITION

Undamaged except for a dark spot in the upper right background.

### SUBJECT

George II (born 1683, reigned 1727–60) is shown as he was in 1716, rather than as he was in 1738. The names of the Master and Wardens of the Weavers' Guild for 1738 appear in the Guild records as Alexander Riky, Richard Whelling, and William Beasley.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is adapted from a mezzotint of 1717 by John Smith after a painting by Geoffrey Kneller of 1716, show-

ing George II as Prince of Wales.<sup>2</sup> Though the head is turned to the right in both the print and the tapestry, the George is reversed in the tapestry. The king's wig falls behind both shoulders in the print, and his costume, though more elaborate, is quite comprehensible; it has been rendered illogical in the tapestry. The bow on the left shoulder is an addition.

### WEAVER AND DATE

Robert Baillie, a Dublin upholsterer, said in a petition to the Irish House of Lords dated February 6, 1727, that he had "brought into this Kingdom from Great Britain, France and Flanders, a sufficient number of exceeding good Tapestry-Weavers"; in another petition, of February 26, 1732, that he had "sent to England and Flanders for drawings and workmen and particularly for a famous face-maker." This man, unless he was a painter, may have been John van Beaver, who, judging by his name, must have come from Flanders. The making of the frame of 129 was authorized by the Weavers' Guild on January 1, 1738; the record in the Guild's Minute Book says that the tapestry "was made a present of by John Van bever [*sic*] to the Corporation." Van Beaver could thus have woven the tapestry at any time between his arrival in Dublin and the end of 1737. His name appears on the *Defence of Londonderry*, one of two tapestries now in the Bank of Ireland, made for the House of Lords of the Dublin Parliament House in 1732 as part of an historical series under the direction of Robert Baillie.<sup>3</sup> But Baillie's name does not appear after 1735 and John van Beaver is known to have made tapestries after this date, probably in his own house at World's End Lane, Dublin, where he died in 1750.<sup>4</sup> Van Beaver may thus have made the portrait under Baillie's direction, or independently.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A tapestry head of George II by Philip Troye, at one time a pupil of van Beaver's, won a prize offered by the Dublin Society in 1751, but it has not been identified.<sup>5</sup>

An almost identical design was used for the medallion with a head of William III in the upper border of the *Battle*



of the Boyne made for the Irish House of Lords, 1728–32, by van Beaver working under Robert Baillie.<sup>6</sup> The long wig is more appropriate for William than it is for George.

#### HISTORY

Presented by John van Beaver to the Weavers' Guild, Dublin, before January 1, 1738. In this year, the Guild decided to erect a new hall, which was built in 1745. The tapestry hung in the principal room upstairs until the Guild was abolished in 1840.<sup>7</sup> It was bought, presumably at this time, by Richard Atkinson, a textile manufacturer, and hung in his Poplin Warehouse.<sup>8</sup>

Sold at Christie's, London, March 12, 1959, no. 140, illus., as the "property of Messrs. Richard Atkinson & Co., Ltd., weavers of Royal Irish Poplin, College Green, Dublin." Bought by J. A. Lewis.

Owned by H. Blairman & Sons, London, 1959.

In the collection of Irwin Untermyer, New York, 1959.

Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1964.

#### EXHIBITIONS

London, Grosvenor House, Antique Dealers' Fair, 1959. Exhibited by H. Blairman & Sons.

New York, MMA, 1977. *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection*, cat. no. 373, illus.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Wright, G. N. *An Historical Guide of Ancient and Modern Dublin*. London, 1821, p. 212. Account of Weavers' Hall, including the "principal room" with "a portrait of one of the La Touches. . . . There is only one other portrait, which is of George II, worked in tapestry, and on the frame is the following juvenile specimen of poetry, but very expressive sentence:

'The workmanship of John Vanheaver [*sic*]  
Ye famous tapestry Weaver.'

This is extremely well executed."

Stubbs, William Cotter. "Weavers' Guild." *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 46 (1919) p. 65. Mentioned in a quotation from articles by Edward Evans on the ancient guilds of Dublin, published in the *Evening Telegraph*, 1894, 1895. As owned by Messrs. Atkinson, of College Green, and hanging in their establishment.



Warner, Frank. *The Silk Industry of the United Kingdom*. London, about 1921, p. 376, pl. XLI. Described as "on the walls of Atkinson's Poplin Warehouse in College Green . . . formerly hung over the fire-place in the Weavers' Hall . . . purchased from the Weavers' Corporation by Mr. Richard Atkinson." The statement that the tapestry "is believed to have been awarded a prize by the Royal Dublin Society" has no foundation in fact.



- Marillier, H. C. *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century*. London, 1930, p. 98. Mentioned as "a remarkable portrait of King George II by Vanbeaver, said to have been woven in Ireland."
- Longfield, Ada K. "History of Tapestry-making in Ireland in the 17th and 18th Centuries." *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 68 (1938) p. 99, pl. XI. As owned by Messrs. Atkinson. Inscription on frame quoted.
- Longfield, Ada K. "Some Tapestry Makers in Ireland." *Burlington Magazine* 85 (1944) pp. 254, 257, pl. II C. Related to medallions in the tapestries woven by John van Beaver van Robert Baillie's manufactory for the Irish House of Lords, now in the Bank of Ireland. Document about purchase of frame, 1738, quoted in full.
- Longfield, Ada K. "Two Small Dublin Tapestries of the 18th Century." *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 76 (1946) p. 172. Mentioned. Said to show van Beaver's characteristic "heather mixture" (use of two differently colored threads at same time).
- Longfield, Ada K. "Further 18th Century Dublin Tapestries." *Journal of the Royal Society of Ireland* 81 (1951) p. 34. Mentioned.
- Edwards, Ralph. *The Dictionary of English Furniture*. 2nd ed. rev., London, 1954, vol. 3, p. 338. Mentioned.
- King, Donald. "Textiles." In *The Early Georgian Period 1714-1760*. Connoisseur Period Guide. London, 1957, p. 119. Mentioned.
- Leask, Mrs. A. K. "Correspondence: 18th-Century Irish Tapestry." *Country Life* 125 (May 14, 1959) p. 1088, illus.
- "A Tapestry Portrait of George II." *Connoisseur* 144 (1959) p. 26, illus. color. As owned by H. Blairman & Sons. Style and many details of frame related to the borders of the House of Lords tapestries; portrait of William III said to be almost identical.
- Sandilands, G. S. "Antiques." *The Studio* 158 (1959) p. 118, illus. p. 121. As exhibited by H. Blairman & Sons at the Antique Dealers' Fair, London, 1959.
- Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960, pp. xlvii, xlviii, 36, 37, pl. 67, fig. 101, color. Said to be based on the John Smith mezzotint after Kneller. History and references given.

#### NOTES

1. Stubbs, "Weavers' Guild," p. 83.
2. Hackenbroch, *English and Other Needlework*, p. xlvii, In. fig. 49.
3. Longfield, "Some Tapestry Makers," pp. 253-55.
4. Longfield, "Two Small Dublin Tapestries," p. 172.
5. Longfield, "Two Small Dublin Tapestries," p. 175.
6. Longfield, "Some Tapestry Makers," pl. I B.
7. Stubbs, "Weavers' Guild," pp. 60, 64, 65.
8. Warner, *Silk Industry*, p. 376.

## 130 Upholstery panels

Backs, seats, and armrests for four armchairs

English (London, Soho); probably designed by Tobias Stranover (1684–1756), and woven by William Bradshaw (fl. 1728–1775), about 1740.

Wool and silk.

Backs approx. 2 ft. 4 in. x 1 ft. 11 in. (71 cm x 58 cm);

seats approx. 2 ft. 4 in. x 2 ft. 8 in. (71 cm x 81 cm);

armrests approx. 1 ft. 1 in. x 6 in. (33 cm x 15 cm).

21 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter.

Gift of Mrs. Dannie Heineman, 1966 (66.71.1 [130c]; 66.71.2 [130b]; 66.71.3 [130a]; 66.71.4 [130d]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both backs and seats have light blue grounds. On all four sides of each piece are scrolling forms in gray and pale brown, rendered as if in relief; they cast shadows in two shades of darker blue, as if strongly lit from the upper right. At the extreme edge of the left and right of each back is a row of slightly darker blue circles, possibly intended as guides to the upholsterer in mounting the covers. The scrolling forms outline irregular medallions with pale yellow grounds; at the bottom of each back they support a gray and brown base for a basket or a vase. The rest of the design inside the medallions differs on each piece.

The back of 130a has a yellow-brown basket with curved sides holding a mass of flowers and leaves in red, white, blue, pink, and green; a large pink and white rose hangs over the edge in the center. In 130b similar flowers fill a straight-sided basket, with a wide-open, red and white striped poppy in the center. In 130c a gray and white vase, probably intended to represent silver or glass, is filled with similar flowers, a spray of dark blue morning glories hangs down on the left and a red and yellow poppy is conspicuous at the top. 130d has a bright yellow and red vase holding similar flowers, including the morning glories on the left, but there is no poppy at the top.

The seats have loosely gathered masses of flowers and leaves, each different, in similar colors. The eight armrests are alike, except that each pair is a mirror image. The grounds are pale yellow. There is a large red and white flower on each, and smaller blooms and leaves in red and blue, on pale yellow grounds.



130b

#### CONDITION

The seats and armrests are badly worn, with many areas of repair and others with bare warps. There are rewoven sections at the front corners of the seats. In one corner of 130c this section is an added piece, with the warps running in the opposite direction to those of the seat cover; on the other chairs, the original warps have been used with new wefts.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The attribution of the designs to Tobias Stranover is based on the great similarity between 130 and the tapestry upholstery of a sofa in the Lord Brownlow sale (formerly at Belton House, Lincolnshire), Christie's, London, March 14, 1929 (no. 78, illus.). The sofa upholstery is inscribed "Stranover—Bradshaw."<sup>1</sup> As Stranover was a painter specializing in birds, flowers, and still life, he can be supposed to have designed the sofa upholstery; he lived in the same house as Bradshaw from 1730 to 1732 and may have been his partner in the tapestry manufactory.<sup>2</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The "Bradshaw" whose name appears on the tapestry upholstery of the sofa formerly in the Brownlow collection must be William Bradshaw, rather than his successor at the Soho workshop, George Smith Bradshaw (fl. 1755–1812), as the frame of this sofa is dated about 1720. The frames of 130 were made about 1740, also too early to be covered by tapestry woven by the later Bradshaw.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The six chairs that were sold with the sofa in the Brownlow sale (no. 78, two illus.) have very similar bunches of flowers in gadrooned vases, standing on slabs supported by scrollwork. But the scrolls do not extend above the lowest flowers, which are therefore not enclosed in medallions. Two chairs with very similar tapestry upholstery are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>3</sup> A set of six chairs and two sofas from the Chatsworth Collection were withdrawn from sale at Christie's, June 26, 1958 (no. 109, one settee and one chair illus.), and are now at Chatsworth; the chair covers have central medallions framed by scrollwork, with flowers on lighter back-



130a

grounds, very similar to 130. The settee covers resemble those on a piece in the Barber Institute, Birmingham;<sup>4</sup> the vases of flowers on the back and seat of this sofa have supports very close to those of the Brownlow chairs and one vase on the back shows the same composition as one on the back of a Brownlow chair. Two chairs owned by the London dealer Mallett in 1929, have vases of flowers on stands, with scrolls, on the backs, and massed flowers on the seats not unlike those of 130.<sup>5</sup> A set of eight side chairs and two sofas at Aske, Yorkshire, owned by the marquess of Zetland, has similar vases on stands with no scrolls.<sup>6</sup> A similar set was in the Peter Beatty collection in 1949;<sup>7</sup> the vases on the backs stand on plain supports and there is no scrollwork. A gadrooned vase with flowers very close to those of 130d is on a fire-screen panel owned



130c

by the earl of Ancaster, Normanton Park,<sup>8</sup> and a panel with a vase of flowers on a support, surrounded by similar, but not identical, scrolling forms was owned by the London dealer C. John in 1982.<sup>9</sup>

A set of a sofa and six armchairs, owned by the London dealer G. Jetley in 1957, shows a simplified form of the design of the chair backs of 130. The grounds are uniformly yellow and the same design is used for all six backs, though reversed on three of them; the seats have baskets of flowers.<sup>10</sup> Upholstery with similar designs is found on an armchair sold at Sotheby's, London, May 28, 1982 (no. 80, illus.), and on a set of four armchairs and a sofa sold at the same auction house, June 25, 1982 (no. 21, one chair illus.).



130d

#### HISTORY

Owned by Viscount Lascelles, later Earl of Harewood, before 1920.

Sold with the contents of Chesterfield House, London, former residence of the earl of Harewood, by Sotheby's, London April 7, 1932, no. 305, all illus.

Lent to the MMA by Mrs. Dannie Heineman, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1963.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. Dannie Heineman, 1966.

#### EXHIBITIONS

London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, Winter Exhibition, 1920–21. *Pictures and English Furniture of the Chippendale Period*, cat. p. 22. Two chairs, lent by Lord Lascelles, dated



about 1730; said to be covered with Soho tapestry.  
 London, Lansdowne House, 1929. *Loan Exhibition of English Decorative Art*, no. 370 in *Illustrated Catalogue*, pl. xci [130a]. Two chairs, lent by the earl of Harewood, dated about 1745; tapestry said to be probably made in Soho.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Tipping, H. Avray. "Mid-Georgian Furniture and Ornaments at the Burlington Fine Arts Club." *Country Life* 48 (December 25, 1920) p. 844, fig. 6 [130a]. Two chairs lent by Lord Lascelles with Soho tapestry.
- Tipping, H. Avray. "English Furniture at the Burlington Fine Arts Club." *Burlington Magazine* 38 (1921) pp. 73, 74. Two chairs lent by Lord Lascelles mentioned as covered with Soho tapestry showing the usual motifs of Bradshaw.
- Tipping, H. Avray. "Chesterfield House, Mayfair—I: A Residence of Viscount Lascelles." *Country Life* 51 (February 25, 1922) p. 240, illus. View of library showing part of one chair.
- Macquoid, Percy, and Edwards, Ralph. *The Dictionary of English Furniture*. Vol. 1, London, 1924, pp. 232, 238, fig. 95 [130a]. Called Soho, about 1745, owned by Viscount Lascelles. 2nd ed. rev. by Ralph Edwards, vol. 1, London, 1954, pp. 273, 276, fig. 147 [130a]. Called Soho, about 1740, at Harewood House, Yorkshire.
- Edwards, Ralph. *The Shorter Dictionary of English Furniture*. London, 1964, p. 142, fig. 102 [130a]. Same information as in 2nd ed., *Dictionary of English Furniture*.
- MMA *Annual Report 1965–1966*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 25 (1966–67) p. 96. Listed as gift of Mrs. Dannie Heineman, formerly at Chesterfield House, London.

#### NOTES

1. Edwards, *Dictionary of English Furniture* (1954) vol. 3, pp. 80, 86, 337, fig. 20. A hunting scene inscribed "Bradshaw/Stranover," sold at Sotheby's, June 24, 1966, no. 32, illus., was exhibited at the Vigo-Sternberg Galleries, London, 1971 (*Four Hundred Years of English Tapestries*, no. 28, illus.).
2. *Survey of London*, vol. 34, *The Parish of St. Anne Soho*, F. H. W. Sheppard, ed. (London, 1966) Appendix I, "The Soho Tapestry Makers," p. 517.
3. *English Chairs*, Victoria and Albert Museum, Large Picture Book no. 10 (London, 1965) no. 50, illus.
4. *Handbook of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts* (Birmingham, England, 1949) pl. 36, pl. 23, dated 1725–50. Attributed to the Fulham manufactory. Previously sold at Sotheby's, June 26, 1942, no. 124, illus.
5. "Current Art Notes: Old Masters of Furniture," *Connoisseur* 84 (1929) p. 56, one illus. Attributed to Stranover Bradshaw and the Fulham manufactory.
6. Anthony Coleridge, "Sir Lawrence Dundas and Chippendale," *Apollo* 86 (1967) p. 191, fig. 3 (one chair).
7. M. Jourdain and R. Timewell, "Furniture at Mereworth in the Collection of the Hon. Peter Beatty," *Apollo* 49 (1949) p. 68, fig. 2. Resemblance to the Brownlow set mentioned.
8. A.D., "Normanton Park, Rutland: A Seat of the Earl of Ancaster," *Country Life* 33 (February 8, 1913) p. 199. Shown in State Bedroom with the Joshua Morris wall hangings now at Grimsthorpe (see 128).
9. *Burlington Magazine* 124 (April 1982) advertisement p. xxxvii. Called eighteenth-century Soho tapestry.
10. *Connoisseur* 139 (April 1957) advertisement p. xviii, all illus. From the collection of Major Cantrell Hubbersty, Ragdale Hall, Leicestershire. Tapestries called original, Soho, about 1745.

## 131 Panel with flowers

English (London, probably Soho), 1725–50.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 8 in. x 1 ft. 10 in. (51 cm x 56 cm).

20–21 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.957).

### DESCRIPTION

A group of flowers in red, pink, dull yellow, dull blue, lavender, and pale gray or white is carelessly assembled on a dark blue ground. Stems and foliage are in shades of green and brown. A striped red and white tulip lies in one corner and a red rose and rosebuds can be identified.

### CONDITION

The panel is mounted on a slip-in seat for a stool. There are small areas of repair in the background, especially round the edges, and some silk passages have been renewed. Many slits have been coarsely sewn up.

### HISTORY

The panel was mounted on a slip-in seat for an English stool probably in 1924, when it and the stool were in the H. H. Mulliner collection. In the sale of this collection at Christie's, July 1, 1924 (no. 111, not illus.), it was described as Soho tapestry and was bought with the stool by Lessiers.

In the collection of Lady Evelyn Beauchamp until sold at Christie's, May 12, 1955 (no. 106, illus. on stool). Bought by Hotspur.

Acquired by Irwin Untermyer, New York, before 1958.

Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1964.

### EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1977. *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection*, cat. no. 129, illus. Called Soho.



### PUBLICATIONS

Mulliner, H. H. *The Decorative Arts in England, 1660–1780*.

London, [1924], fig. 58. The stool is shown with another fabric on the slip-in seat, but the accompanying text says it is upholstered with English tapestry, 20 warps to an inch; it is described as showing an English design, woven by foreign weavers in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English Furniture with Some Furniture of Other Countries in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pl. 85, fig. 111, p. 25. History of stool given, slip-in seat said to be covered in tapestry.

Hughes, G. Bernard. "Three Centuries of Upholstered Stools." *Country Life* 127 (June 9, 1960) p. 1335, fig. 5. Shown on stool, not mentioned in text.

## 132 Upholstery panels

Back, seat, and armrests for an armchair

English (probably London, perhaps Fulham),  
mid-eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

Back 1 ft. 10 in. x 1 ft. 8 in. (56 cm x 51 cm);

seat 2 ft. 2½ in. x 2 ft. 5½ in. (67 cm x 75 cm);

armrests 10½ in. x 5½ in. (27 cm x 14 cm).

19–21 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Irwin Untermyer, 1973 (1974.28.20).

### DESCRIPTION

On the back, a blue and pale dull yellow parrot stands on one leg on a brown ledge. In front of it is some fruit, including a bunch of yellow grapes, and leaves in shades of yellow, dull green, and blue-green. At either side a stalk of overlapping leaves in shades of green and yellow rises from a yellow and brown container. Flowers in red, pink, dull dark yellow, blue, and white, with leaves in shades of green and yellow, surround the central scene; they are not identifiable, except for a pink rose and buds on the upper right. The sky is pale blue with gray and white clouds.

On the seat, scrolling forms in red-brown, dark dull yellow, and tan surround a central landscape, which shows dull blue-green trees standing on a hill in tones of gray-green, gray, and blue. The sky is gray. Flowers in shades of red, blue, and white, with blue-green leaves, are intertwined with the scrolls; a large red fringed poppy is seen in the upper left and an unidentifiable blue flower in the upper right.

The armrests are mirror images, showing red and blue flowers on dark tan grounds.

### CONDITION

On the back, the lower part of the sky is much repaired. On the seat and armrests, bare warps are apparent in several areas and there are extensive repairs.

### WEAVER AND DATE

The attribution to Peter Parisot's Fulham workshop rests on the similarity between 132 and an entry in the sale

catalogue of "the entire works of the Fulham Manufactory" on April 30, 1755. This reads: "A large mahogany carved French chair, the back with a Parrot and Fruit, and the seat a landskip of the Beautiful Gobelins work."<sup>1</sup> The weaver may well have been Jean Baptiste Grignon, a Gobelins worker who fled to England; his letter of August 30, 1752, to his father in Paris was intercepted by the French police. It gives his address as care of "Mr Parizot, in Foullemme Manufactory, à London" and includes the statement, "on m'a fait commencer une chaise."<sup>2</sup> The quality of the work, however, suggests one of the English apprentices, who, according to the 1755 sale catalogue, made several of the pieces in the sale. Other London manufactories, including Thomas Moore of Moorfields, also produced tapestry upholstery at this time. The chair frame is the type of some of the "French Chairs" in Chippendale's *Director*. The author says of these, "both the Backs and Seats must be covered with Tapestry, or other sort of Needlework."<sup>3</sup>

### HISTORY

Said to have been in a committee room of the House of Lords, London, before the fire of 1834.

In the collection of Colonel H. H. Mulliner (died 1924), London, before 1920. Sold Christie's, July 9, 1924, no. 87, illus.

Owned by Frank Partridge, Inc., New York, before 1929.

Said to have been in the William Randolph Hearst collection, but not included in his sales catalogues of 1939 and 1941.

Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., sale, Parke-Bernet, May 6, 7, 1960, no. 503, illus. Said to have been acquired from Frank Partridge, Inc.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1973.

### EXHIBITIONS

London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, Winter Exhibition, 1920–21. *Pictures and English Furniture of the Chippendale Period*, cat. pp. 18, 19. Lent by Colonel H. H. Mulliner.

New York, Frank Partridge, Inc., November 16–30, 1929. *Chippendale Furniture*. For the benefit of Saint Luke's Hospital Social Services.

New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., June 1955. *Art Treasures*, cat. no. 276. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. Dated about 1755.

## PUBLICATIONS

Tipping, H. Avray. "English Furniture at the Burlington Fine Arts Club." *Burlington Magazine* 38 (1921) pp. 73, 74, pl. 11 c. Called Fulham, about 1750.

Mulliner, H. H. *The Decorative Arts in England, 1660–1760*. London, 1924, fig. 186. Called Fulham, related to one of two chairs in the 1755 sale; said to have been in the House of Lords.

Brackett, Oliver. *An Encyclopaedia of English Furniture*. London, 1927, pl. 212. As in the Mulliner collection. Rev. and ed. by H. Clifford Smith as *English Furniture Illustrated*. London, 1950, pl. CLXIII (b).

"Partridge Holds Chippendale Loan Exhibition." *Art News* 28 (November 16, 1929) p. 3, illus. No lender named. Advertisements for the exhibition appear through the November 30 issue.

Coleridge, Anthony. *Chippendale Furniture*. London, 1968, p. 192, fig. 186. As in a private collection.

## NOTES

1. W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England* (New York, 1914) p. 154. A second chair with similar designs of upholstery is described as "Chaillot," i.e., made of knotted fabric.
2. A. Darcel, "Une manufacture de tapisserie des Gobelins à Fulham et à Exeter (1748–1766)," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* 6 (1878) p. 308.
3. Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman & Cabinet-Maker's Director* (3rd. ed., 1762; reprint, New York, 1966) pls. xx–xxiii.





## 133 Parrot and Squirrel

Panel for a fire screen

English; woven in knotted technique, mid-eighteenth century.

Wool.

3 ft. x 2 ft. 5 in. (91 cm x 74 cm).

193 knots per square inch, 30 per square centimeter.

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1155).

### DESCRIPTION

A red parrot or macaw with a pale yellow patch round its black eye, a pale yellow and brown beak, and dull green and blue wings, sits on a branch of a brown tree-stump. It holds in its beak the stalk of a twig with two brown and green leaves and a red cherry that it grasps with one claw. At the foot of the stump is an overturned basket in brown and pale yellow, from which blue grapes, red cherries, blue plums, and other fruit, with green vine leaves, have fallen. A yellow-brown squirrel, with black eyes and whiskers, holds a grape. The background is a landscape in shades of green, blue, and brown. The sky is pale blue above, pale pink below. The foreground is in shades of brown, green, dull yellow, and black. This scene is set in an elaborate dull yellow border of rocaille scrolls, flowers, and leaves on a bright red background.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The central picture is most probably taken from a cartoon made for the Savonnerie manufactory in Paris (see 114).

### MANUFACTURE

The fact that three almost exact replicas of 133 have a French provenance and can be presumed to have been made at the Savonnerie manufactory at Chaillot or elsewhere in France, does not preclude the presumption that versions from English collections were woven in England. Peter Parisot, a naturalized Frenchman, wrote an account

of the carpet-making enterprise that he began at Fulham in 1751, employing "Two Workmen, who, upon some Disgust, had quitted *Chaillot*. . . ." Though these two men soon left him, he was able to hire "other Workmen, full as capable as the two first, that came over to *England*. . . ." These men may well have brought stolen cartoons with them. The Fulham manufactory went out of business in 1755 and its stock of carpets and furniture upholstery, both "manner of the Gobelins" and "manner of Chaillot," with a large number of "patterns," was sold; one item was "2 [patterns] with a Parrot and a Squirrel in a Landskip."<sup>2</sup> The only certain work of this factory is a panel signed Parisot, in the Gubbay Collection, Clandon Park, Surrey, owned by the National Trust; it shows a pheasant, a kingfisher, and a mandarin duck in a landscape<sup>3</sup> and perhaps reproduces the pattern in the 1755 sale described as "a beautiful Chinese Pheasant, a Parrot, and a King's Fisher in a Landskip."

The purchaser of Parisot's manufactory was Claude Passavant; he soon moved to Exeter, where he is known to have made carpets from 1757 to 1759.<sup>4</sup> If he bought Parisot's patterns, it is possible that the parrot and squirrel panels were woven in his workshop. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the example owned by the marquess of Bute was bought from Thomas Moore of Moorfields, London, maker of what he called "Royal Velvet Tapestry after the manner of the Persians"; knotted carpets were produced at his manufactory from 1757 to at least 1778.<sup>5</sup> But the longest-lived manufacture of knotted fabrics was that founded by Thomas Whitty at Axminster. According to this weaver's own account, he visited Parisot at Fulham in 1754 to find out how carpets were made;<sup>6</sup> he could have bought some of the patterns the following year or acquired them later from Passavant, not far away at Exeter. His earliest and one of his best customers was the countess of Shaftesbury (died 1758) and 133 was in the Shaftesbury collection. The Axminster factory was active until 1835.<sup>7</sup>

### RELATED PANELS

A similar panel, mounted as a fire screen, can also be considered to be of English make. It is in Dumfries House,



Ayrshire, owned by the marquess of Bute. The central subject is a replica of that of 133, but the rococo border is much simpler, with no flowers, and is exactly the same as that found on two of the examples believed to be French. The woodwork of the Bute screen was bought by Lord Dumfries, from Chippendale in 1759 and was described in the bill as "a mahog: Frame to a Tapestry Firescreen." In the same year Lord Dumfries bought twelve "Tapestry Chair Seats" from Thomas Moore, also presumably of knotted fabric, and the screen panel may well have come from the same maker.<sup>8</sup> Another version was in the Lord Leverhulme sale (which did not take place), Frank, Knight and Rutley, London, November 9–13, 16, 17, 1925 (no. 395), though it is not described as in knotted technique. It was not included in the sale of this collection at the Anderson Galleries, New York, February 9–March 4, 1926.

A tapestry version of the same design on a fire screen is at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, owned by the earl of Leicester; the squirrel has larger ears and a bushier tail. There is no border.<sup>9</sup> This may have been woven in the "manner of the Gobelins" at Fulham, but as there is a set of knotted furniture covers at Holkham Hall, described in 1767 as made by Thomas Moore, it could also be from his manufactory. Moore advertised in 1756 that he worked "also after the Manner of the Gobelins."<sup>10</sup>

For the French versions of the design see 114.

## HISTORY

In the collection of the earls of Shaftesbury, Saint Giles House, Wimborne, Dorset, until after 1935. Not included in an inventory taken in 1948.

In the collection of Irwin Untermyer, New York, before 1938. Given to the MMA by Irwin Untermyer, 1964.

## EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1977. *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection*, cat. no. 152, illus.

## PUBLICATIONS

M. J. [Margaret Jourdain]. "Furniture at St. Giles's, Dorset." *Country Life* 77 (April 13, 1935) p. 381, fig. 3. Described as possibly made by Parisot at Fulham.

Jourdain, Margaret, and Rose, F. *English Furniture: The Georgian Period (1750–1830)*. London, 1953, p. 96, fig. 165. Said to be in a private collection.

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English Furniture with Some Furniture of Other Countries in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 72, figs. 339–41, frontispiece (color). Called Fulham, about 1755.

Hackenbroch, Yvonne. *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960, p. 49, pl. 113, fig. 151, color.

Molesworth, Delves. "Judge Irwin Untermyer." In *Great Private Collections*. Douglas Cooper, ed., New York, 1963, p. 146, illus.

Gilbert, Christopher. "Thomas Chippendale at Dumfries House." *Burlington Magazine* 111 (1969) p. 671, n. 36. Mentioned.

Bishop, Robert, and Coblenz, Patricia. *Furniture 1: Prehistoric through Rococo*. Smithsonian Illustrated Library of Antiques. New York, 1979, p. 112, colorplate 24.

Standen, Edith A. "A Parrot and a Squirrel in a Landscape." *Studien zum europäischen Kunsthandwerk, Festschrift Yvonne Hackenbroch*. Munich, 1983, pp. 251–56, fig. 1. Called English, mid-eighteenth century; possible manufactories and other versions discussed; the design considered probably French.

*Rococo, Art and Design in Hogarth's England*. Exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1984, p. 175. Said to be probably from a French model, perhaps woven at Fulham; other versions discussed.

## NOTES

1. C. E. C. Tattersall and Stanley Reed, *A History of British Carpets*, rev. ed. (Leigh-on-Sea, 1966) pp. 42, 43.
2. W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, 3rd. ed. (Wakefield, England, 1973) p. 494.
3. Ralph Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture*, 2d ed. rev. (London, 1954) vol. 1, p. 214, fig. 16; *The Gubbay Collection, Clandon Park, Surrey* (n.p., 1975) p. 11 (described as in State Dining Room); Standen, "A Parrot," fig. 2.
4. Tattersall and Reed, *History of British Carpets*, pp. 44, 45.
5. Tattersall and Reed, *History of British Carpets*, p. 45.
6. Tattersall and Reed, *History of British Carpets*, p. 48.
7. Tattersall and Reed, *History of British Carpets*, pp. 47–51.
8. Christopher Gilbert, *Thomas Chippendale*, exh. cat., Temple Newsam House (Leeds, 1979) no. 10, illus.; Standen, "A Parrot," fig. 3.
9. Standen, "A Parrot," fig. 4.
10. Wendy Hefford, "Thomas Moore of Moorfields," *Burlington Magazine* 129 (1977) p. 844.

## 134 Upholstery panels

Two chair seats from a set of six

English (probably London, Soho), woven about 1765.  
Wool and silk.  
Both approx. 1 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 5 in. (56 cm x 74 cm).  
20 warps per inch, 9 per centimeter.  
From The Marion E. and Leonard A. Cohn Collection,  
Gift of Marion E. Cohn, 1950 (50.214.1 [134a]; 50.214.2 [134b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Both pieces are alike. A basket in shades of yellow, gray, and pale brown holds a mass of flowers and leaves in red, pink, yellow, blue, and blue-green. A red and yellow tulip is conspicuous at the top, red and pink roses in the center, and red and yellow honeysuckle at the lower left corner. The ground is dark brownish pink.

### CONDITION

Irregular strips across the front, including the lower part of the basket, are replacements, as are the portions turned over at the edges. Silk areas elsewhere have been rewoven and there are small sections of bare warps.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The tapestries may be the original upholstery of the chairs, which were made about 1765. The Fulham tapestry manufactory went bankrupt in 1755, the same year in which William Bradshaw's workshops in Soho were taken over by George Smith Bradshaw and his partner, Paul Saunders; they separated in 1756, each operating his own establishment in Soho. Both men were upholsterers, as well as directors of tapestry workshops. Saunders was yeoman arras-worker and yeoman tapestry taylor to the Great Wardrobe until his death in 1771; Bradshaw may have continued to make tapestry until he retired in 1795.<sup>1</sup> 134 may well have been woven at either of these workshops.



134a

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The other four chairs of the set were sold to the dealer Frank Partridge, with this pair, in 1934 or 1935; they all have similar tapestry seat covers. Two were in the Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. sale, Parke-Bernet, May 6, 7, 1960 (no. 371, one illus.). One of these was owned by the London dealer Jeremy in 1970.<sup>2</sup> The other two were sold by the Barber Welfare Foundation, Chicago, at Parke-Bernet, May 1, 1971 (no. 166, one illus.). The tapestry covers of the published chairs show only slight differences in design, and much the same, or greater, areas of repair as those of 134.



## HISTORY

At Bramshill Park, Hampshire, owned by the Cope family, presumably from the time of manufacture until 1934 or 1935, when they were sold to the dealer Frank Partridge by the owner, Sir Denzil Cope.<sup>3</sup>

In the Marion E. and Leonard A. Cohn collection.  
Given to the MMA by Marion E. Cohn, 1950.

## PUBLICATIONS

"Bramshill Park, Hampshire: The Seat of Sir Anthony Cope, Bart." *Country Life* 5 (April 8, 1899) p. 435, illus. (two chairs partly visible in Long Gallery).

"Bramshill Park, Hampshire: The Seat of Sir Anthony Cope, Bart." *Country Life* 14 (July 11, 1903) p. 55, illus. (one chair partly visible in Long Gallery).

Macquoid, Percy, and Edwards, Ralph. *The Dictionary of English Furniture*. Vol. 1, London, 1924, p. 247, fig. 126. One chair illus., dated about 1760. The tapestry seat cover is shown as badly worn in front. At Bramshill, Hampshire. 2nd ed. rev. by Ralph Edwards, London, 1954, vol. 1, p. 285, fig. 185. One chair illus., dated about 1760; as at Bramshill, Hampshire.

Hussey, Christopher. "The Fate of Bramshill." *Country Life* 78 (August 17, 1935) p. 172, fig. 8 (two chairs partly visible in Chapel Room). The house, the seat of Sir Denzil Cope, said to be offered for sale with all its contents.

*MMA Annual Report 1950*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 10 (1951-52) p. 35. Gift of a pair of mahogany armchairs from Mrs. Leonard A. Cohn listed.

Remington, Preston. "The Galleries of European Decorative Art and Period Rooms." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 13 (1954-55) pp. 69, 117. One chair illus., seat said to retain its original covering of English tapestry; formerly at Bramshill Park, Hampshire.

Coleridge, Anthony. *Chippendale Furniture*. London, 1968, pl. 132. One chair illus. and compared to design in Robert Manwaring, *The Chair-Maker's Friend*, 1765; said to be from Bramshill, Hampshire, now at MMA.

Hinckley, F. Lewis. *A Directory of Queen Anne, Early Georgian and Chippendale Furniture*. New York, 1971, pl. 139. One chair illus., said to be from Bramshill Park, Hampshire.

## NOTES

1. *Survey of London*, vol. 34, *The Parish of St. Anne Soho*, F. H. W. Sheppard, ed. (London, 1966) Appendix I, "The Soho Tapestry Makers," pp. 518-20.
2. Advertisement in *Connoisseur* 174 (July 1970) p. 8. The illustration is of the chair illustrated in the Chrysler sale, but it has been printed in reverse.
3. Sir Denzil Cope sold furniture from Bramshill Park at Christie's on June 21, 1934, and February 25, 1937, but these chairs were not included.

## 135 Head of a Woman

English (Merton Abbey); designed by Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898), 1877–98, woven before 1923 (perhaps in 1901 or 1913) by the firm of Morris and Company.

Wool.

11 in. x 9½ in. (28 cm x 24 cm).

15 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.

Purchase, Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift, 1923 (23.163.3).

### DESCRIPTION

The young woman has blue eyes, pink lips, and pale brown hair. Her headdress is white, with blue-gray shadows. The background is dark blue. The outlines of the features are dark brown. No slits are apparent.

The gilded wood frame has the label of the Rowley Gallery, Kensington. A now nearly illegible inscription on the back in pencil reads: "Piece of tapestry (copied from head of Venus in large tapestry at [illegible] from cartoon by Burne Jones) worked at Merton by Morris & Co. Feb. 1913."

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### SUBJECT

The woman in the *Passing of Venus* tapestry, whose head is shown in 135, is one of a group who look with apprehension at Cupid drawing his bow, with Venus in her chariot approaching behind him. They may represent Sappho and her companions.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Edward Burne-Jones worked on sketches and cartoons for the *Passing of Venus* from 1877 until shortly before his death. A drawing of 1877 in the Tate Gallery shows the complete figure of the woman whose head appears in 135.<sup>2</sup> But the last entry in the artist's diary reads: "Begun a design for tapestry of the Passing of Venus"; this refers to the gouache sketch in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>3</sup> The woman who corresponds with 135 has a gray-blue head-dress with white dots and yellow hair.

### DATE OF WEAVING

If the head is a trial piece, it must precede the first weaving of the *Passing of Venus* in 1901–07; on the other



hand, the inscription on the back of the frame, though it wrongly identifies the head as that of Venus, may be correct in saying that the piece is a copy made in 1913.

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The *Passing of Venus*, first woven in 1901–07, was destroyed by fire at the Brussels Exhibition of 1910, to which it had been lent by Messrs. Morris and Company.<sup>4</sup> A second version, woven in 1922–26, is in the Detroit Institute of Arts;<sup>5</sup> the headdress of the girl who corresponds to 135 is dull gray-pink, ornamented with a lattice design, with red stones at the crossings.

### HISTORY

Purchased for the MMA from Morris and Company by means of the Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift, 1923.

### PUBLICATIONS

- Zick, Gisela. "Der Triumph der Liebe. Zur Quellen- und Motivegeschichte eines Bildteppichs nach Edward Burne-Jones." *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 34 (1972) p. 329, fig. 14.  
Parry, Linda. *William Morris Textiles*. New York, 1983, p. 118. Called a trial weaving.

### NOTES

1. A.C.W. [Adèle Coulin Weibel], "The Passing of Venus," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 8 (1927) p. 80.
2. Zick, "Triumph der Liebe," fig. 8.
3. Zick, "Triumph der Liebe," p. 322, fig. 12.
4. Cecil Boyce, "The British Losses at the Brussels Exhibition," *Connoisseur* 28 (October 1910) p. 138.
5. A.C.W., "Passing of Venus," pp. 78–80, illus.

## 136 Greenery

English (Merton Abbey); designed by John Henry Dearle (1860–1932), 1892, and woven by John Martin of the firm Morris and Company, 1915.

Manufactory name and date.

Wool and silk.

6 ft. 1½ in. x 15 ft. 5 in. (1.87 m x 4.70 m).

11 warps per inch, 4 per centimeter.

Purchase, Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift, 1923 (23.200).

### DESCRIPTION

The composition is based on three large trees, pear, chestnut, and oak, all with blue-green and gray trunks and foliage; at the top of each is a pale gray scroll inscribed in black Gothic letters. The tree on the left is a pear, with dull yellow-gray or red-gray fruit; the scroll has a reddish tinge and reads:

*by woodman's edge i faint and fail ·  
by craftsman's edge i tell the tale.*

The central tree is a chestnut, with brown nuts showing through blue-green burrs; the inscription reads:

*high in the wood · high o'er the hall  
aloft i rise · when low i fall.*

The tree on the right is an oak, with gray-brown acorns; the scroll has a reddish tinge and reads:

*unmoved i stand · what wind may blow  
swift swift before the wind i go.*

Other tree trunks are seen behind the three main trees, so that the upper part of the tapestry is entirely covered with foliage, much of it dark green.

A pale blue section separates it from the ground cover. At the level of the tree trunks, this is composed of shrubs, some with curved spiny branches, in shades of blue, blue-green, green, and dull yellow. Among these, at the far left, are two small flying birds with blue backs and gray wings; below them are two running hares in gray and brown. Between the pear and the chestnut is a flying pheasant in orange-brown, blue and gray, with a blue and white head and throat and a red oval round its eye. Under the chestnut tree is a gray and pale brown fox and, flying at the right side, two blue pigeons. To the left of the oak are two pale brown and gray deer with light spots. On the far right are two bulfinches in blue, black, and white, with red breasts; one is flying and one is sitting. Below them is a gray and

brown hare, almost hidden by the leaves. The foreground shows a row of flowering plants, including red foxgloves under the pear tree, strawberries with pink and white yellow-centered flowers and pink fruit, pink and white hawkweed and bouncing betty, red tulips, blue-white convolvulus climbing the chestnut tree, red daisies, and pale blue bluebells, with others.

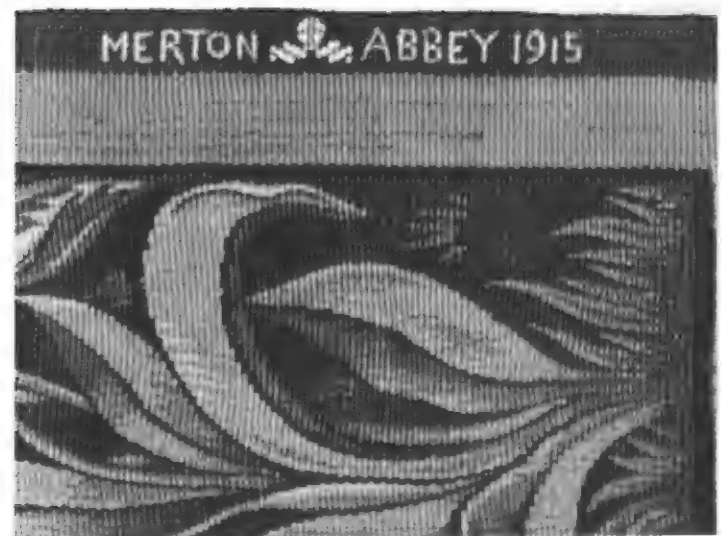
The guards are dark blue, inscribed on the right edge: MERTON ABBEY 1915, with the cross of Saint George (see detail). A fringe on the side borders is turned under. Silk is very sparingly used, appearing only as the white on the pheasant's head and neck, in the animal's eyes, and as white tips to some of the flowers. The original lining now removed consisted of blue cotton with two types of small printed designs.

### CONDITION

Undamaged.

### SUBJECT

The verses are by William Morris (1834–1896);<sup>1</sup> each couplet refers to the living tree and to its use as wood. Pearwood “tells the tale” since it is particularly suitable for carving, especially wood blocks;<sup>2</sup> the tall chestnut makes good rafters, “high o’er the hall”; and ships of sturdy oak went “swift, swift before the wind.”



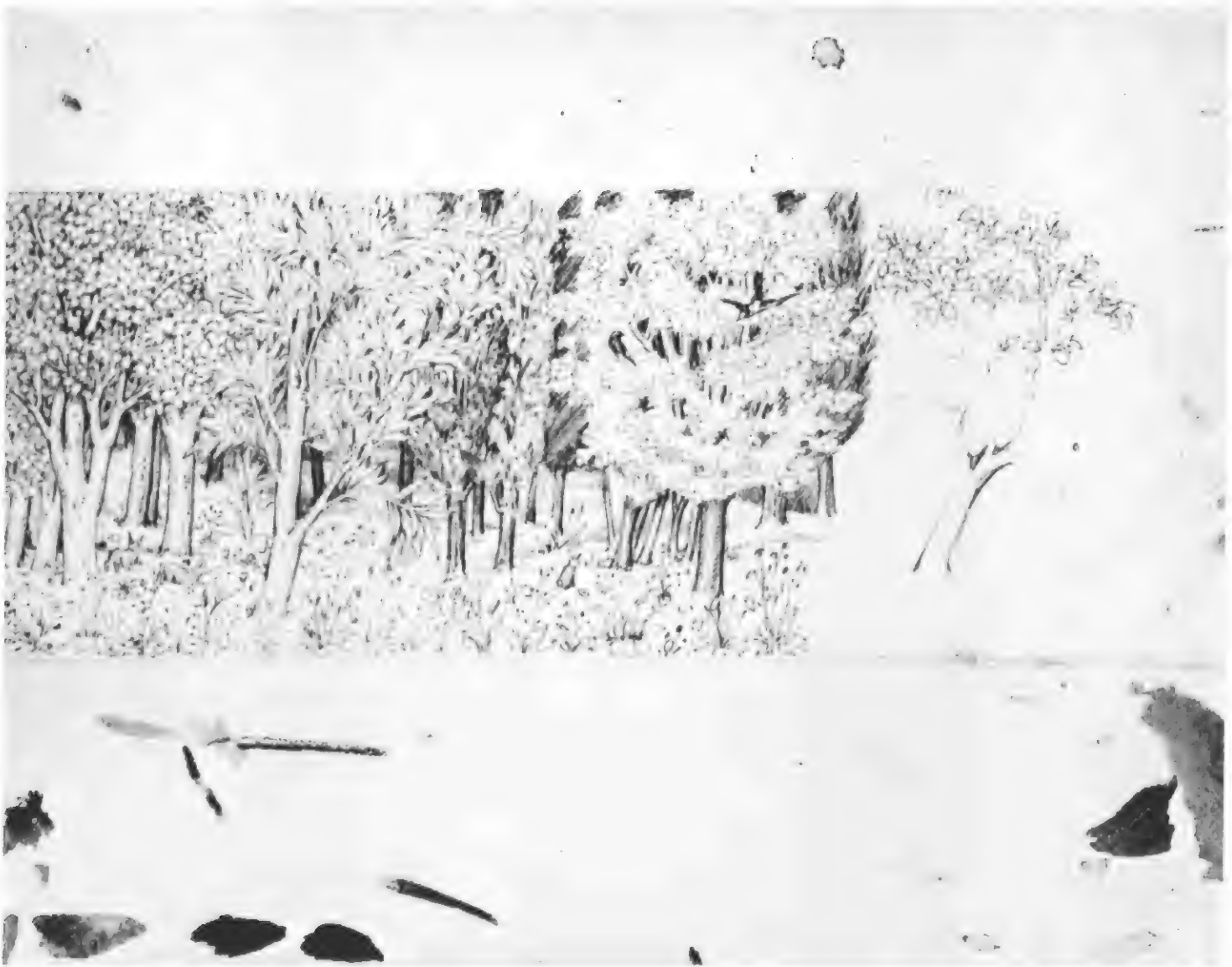


FIG. 85. *Greenery*, by John Henry Dearle. Drawing. Sanford L. Berger collection, Carmel, California.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is entirely by Dearle, imitating William Morris's style in the trees<sup>3</sup> and that of Philip Webb in the animals. The fox is very like Webb's watercolor drawing used in the *Forest* tapestry of 1887, and one hare appears as a small figure on another drawing for the same tapestry.<sup>4</sup> Two drawings by Dearle are in the Sanford L. Berger collection, Carmel, California; one is apparently a preliminary idea, made before Morris had written the verses (fig. 85), the other shows the design almost completely

worked out (fig. 86). The difference in effectiveness and quality between the two drawings must reflect the advice given by Morris to Dearle.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The weaver was John Martin;<sup>5</sup> it was made in 1915.<sup>6</sup>

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The design was first woven at Merton Abbey in 1892 by John Martin and William Sleath, under the supervision of William Morris, for the Honorable Percy Wyndham, and hung in his house, Clouds.<sup>7</sup> It now belongs to Mrs. Alas-



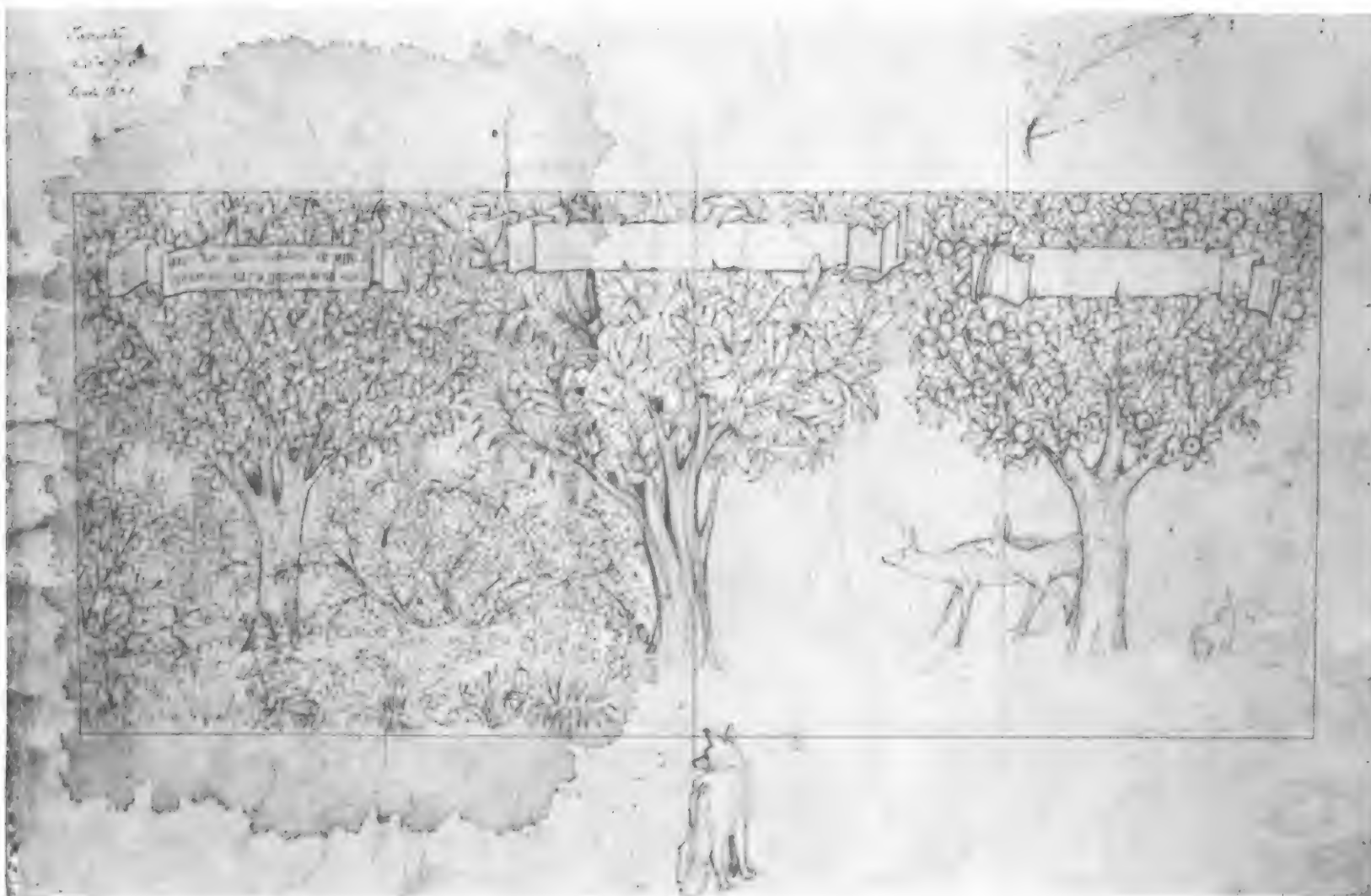


FIG. 86. *Greenery*, by John Henry Dearle. Drawing. Sanford L. Berger collection, Carmel, California.

dair Maclean and her son and is in Crathes Castle, Kincardineshire, Scotland, on loan to the Scottish National Trust. The background is dark and no birds are visible.

#### HISTORY

Acquired for the MMA from Morris and Company by means of the Edward C. Moore, Jr. Gift, 1923.

#### EXHIBITIONS

London, Burlington House, Arts and Crafts Society, 11th Exhibition, 1916. Cat. no. 315. Called "The Greenery," Arras Tapestry, by H. Dearle, executed by J. Martin, exhibited by Morris and Company.

Lawrence, University of Kansas, Museum of Art, 1958. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and His Circle*, unpagged and unnumbered cat., illus. in part on wall of gallery.

Wilmington, Delaware Art Museum, 1976. *The Pre-Raphaelite Era, 1848–1914*, cat. no. 4–62, illus. Design of foliage said to be by Morris and flowers by Dearle; animals and birds said to have been generally drawn by Philip Webb for such works.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Day, Lewis F. "A Disciple of William Morris." *The Art Journal* (1905) p. 89. Early weaving described as "a forest subject with trees and woodland animals, entirely of his [Dearle's] own invention . . . for which Morris wrote the couplets inscribed on scrolls above."

MMA *Annual Report* 1923, p. 18. Said to be designed by William Morris and J. H. Dearle in 1892 and woven at Merton Abbey.



"The Morris Tapestries and Weaving." *Country Life* 57 (June 6, 1925) p. 931, illus. Called verdure with animals, Metropolitan Museum, New York, Morris and Dearle.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 273. Mentioned.

Marillier, H. C. *History of the Merton Abbey Tapestry Works*. London, 1927, pp. 18, 33. Said to be "composed of characteristic Morris trees and verses, designed together with the animals and accessories by John Dearle" and woven in 1915; called "Greenery."

J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "Notes: A Morris Tapestry." *MMA Bulletin* 19 (1924) pp. 48–50, illus. Trees said to have been drawn by Morris; animals, plants and other accessories by Dearle.

Burroughs, Bryson. "A Modern View of the Pre-Raphaelites." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 5 (1946–47) illus. p. 233. Called verdure tapestry designed by William Morris and J. H. Dearles [sic] in 1892 and woven in 1915 on looms established by Morris at Morton [sic] Abbey, England.

Parry, Linda. *William Morris Textiles*. New York, 1983, p. 120, illus. p. 121.

#### NOTES

1. William Morris, *Poems by the Way* (Boston, 1892) p. 123, called "The Forest," among "Verses for Pictures." The trees are named as pear, chestnut, and oak, and standard capitalization and punctuation are added.
2. Pearwood is "remarkable for its extraordinary smoothness and evenness of texture, which renders it excellent for carving, as it can be cut easily with a sharp edge in any direction" (Alexander L. Howard, *A Manual of the Timbers of the World* [London, 1948] p. 448).
3. Marillier, *Merton Abbey*, p. 18; Day, "A Disciple of William Morris," p. 89.
4. W. R. Lethaby, *Philip Webb and His Work* (London, 1955) pls. facing pp. 109, 116; Marillier, *Merton Abbey*, p. 32. The drawings are said to belong to the Victoria and Albert Museum, which actually owns only a drawing for the part of the background (inv. no. E. 1172–1940).
5. Arts and Crafts Society, exh. cat., no. 315.
6. Marillier, *Merton Abbey*, p. 33.
7. Marillier, *Merton Abbey*, p. 33; Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, "Clouds, Salisbury: The Residence of the Hon. Mrs. Percy Wyndham," *Country Life* 16 (November 19, 1904) p. 747, illus. (partly visible hanging in hall); Christina Gascoigne, *Castles of Britain* (New York, 1975) p. 184, illus. (partly visible on wall of Muses Room, Crathes Castle).



## OTHER COUNTRIES

### Germany

In the late sixteenth century, a number of weavers left Flanders for religious reasons and settled in Protestant countries. Seger Bombeck of Brussels may have been one of them. He worked between 1545 and 1552 in Leipzig, where he wove the portrait of Augustus I of Saxony (137), adding his initials to the panel. It was probably copied from a painting by Hans Krell and is dated 1550.

A woodcut of about 1506 by Lucas Cranach the Elder is the source of the design of the *Stag Hunt* (138), which may have been woven in the Rhineland in the mid-sixteenth century. Dürer's *Small Passion* of 1511 and the *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi*, published in 1507 with illustrations by Hans Baldung Grien and Hans Schäufelein, provided the sources for four of the six small scenes of the *Passion* (139), woven in Alsace; the *Baptism* is after a print by Martin Schongauer and the *Elevation of the Cross* after one by Hans Wechtlin. But the tapestries have dates from 1592 to 1600. They were probably once joined to form a long narrow hanging for a church, and they may have been made in a convent.

The cushion cover of the *Annunciation* (140) is peasant work from North Germany or Denmark, woven probably in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

### Italy

The tiny panel of the *Annunciation* (141) is part of an orphrey woven in Florence in the early sixteenth century. *Moses Striking the Rock* (142) is also Florentine, but from the mid-seventeenth century; the series to which it belongs was designed by Agostino Melissi and woven by Bernardino van Asselt for the grand duke of Tuscany.

Pietro Ferloni, head of the San Michele manufactory in Rome, put his name on one of the four tapestries showing scenes from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (143). The set of at least seventeen pieces was woven for Pietro Ottoboni between 1732 and 1739. The designs were copied from paintings by Domenico Paradisi, made for the cardinal between 1689 and 1693.

Three small panels representing the Virgin, two of them after Guido Reni, were also probably woven at the San Michele manufactory in the mid-eighteenth century (144–146).



## Poland

A mantle, probably for a statue (147), can be attributed on stylistic grounds to the manufactory of Franciszek Glaize in Cracow; it shows symbols of the Virgin. A table carpet with a hunting scene (148) may be tentatively assigned to Poland, with a date for its provincial rococo design of about 1760 to 1775.

## China

Three embroidered hangings, part of a large set, have scenes from the story of Troy (149); they were certainly made in China, probably in the late sixteenth century. The designs, however, except for details, are European, presumably taken from prints.

## Russia

The czars of Russia, like other European rulers, set up tapestry manufactories, employing foreign weavers. One of these was Jean Baptiste Rondet, who escaped from the Gobelins in 1756 and went to Saint Petersburg. Here he wove the portrait of Countess Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontsova (150), mistress of Peter III, in 1762. The same manufactory produced in the late eighteenth century the twelve copies of old-master paintings (151) that had been acquired by Catherine the Great and are mostly now in the Hermitage.

## Spain

Inscriptions in Catalan identify the subjects of two large embroideries with scenes from the life of Galcerán de Pinós (152). He was a twelfth-century hero of the wars against the Moors; a set of ten embroideries, including this pair, was made in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century to commemorate his exploits. They have the arms of the fourth duke of Híjar and his wife.

## 137 Augustus I of Saxony

German (Leipzig); woven in 1550 by Seger Bombeck  
(fl. 1543–1557).

Weaver's initials.

Wool and silk, and silver-gilt thread.

8 ft. 10½ in. x 6 ft. 1 in. (2.71 m x 1.85 m).

18–20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966 (67.55.97).

### DESCRIPTION

Augustus has brown eyes and pale brown hair and beard. He wears a crimson cap with a black and yellow feather, a red cloak, yellow-brown doublet, slashed breeches in red and yellow, pink and brown hose, and slashed brown shoes. He holds a pale brown glove. A sword with a brown and metal-thread hilt hangs at his side from a brown belt. On either side of him are gray and brown marble columns with red, brown, pale yellow, and blue capitals and bases. Above the base of the left column is half a male torso with rams' horns, his limbs becoming foliage, with two flowers below; a similar figure on the right column is female. Dull yellow and red leaves wind round the columns. The background is a dark green and dull yellow sixteenth-century Italian damask pattern, ending in a dull yellow fringe. The floor is in dull shades of brown, green, pink, blue, and gray.

The border has a red and dull yellow ground with a yellow-green stem of leaves in the center; around this are twisted sprays of leaves, fruit, and flowers in shades of blue, yellow, green, pink, and red; convolvulus, roses, pinks, poppies, lilies, violets, daffodils, arums, cherries, pomegranates, grapes, hazelnuts, and oranges can be distinguished. The guards are dark brown, with the letters S · B in white in the lower right corner (see detail). A coat of arms in cream, brown, blue, yellow, red, and gray purports to hang from above the guard. It comprises: 1. Azure, a lion barry of argent and gules, crowned or, for the landgravate of Thuringia; 2. Or, a lion sable, armed gules, for the margravate of Meissen; 3. Or, two pales azure, for the county of Landsberg; 4. Sable, an eagle or, for the palatinate of Thuringia; 5. Or, semé with hearts gules, a lion sable, crowned gules, for the county of Orlamünde; 6. Azure, a lion per fess or and argent, for the county of Pleissnerland; 7. Azure, an eagle or, for the palatinate of Saxony; 8. Argent, a rose gules, for the county of Alten-

burg; 9. Argent, three *Seeblätter* (waterlily leaves), for the county of Brehna; 10. Plain gules, for the *Regalienschild*; 11. Heart shield: Barry of ten, sable and or, with a *Rautenkranz* (wreath of rue) vert in bend over all, for the duchy of Saxony.<sup>1</sup>

A blue nail in the upper guard supports a ring, from which hangs a pale brown cartouche in a red and pale yellow scrolling border. An inscription in cream reads: AVGSTVS · ILLVSTRIS / SAXONIAE · DVXNASCE / BATVR · ANNO · 1 · 5 · 2 · 5 / CALEND · AVGVSTI · / AETATIS · SVAE · 24 · (Illustrious Augustus, Duke of Saxony, born in the year 1525 on the first of August. Aged 24).

Metal thread is sparingly used, on the plume, the cuffs, and other details of the costume.

### CONDITION

Substantial areas in the simulated damask background have been rewoven in a much lighter yellow silk. Brown areas in the coat of arms are also reweavings, probably of originally black passages. The metal thread has blackened.

### SUBJECT

Augustus I (1526–1586) became Elector of Saxony on the death of his older brother in 1553.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is close to a portrait, dated 1551, by Hans Krell (fl. 1522–1565), formerly in the Gemäldegalerie,



Dresden, but destroyed in World War II.<sup>2</sup> In that painting Augustus was seen in a similar pose, but reversed, and with his right hand on his hip, his left holding the hilt of his sword. The costume was more elaborate, with much gold embroidery on black; the background was plain.

#### WEAVER AND DATE

Seeger Bombeck worked in Leipzig between 1545 and 1552.<sup>3</sup> The date of Augustus's birth is given on the tapestry as 1525 and his age as twenty-four; as he was actually born in 1526, the tapestry was presumably woven in 1550.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The frame of the cartouche with the inscription is seen in Bombeck's portrait of Charles V in the Schloss museum, Dresden, dated 1545,<sup>4</sup> and the two columns, with the grotesque figures fully visible, in his *Judgment of Solomon* of 1557, formerly in the Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig.<sup>5</sup>

#### HISTORY

In the Desache collection, Paris, before 1910.  
Bequeathed to the MMA by Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Kurzwelly, Albrecht. "Bombeck, Seeger." In Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*. Vol. 4, Leipzig, 1910. Said to have been in the Desaché [*sic*] collection, Paris, "vor einigen Jahren." Called probably after Hans Krell.

Göbel, Heinrich. "Heinrich von der Hohenmuel, Hugo von Thale und Seeger Bombeck, Wirker im Dienste Johann Friedrichs des Grosmütigen." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1921, p. 93. Mentioned as formerly in the Desache collection.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pp. 50, 51, 56. Dated 1549 or 1550.

*MMA Annual Report 1966–1967*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 26 (1967–68) p. 97. Listed in Susan Dwight Bliss Bequest.

*MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975*, p. 265, illus.

#### NOTES

1. Helmut Nickel, "The Great Pendant with the Arms of Saxony," *MMA Journal* 15 (1980) p. 185. The colors in the tapestry do not always conform exactly to the heraldic tinctures.
2. Jean Louis Sponzel, *Fürsten-Bildnisse aus dem Hause Wettin* (Dresden, 1906) p. 36, no. 73, pl. 29; Hans Ebert, *Kriegsverluste der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie* (Dresden, 1963) p. 36, no. 1956, illus.
3. Göbel, "Heinrich von der Hohenmuel," pp. 78, 79.
4. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 33b.
5. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pl. 38. Destroyed in World War II (information provided by Dr. L. Wenzel).





## 138 Stag Hunt

German (perhaps Rhenish), mid-sixteenth century.

Wool and silk.

9 ft. 10 in. x 21 ft. (3 m x 6.4 m).

13–15 warps per inch, 5–6 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1915 (15.28).

### DESCRIPTION

The horseman in the foreground on the far left holds a long yellow-brown spear with a blue head and a pale red tassel and rides a white horse with dark brown harness and blue shoes. He wears a yellow and pale red turban and a blue-green and pale red costume. Next on the right is a pale brown horse, with a rider in a pale red hat with blue and dull yellow plumes, a pale red-brown costume, and pale blue sleeves and leg coverings. A pale brown dog prances in front of him. A man in a gray-brown hat, dark blue sleeves, pale gray leg coverings, and blue spurs and stirrup rides a brown horse with pale red harness and draws his white sword with his left hand from its dark brown scabbard. Under the horse's raised forelegs are two

brown rabbits. In the right foreground are two men on foot. The one on the right wears a wreath of blue-green leaves on his pale brown hat, a yellow and pale red jacket with a blue and pale yellow collar, and pale red leg coverings; he has an enormous brown scabbard at his right side and holds a blue-headed brown spear. The other, holding the leash to a pale gray hound, has a brown cap, pale red and brown coat, blue and yellow sleeves, brown leg coverings, dark brown shoes, and a dark brown scabbard at his right side.

Immediately behind this foremost row of figures, on the far left, are two standing men. One wears a yellow and brown cap with a blue strap, a pale orange-brown jacket with a blue belt, gray breeches, and brown boots, with an arrow stuck in one of them; he adjusts his blue and yellow crossbow. The other, in blue with a brown hat, is partly visible behind him. There are three small trees with yellow-gray trunks and blue-green leaves to the right. Partly behind one of them, a man in yellow with a gray hat and pale red leg coverings holds up his blue bow. He has an arrow stuck in his dark brown belt. In the center of the tapestry are two horsemen. The one on the left, in blue and yellow, with a pale brown hat and leg coverings, rides a pale gray horse with brown harness and holds a blue and brown bow. The one on the right, astride a pale gray-brown horse with gray and brown spots and pale red harness, is dressed in pale yellow and blue with a dark brown scabbard for the blue-hilted sword at his right side. He aims his bow at a brown stag with gray antlers, which is being attacked by gray, brown, and dull yellow hounds swimming in blue and pale gray water. To the far right, a man in blue with a pale brown hat uses a brown pole to maneuver a brown boat; he is partly concealed by a brown, green, blue, and pale yellow tree. Above him are two riders. The foremost, in a red cap, a blue, pale red, and dull yellow costume, and pale brown leg coverings, rides a gray horse with blue harness; he carries a crossbow and has an arrow stuck in his belt. His dark brown scabbard hangs at his left side. Behind him, on a pale brown horse with blue eyes and pale red harness, the other rider holds a pale red and yellow horn to his lips. He wears a pale red and dull yellow hat, a blue coat, pale red and yellow leg coverings, dark blue spur and stirrup, and a dark brown

FIG. 87. *Stag Hunt*, by Lucas Cranach the Elder. Woodcut. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.67.45).





scabbard at his left side. A pale gray-brown hound runs in front of the uppermost horse. A clump of trees in tones of brown, gray, green, and blue-green separates this group from a stretch of blue and pale gray water, in which two brown stags with gray antlers are swimming, pursued by three brown and gray hounds. A small white dog on the shore leaps toward the foremost stag.

At the far left on the bank of the river stand four men holding blue and yellow-brown crossbows and blue-headed gray and pale yellow arrows; they are dressed in yellow, blue, brown, pale red, and gray. The one farthest to the right has his yellow-hilted sword in a brown scabbard on his right side; his pale brown horse with pale red harness is partly visible behind him. On the right a man in pale red, blue, yellow, and pale brown, with a yellow-hilted sword in a dark brown scabbard, rides a pale gray horse with brown harness. A brown horse is mostly hidden by trees.

A row of blue-green, green, pale yellow, and brown trees extends behind these figures; one has pale yellow

fruit. The sky is blue and gray. A distant landscape in tones of blue, gray, and pale brown, with a brown tower and remote pale blue mountains, is seen between the trees at the top of the tapestry. The ground is in shades of green, blue, yellow, and gray, with many stones and plants, including a brown-headed bulrush. Among the foreground plants are pale yellow and white daisies, pale red poppies, and a blue and white plantain. Silk is used very sparingly in some costumes.

#### CONDITION

The entire surface has been extensively repaired. All the dark brown sections (scabbards, shoes, harnesses, etc.) are rewoven. There are many inserted patches, some painted to match the surroundings, some conspicuously different; most of the upper right corner behind the man blowing a horn is not original. There are innumerable darned and cobbled areas and many small holes, especially in the sky and the foreground.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Almost all the figures are taken from a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), made about 1506 (fig. 87).<sup>1</sup> They are reversed and rearranged, but the rider with a large spear, the one drawing his sword, the leaping dog, the man with a hound on a leash, the running man with a spear and leaves around his hat, the man on horseback above him, the rider shooting, the crossbowman half concealed by a tree trunk, the two men by a tree on the far left of the tapestry (one fixing his bow), the man with a pole in the boat, the stag with the hounds chasing it, the two stags pursued by hounds, the small dog leaping at the foremost stag, the crossbowmen and the horses at the edge of the wood, and the tower on the skyline can all be found in the print. Only one rider in the foreground, the second from the left, is an addition. However, in the print the scene is perfectly logical, but on the tapestry it has lost its coherence. The riders in the print advance toward a stag at bay, at which the running man directs his spear; the course of the river can be followed fairly clearly. The inept handling of the design in the tapestry and the failure to allow for the reversal of the cartoon in many instances, making some of the gestures left-handed, suggests that it cannot have originated in the Cranach workshop. The many paintings and drawings of stag hunts produced by Cranach and his assistants between 1529 and 1546,<sup>2</sup> though they show similar scenes of stags taking to the water and attacked with crossbows, are not related to 138.

#### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The *Story of the Prodigal Son*, dated 1517, in the Skulp-

turengalerie, Berlin–Dahlem, shows some stylistic resemblances to 138; the horses, trees, pebbles, and small plants are very similar in both pieces.<sup>3</sup> The Berlin tapestry is attributed to the Middle Rhine region, perhaps Frankfurt or Mainz. It is, however, a long, narrow tapestry, probably amateur work; there is no evidence that professional weavers with large looms were active in this district before the second half of the sixteenth century.

#### HISTORY

Owned by the Metternich family, Schloss Johannisberg, Germany.

Purchased for the MMA by means of the Rogers Fund, 1915.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report* 1915, p. 20. Mentioned.

R.A.P. [Russell A. Plimpton] and D.F. [Durr Friedley]. "A Hunting Tapestry." *MMA Bulletin* 10 (1915) pp. 213–15, illus. Called French or Franco-Flemish, perhaps Courtrai.

Forsyth, William H. "The Medieval Stag Hunt." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 10 (1951–52) pp. 209, 210, illus. Called French, early sixteenth century. Said to have belonged to the Metternich family.

#### NOTES

1. Henry S. Francis, "The Stag Hunt by Lucas Cranach the Elder and Lucas Cranach the Younger," *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 46 (1959) fig. 6, p. 204. This relationship was first noticed by John G. Phillips.
2. Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach* (Berlin, 1932) nos. 231, 330, 331.
3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 3, pl. 1; Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, vol. 1 (Brunswick, 1963) p. 284, fig. 196.

# 139 The Passion

Six panels from a set

- a *The Baptism*
- b *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*
- c *Christ Carrying the Cross*
- d *The Elevation of the Cross*
- e *The Ascension*
- f *Pentecost*

German (Alsace, perhaps Strasbourg), dated 1592–1600.  
Monograms of weavers on all pieces, dates on all but 139b.  
Wool and silk, and metal thread.  
3 ft. 4 1/2 in. x 2 ft. 7 in. (1.03 m x 79 cm).  
20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.  
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1911 (II.148.1 [139e];  
II.148.2 [139f]; II.148.3 [139b]; II.148.4 [139a];  
II.148.5 [139c]; II.148.6 [139d]).

## DESCRIPTION

The scene in each panel is framed at the sides by gray half-columns. At the top of each scene is a pale tan scroll with an inscription in brown, red, and black. The flesh tones are gray or pale gray, the outlines mostly brown, with some red or black. The guards are dark brown. 139b and 139e are markedly lighter in tone than the others.

## CONDITION

The silver thread, used sparingly, chiefly in halos, has blackened.

## SUBJECT

The *Baptism* is frequently shown as the beginning of the Passion.<sup>1</sup> Other known subjects of the same series are the *Entry into Jerusalem*, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, the *Betrayal*, the *Entombment*, and the *Resurrection*. There probably were others, but if, as seems likely, the pieces were made to be joined into long bands and hung in a church, the Crucifixion may not have been represented, since its place would have been taken by the crucifix on the altar.<sup>2</sup> The eight years difference (1592–1600) between

the earliest and the latest pieces of 139, combined with a marked variation in tonality, suggest that, though made by the same weavers, they were not originally part of the same set.

## SOURCES OF THE DESIGN

All but two of the designs (139a and 139d) are apparently copies or adaptations of woodcuts in two books, Dürer's *Small Passion* of 1511 and the *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi*, written and published by Ulrich Pinder, Nürnberg, 1507, illustrated by several artists. Of the related tapestries not in 139, the *Entry into Jerusalem*, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, the *Entombment*, and the *Resurrection* are after Dürer.<sup>3</sup> The *Betrayal* is an adaptation of Hans Schäufelein's woodcut in the *Speculum passionis*.<sup>4</sup>

## MANUFACTURE AND DATE

All the tapestries of the type have been found in Alsace, except for the pieces owned by the Catholic church at Gegenbach;<sup>5</sup> this building, however, was connected with the bishop of Strasbourg.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that these tapestries might have come from a workshop in a Strasbourg convent, made by, or under the direction of Flemish weavers.<sup>7</sup> The initials on many pieces are taken to be those of the weavers, of whom nothing is known. The earliest date is that on 139e and 139f, 1592; the latest, on an *Adoration of the Kings* clearly from the same workshop, 1620.<sup>8</sup> The use of Dürer woodcuts as the basis for most of the designs has been related to a revival of interest in this artist that took place about 1600,<sup>9</sup> but if the tapestries were made in a convent, the artist may merely have been using prints that happened to be available.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

A tapestry in the Heimatmuseum, Gegenbach, Baden (owned by the Catholic church), consists of five pieces sewn together to make a single long panel; the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Elevation of the Cross* are replicas of 139c and 139d. The other scenes are *Christ*



*Taking Leave of His Mother, the Betrayal* (with the initials HEV and VG), and the *Entombment* (with initials MR and PF, dated 1606).<sup>10</sup> A *Resurrection*, dated 1592, was owned by the bishop of Strasbourg in 1895.<sup>11</sup> An *Entry into Jerusalem* with an inscription at the top, dated 1603, from Schloss Maihingen, was in a private collection in 1963.<sup>12</sup> Another example of the same subject, with no inscription or date, was in the Weiler collection, Berlin; it may be identical with the piece owned by the New York dealers French & Co. in 1933. An *Adoration of the Kings*, dated 1620, owned by the Munich dealer L. Bernheimer in 1933, shows similar half columns at the sides and inscribed scroll at the top, but may belong to a series of the life of Christ or of the Virgin.<sup>13</sup> Scenes from the life of the Virgin after Dürer have been recorded.<sup>14</sup>

#### HISTORY

Possibly from the convent of Masevaux, near Mulhouse.<sup>15</sup>  
Possibly in the collection of Schneider, a cathedral cleric, in Mulhouse.  
In the Müller-Schirmer collection, Mulhouse, 1895.  
Given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1911.

#### EXHIBITION

Strasbourg, Orangerie, 1895. *Ausstellung für Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*. 139c, d, and f lent by Dr. Müller-Schirmer, Mulhouse.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Schricker, A. *Kunstschätze in Elsass-Lothringen*. Strasbourg, 1896, pls. 9, 117a [139c], b [139d], d [139f]. As in the collection of Dr. Müller-Schirmer and belonging to the same set as the *Resurrection* in the private chapel of the bishop's palace, Strasbourg.

Thomson, W. G. *A History of Tapestry*. London, 1906, p. 480. Monogram AR reproduced as from *Scenes from the Life of Christ*, Alsace, 1592. Repeated without change in 3rd ed., 1973.

MMA Annual Report 1911, p. 65. Listed.

J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "Gifts of Tapestries." *MMA Bulletin* 6 (1911) p. 217. Described as *Scenes from the Life of Christ*, Alsatian. 139b, c, and e said to be after Dürer's woodcuts of the *Small Passion*, 139d and f, from cartoons of the school of Dürer, 139a after Martin Schongauer. Monograms given as AR, MG.

Hunter, George Leland. *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, pp. 413, 414, pl. 415 [139e and b]. Monograms given as AR, ICM.

Schmitz, Hermann. *Bildteppiche*. Berlin, 1919, p. 128. Said to have been made in Strasbourg. A *Pentecost*, a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, and an *Elevation of the Cross* said to be owned by Dr. Müller-Schirmer, Mulhouse; six pieces from the estate of Domprälaten Schneider said to be in New York. Said to illustrate the neo-Gothic style of southwest Germany in the late sixteenth century.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche I*, vol. 1, p. 189. Mentioned as in the Schneider estate, with other versions in Mulhouse, Strasbourg, and Gegenbach.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 210. Mentioned.

Kurth, Betty. *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters*. Vienna, 1926, vol. 1, p. 140, n. 3. Said to be seven pieces, with others in the bishop's palace, Strasbourg; Mulhouse; Maihingen; the parish church, Gegenbach; and a private collection in Berlin.

Von Falke, Otto. "Ein Dürerteppich." *Pantheon* 1 (1928) p. 30. Said to be from a *Passion* series, of which seventeen pieces are known: six in America, five in Gegenbach, four in Strasbourg, and one each in Maihingen and Berlin.

Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 1, p. 195, p. 1 of reproductions of weavers' marks, pl. 190b [139e]. Described as *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*, *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (*Kreuzlegung*), *Resurrection*, *Elevation of the Cross*, *Pentecost*, and *Baptism*, from the collection of Domprälaten Schneider, given to the MMA by J. Pierpont Morgan. Three scenes, a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, an *Elevation*, and a *Pentecost* said to belong or to have belonged to Dr. Müller-Schirmer in Mulhouse. An *Ascension* of 1592 (139e) said to be in the MMA. Monograms read as CJM, AR. Attribution to Alsace, specifically Strasbourg, based on original locations of all pieces; technique said to indicate weavers from Brabant, perhaps directing a convent in Strasbourg.

Heinz, Dora. *Europäische Wandteppiche*. Vol. 1. Brunswick, 1963, pp. 281, 282. Listed, with others said to be in Strasbourg, Kloster Gegenbach, and private collections.

## 139a *The Baptism*

#### DESCRIPTION

Christ, who has black eyes, brown hair and beard, and a pale tan and gray halo, wears a dull yellow and pale tan loincloth as he stands in the striped pale tan and gray water. John the Baptist, with gray and brown hair, has dull red, gray, and tan garments. The angel, who has blue and tan wings, is dressed in dull yellow and tan with a pink collar; he holds Christ's dull red robe. The gray and tan

dove is seen above Christ against a pale blue sky with pale tan and gray clouds. A twisting scroll above is inscribed on the front in brown and black: *Disz ist mein ge-liebter Son inn dem ich ein wol-gefallen hab ihn sollet ihr hören* (This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him). On the reversed sections of the scroll are monograms in brown: AR, ICM. In the center above the scroll is God the Father with a blue and silver closed crown, wearing a pink, red, and tan cope over a blue garment. He holds a blue orb surmounted by a cross. Behind his head are silver flame shapes seen against a dull red surround on dark tan.

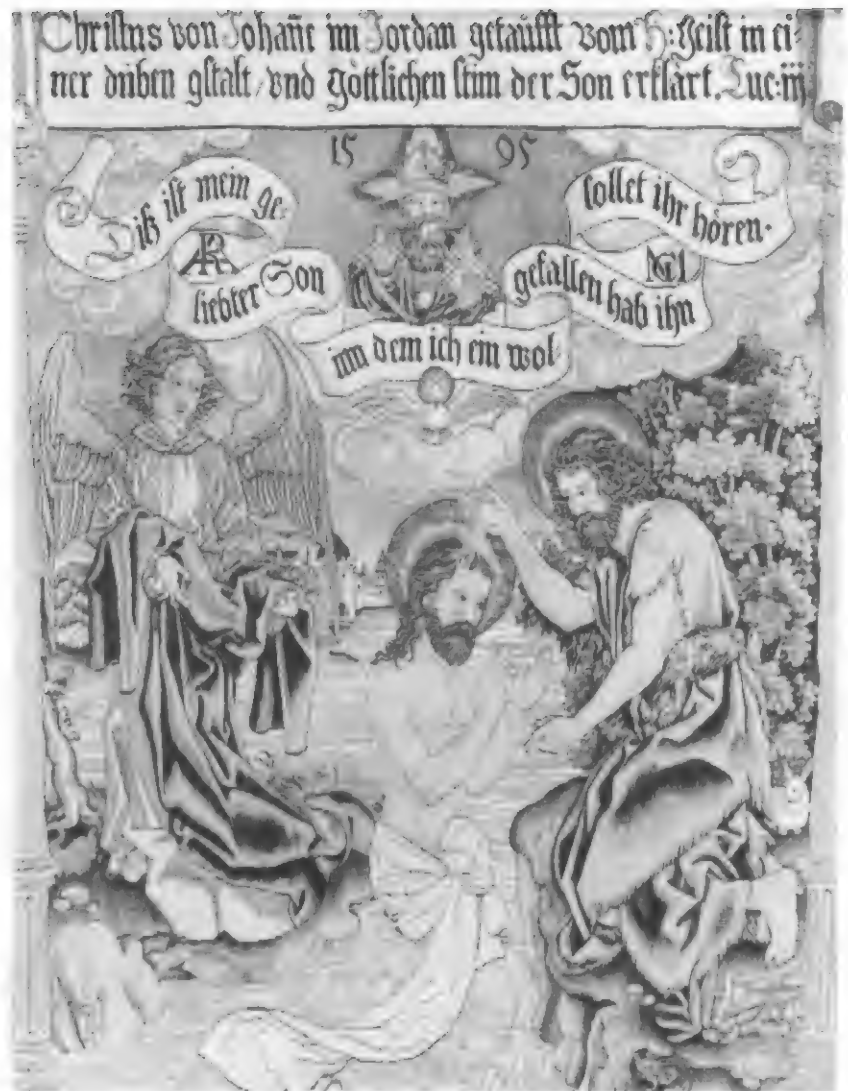
The landscape behind the figures shows gray and tan buildings with one pointed dull red roof. Behind John the Baptist is a mass of foliage in shades of green and tan; above his left foot is a gray and tan rabbit. The saint kneels on a low dull red and gray cliff, with a brown and tan frog in the foreground, and some plants. The angel stands on a green and tan grassy plot, with a pale tan lizard on a gray and dull red rock in the foreground. A tree is seen on the

left. The sky is pale blue, largely covered by gray and white clouds. The date 1595 is inscribed above God. The scroll at the top reads: *Christus von Johāne im Jordan getaufft / vom H: geist im ei-ner düben gestalt / und göttlichen stimm / der Son erklärt. Luc:iii.* (Christ baptized by John in Jordan, the son made known by the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a dove and by a divine voice. Luke 3.)

#### CONDITION

There are areas of careful reweaving throughout, especially in the angel's costume, Christ's loincloth, and the flanking columns.

FIG. 88. *The Baptism of Christ*, by Martin Schongauer. Engraving. MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.97.107).



## SUBJECT

The scene is that described in Luke 3:21–22: “Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened, And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.” The inscription on the scroll between God the Father and the Holy Ghost, however, is not taken from any Gospel account of the Baptism, but from the words spoken by God at the Transfiguration (Matthew 17:5).<sup>16</sup> The angel carrying Christ’s robe is found in representations of the subject from the sixth century.<sup>17</sup>



139b

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken, in reverse, from a print of Martin Schongauer (c. 1430–1491). The figures are closely copied. The distant landscape, the foliage, rabbit, frog, and lizard are additions (fig. 88).

## 139b *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*

### DESCRIPTION

Christ has light brown hair and beard and a gray and silver halo with a dull red floriated cross. He wears a blue robe with a pale gray-pink towel tied around his waist. Peter has a pale yellow-green undergarment with pale tan cuffs and a dull yellow-red robe; his right foot rests in a

FIG. 89. *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*, by Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut, from the *Small Passion*. MMA, Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919 (19.73.179).



shallow red and yellow basin. He and eleven other disciples have dull yellow and metal thread halos. The head of a man in a tall cap is seen in the upper right corner. A beardless disciple, probably John, standing behind Christ, is in yellow with a white cloth over his shoulder; he holds a pale gray jug. The seated disciple in the center is in red; the others are in blue, dull yellow, and pale brown. The background is gray and brown, with red passages in the upper right corner and the date 1595 in pale tan in the center. Peter sits on a pale gray and brown support and Christ kneels on a similarly colored slab. The floor is dark blue-green and yellow. The scroll at the top is inscribed: *Christus wüsch vorm letsten Abentmal / den Jüngern ire füsse. Johann: xiii.* (Christ washed the disciples' feet before the Last Supper. John 13.) There is a monogram, AR, on the left, and ICM (upside down) on the right, in pale brown.

#### CONDITION

Only minor repairs are apparent.

#### SUBJECT

The representation shows Christ, girded with a towel, washing the feet of Peter with water Christ had poured into a basin, as described in John 13:4–6. Peter, identifiable by his facial appearance, is presumably saying, “Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head” (John 13:9); his gesture, raising his hand to his head, is found from the tenth century, as is the jug and towel carried by another disciple.<sup>18</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken, in reverse, from Dürer's woodcut in the *Small Passion* (fig. 89). In the tapestry the chandelier was omitted, and thirteen men are shown, all with halos (except for the man, perhaps Judas, in a tall cap in the upper right corner), instead of the correct twelve, without halos, in the print. The extra head is just visible immediately above the bald man, between the heads of John and the man bending forward.

## 139c *Christ Carrying the Cross*

#### DESCRIPTION

Christ, with fair hair and beard, has a dark brown and tan halo with a gray floriated cross and a gray crown of thorns. He is dressed in blue and white. Veronica, kneeling beside him, has a dull pink headdress and a dark red, brown, and tan costume; she holds out a dull pink cloth. Behind her, Simon of Cyrene, in gray and brown, has picked up the end of the gray and brown cross. Above him is the Virgin in a dull pink headdress, blue cloak, and red dress, with the fair-haired John beside her in yellow-green and tan. The head of another woman is seen beside them.

On the far left is a man with a dark brown and pale tan cap, carrying a yellow basket and a rope; he wears a dull dark yellow jacket, red sleeves and breeches, and blue stockings. Behind the arm of the cross is the head of a gray and tan horse, ridden by a man with a long gray-yellow beard, fantastic pale pink headdress, and dark blue and gray robe; he holds a pale yellow scroll. Another man, presumably on horseback, beside him is in blue. In front of this pair, the head of a bald man protrudes between the rungs of the ladder he carries. In front of him, a brown-haired man in red and dull yellow strikes at Christ with a long brown stick. Spears, halberds, and a mace rise up behind the figures.

In the distance on the left are dull green hillocks and a gray city wall with some buildings. On the right is the dark brown entrance to Jerusalem with a gray portcullis. On the gray wall in brown is the date 1598. The foreground is in shades of blue-green, gray, tan, and dull red. The monograms AR and ICM, in dark brown, are seen in the center. The sky is dark blue. The scroll is inscribed: *Christus tregt sein creütz aus Jerusalem, an berg / Calvarie zu creützigen aussgeführt. Math: xxvii.* (Christ carries his cross from Jerusalem to the hill of Calvary to be crucified. Matthew 27.)

#### CONDITION

Only minor repairs are apparent.

#### SUBJECT

Matthew 27:31–32 states that the soldiers of the governor led Christ away to crucify Him, “And as they came



139c

out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross.” Saint Veronica and the veil that she offered to Christ on the road to Calvary were added to the scene of Christ carrying the cross in the thirteenth century; the holy women and the city gate are found in the twelfth century; a ladder and a basket for the nails from the thirteenth century; Christ falls under the cross in northern European art from the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken, in reverse, from Dürer’s *Small Passion* (fig. 90). The rendering is very close, only a few trees on a distant horizon beyond the city being omitted.

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FIG. 90. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, by Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut, from the *Small Passion*. MMA, Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919 (19.73.191).

#### RELATED TAPESTRY

The piece in Gegenbach has no date or monograms, but is otherwise exactly similar.

### 139d *The Elevation of the Cross*

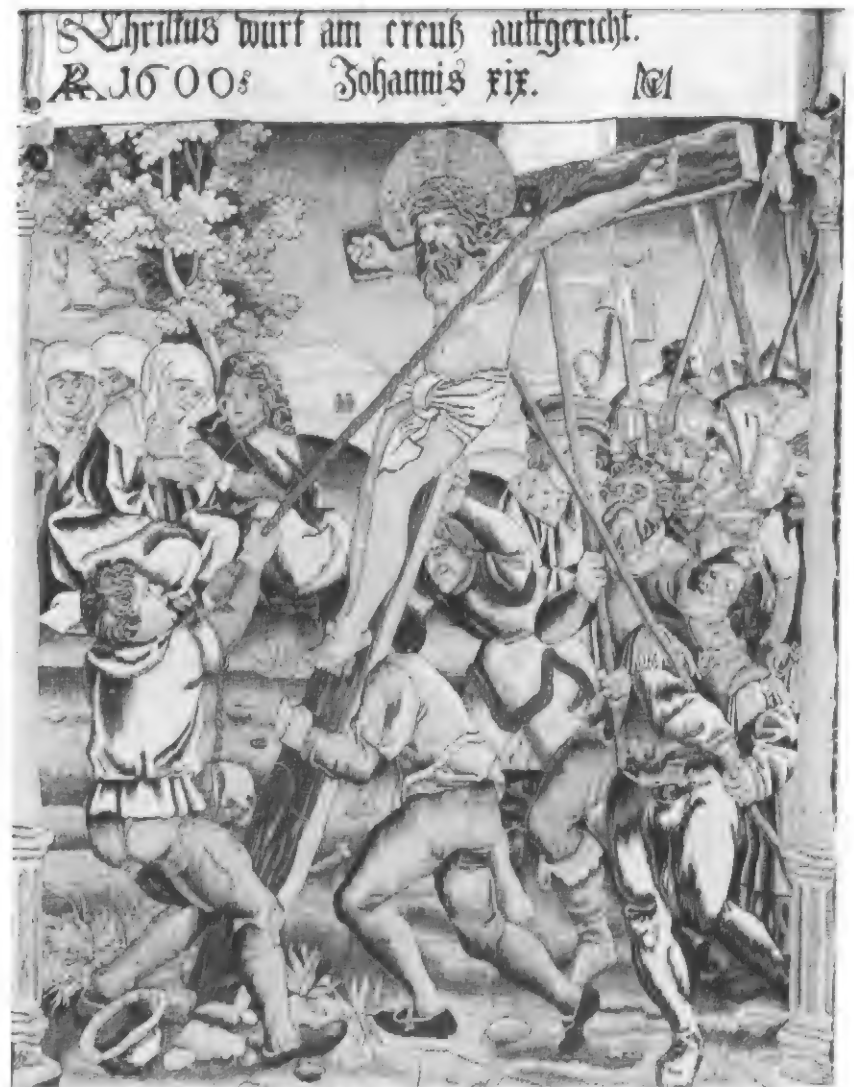
#### DESCRIPTION

The fair-haired Christ has a gray halo and pale tan loin-cloth. A man on the left, in a red and tan short-sleeved jacket, gray-brown leggings, and dark gray shoes, hauls on a gray rope attached to the top of the gray and brown cross; his red and tan hat lies on the ground at his feet. Another man, similarly dressed, puts his arms round the leg of the cross, and a third, in blue and brown, pushes it from behind. On the right, a violently contorted man in a red hat and a red, gray, and blue costume, holds a brown stick against the upper part of the cross, and another, in gray and blue, does the same with a gray one. The heads of





FIG. 91. *Elevation of the Cross*, by Hans Wechtlin. Woodcut, from Johannes Schott, *Das Leben Jesu*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Rar. 2161/1).



139d

a number of men are seen behind them, two of them with dull yellow medieval helmets; one man, more fully seen, has a red hat and costume, with an ermine collar. Gray spears and axes rise above them. A pale tan label above the cross has no inscription.

On the left, the Virgin, in a dull yellow-pink head cloth,

FIG. 92. *The Elevation of the Cross*, by Hans Baldung Grien. Woodcut, from the *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi*, Nürnberg, printed for Ulrich Pinder, 1507. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.49.2).

red dress, and blue cloak, sits on the ground beside John, who is in red. The heads of the two holy women in pale tan head cloths are visible. A dull blue-green and tan tree rises behind them. The distant landscape is pale gray-blue, the sky dark blue above, gray below. The foreground is in shades of gray, brown, and dark blue, with some pale tan plants. The scroll is inscribed: *Christus würt am creutz auffgericht. 1600. Johannis xix.* (Christ is raised up on the cross. John 19.) The monograms, AR and ICM, in red, are seen at either side.

#### SUBJECT

Representations of the Elevation of the Cross are rare before the late fifteenth century, but become common about 1500.<sup>20</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken, reversed, from a woodcut by Hans Wechtlin (c. 1460–1526), an illustration for Johannes Schott's *Das Leben Jesu*, published in Strasbourg in 1508 (fig. 91). Some figures in this woodcut, notably the two men who are pushing the cross, are close to Hans Baldung Grien's woodcut from the *Speculum passionis* (fig. 92).<sup>21</sup> The tapestry shows a leafy tree behind the group of spectators instead of the bare one in the Wechtlin woodcut, and there are small differences in the faces.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

The same subject appears on the Gegenbach tapestry. It is dated 1608 and has no monogram. The letters INRI are seen at the top of the cross, as they are on the woodcut and there are buildings in the distant landscape.

## 139e *The Ascension*

#### DESCRIPTION

The lower part of Christ's pale blue and yellow robe, with a red and yellow drapery on the left, is seen against a yellow break in the pale blue and gray clouds that fill the

sky. Below him is a hillock, blue-green and pale yellow on top, with his footprints; its rocky sides are gray, blue, and dull pink. The fair-haired apostle kneeling on the left has a pale brown robe with a yellow collar and a red and yellow cloak; the one on the right is in red. The Virgin, in blue, stands behind him. The head of a man in a dark brown hat, without a halo, is seen on the far left, with three men with halos in yellow and red beside him. Behind the Virgin is a group of heads, all with halos. All the halos are gray and dull yellow. In the sky by the left-hand capital is the dark brown monogram ICM. The scroll is inscribed: *Wie Christüs aüfffür gen Himmell Inn / einer wolckenn. Marci am xvi capitel. 1592* (How Christ rises to heaven in a cloud. Mark in the 16th chapter).

#### CONDITION

Only minor repairs are apparent.

#### SUBJECT

Mark 16:14–19 records Christ's appearance to the eleven apostles, "as they sat at meat," and his words to them, concluding: "So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God." In Luke 24:50–51, the Ascension is described as taking place in Bethany; Acts 1:9, 12 says that "a cloud received him out of their sight," and that the apostles then returned to Jerusalem "from the mount called Olivet." Though the Bible speaks only of the presence of the apostles, the Virgin was shown with them from a very early period. The representation of the lower part of Christ's body only was first used in England about 1000, and his footprints on the mountain are found from the thirteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken, in reverse, from Dürer's woodcut in the *Small Passion* (fig. 93). Among a number of changes, halos have been added to all but one of the figures, and more space is left between the two kneeling apostles in the foreground.



FIG. 93. *The Ascension of Christ*, by Albrecht Dürer. Woodcut, from the *Small Passion*. MMA, Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919 (19.73.204).

## 139f *Pentecost*

### DESCRIPTION

The Virgin wears a pale yellow and gray head cloth, red dress, and blue cloak. The seated apostle on the right has a gray and yellow robe and a red and yellow cloak, the kneeling one on the left a red, yellow, and brown robe and a green and yellow cloak. The bald man behind him, holding a yellow and red book, is in gray. The others are dressed in red, yellow, gray, and blue. All the figures have fair hair and yellow and gray halos. The tongues of fire are gray or yellow, outlined in red. The dove is dull yellow, seen against a gray background. The architecture is gray and pale brown; on the wall to the upper left is the date in pale yellow, 1592. The sky is dark blue above, gray below,



139e

with white clouds. The distant landscape is pale blue, with some dark green and yellow trees on the left. The foreground is in shades of blue-green. The scroll is inscribed: *Die Sendung des Heiligenn Geistes Inn / gestalt Feüriger Züngenn. Act: ii* (The descent of the Holy Ghost in the likeness of fiery tongues. Acts 2). The monograms AR and ICM, in dark brown, are seen on either side.

### CONDITION

Only minor repairs are apparent.



139f

#### SUBJECT

The miracle of Pentecost is described in Acts 2:1–4. By this time there were again twelve apostles, as Matthias had been chosen to fill Judas's place. Though the Virgin is not mentioned among those "filled with the Holy Ghost," who saw "cloven tongues like as of fire" that "sat upon each of them," she is named earlier (Acts 1:14) as associated with the apostles in prayer and supplication. She is almost always shown with them in Pentecost representations.<sup>23</sup>



FIG. 94. *Pentecost*, by Hans Schüpfle. Woodcut, from the *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi*, Nürnberg, printed for Ulrich Pinder, 1507. MMA, Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.49.2).

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken, in reverse, from Hans Schüpfle's woodcut illustration to the *Speculum passionis* (fig. 94),<sup>24</sup> with the addition of a landscape seen through the arch.

#### NOTES

1. "Because of its symbolic imitation of Christ's sacrifice, Baptism has always been an essential part of the liturgy of Holy Saturday" (Barbara G. Lane, "Rogier's Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered," *Art Bulletin* 60 [1978] p. 667).
2. The long, narrow, fifteenth-century Passion tapestries were used

- in connection with the representation of the Holy Sepulcher in churches from Good Friday to Easter Sunday; they do not always include the Crucifixion (Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Die Passions-teppiche von San Marco in Venedig* [Bern, 1972] pp. 45, 46).
3. Wolfgang Hütt, *Albrecht Dürer, 1471 bis 1528: Das gesamte graphische Werk. Druckgraphik* ([Munich], [1971]) pp. 1579, 1599, 1620, 1621.
  4. M. Consuelo Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte des Hans Schäufolein* (Baden-Baden, 1964) pl. 17.
  5. Schricker, *Kunstschätze*, p. 9, pl. 117c.
  6. *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Grossherzogthums Baden: 7. Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Offenburg*, ed. Max Wingenroth (Tübingen, 1908) p. 339.
  7. Schmitz, *Bildteppiche*, p. 341, n. 22.
  8. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. I, p. 195.
  9. Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, p. 281.
  10. *Kunstdenkmäler*, pp. 399, 400, pl. XIII.
  11. Schricker, *Kunstschätze*, p. 9, pl. 117c.
  12. Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, fig. 194.
  13. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 1, p. 195, pl. 190a.
  14. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 1, pls. 187a, b. Two others were in the Hever Castle sale, Sotheby's, May 6, 1983, nos. 202, 203, illus.
  15. Verbal information from Dr. C. E. A. Hirschhoff, 1937.
  16. Lane, "Rogier's Saint John," p. 656.
  17. Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh, 1966-76) vol. 1, p. 144.
  18. Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, vol. 2, pp. 56, 57.
  19. Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, vol. 2, pp. 89-92.
  20. Patricia Rose, "The Iconography of the Raising of the Cross," *Print Review* 5 (Spring 1976) p. 135.
  21. Rose, "Iconography," pp. 139, 140, figs. 8, 9.
  22. Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 157, 158, 164.
  23. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1955-59) vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 594.
  24. Oldenbourg, *Buchholzschnitte des Hans Schäufolein*, pl. 26. This derivation was noted by Hyatt Mayor.



# 140 The Annunciation

## Cushion cover

Danish; late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. square (53 cm).

17 warps per inch, 7 per centimeter.

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.59).

## DESCRIPTION

Both the Virgin and the angel have pale yellow and gray hair and pale tan robes with dull yellow lines. The angel wears a red garment over his robe and his wings are blue; he holds a staff. The pale yellow and red dove is seen against the green and blue leaves of a tree in the center. The rest of the design is made up of a wreath of large flowers and leaves in shades of blue, red, yellow, green, and white; a blue iris, pink foxglove, yellow sunflower, white pink, red fritillary, blue and red columbine, and a red, white, blue, and purple tulip can be distinguished. The ground is black and dark blue. The guards are yellow.



## CONDITION

The ground is largely a replacement and there are extensive repairs throughout, especially in the costumes and the flower in the upper right corner. The side guards are modern.

## PLACE OF ORIGIN AND DATE

Tapestries of similar style are attributed to Schleswig-Holstein or Denmark in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

A set of four cushion covers, of which one is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and a fifth in the Odense Bys Museer<sup>2</sup> have a design very similar to 140.<sup>3</sup> On these five the position of the figures is reversed, so that the angel is on the other side of the tree; he holds a staff with a trailing pennant. Many of the same flowers appear, but they are symmetrically arranged, and, in some cases, such as the iris, more comprehensible.

## HISTORY

In the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York.

Given to the MMA by George Blumenthal, 1941.

## PUBLICATIONS

Fischer, Ernst. "Two Danish Flemish-type Weavings in the United States: Their Associations and Origin." *Danish Handcraft Guild* 4 (1964) pp. 35, 37, fig. 3. Identified as Danish, dated after 1650.

Cavallo, Adolph. *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston, 1967, p. 140. Mentioned.

## NOTES

1. Cavallo, *Tapestries*, p. 140.

2. Fischer, "Two Danish Flemish-type Weavings," fig. 2.

3. Cavallo, *Tapestries*, no. 42, pp. 140, 141, pl. 42.

## 141 The Annunciation

### Fragment of an orphrey

Italian (Florence), early sixteenth century.

Silk and silver and silver-gilt thread.

8½ in. x 6½ in. (22 cm x 17 cm).

38–40 warps per inch, 15–16 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.109.27).

### DESCRIPTION

The Virgin wears a red dress with much gold thread and, drawn over her head, a blue cloak with much silver thread. Her halo is gold and she has her hand on a silver book supported on a greenish tan and gold lectern. Gabriel has a green and silver undergarment with a short red and gold jacket. His hair is dull yellow and his halo gold; he carries a green and yellow lily with silver flowers. The dove has entirely lost its wefts; it is seen against a mass of gold rays. Above and behind the Virgin are the curtains of her bed in shades of green, yellow, pale brown, and black. The angel stands on pale tan, pale brown, and gold clouds. The background above, where it has survived, is dull yellow. The foreground is pale dull brown, tan, and gold. The few existing outlines are black. The guards at the sides are dull dark blue and purple.

### CONDITION

The wefts have perished over large areas, most of them originally flesh color and black, such as the Virgin's foot. Some of these areas, such as the angel's face and parts of the foreground, have been repaired, but in most cases, such as the dove (probably originally white), only the bare warps remain. The silver thread has blackened.

### HISTORY

Acquired for the MMA from the dealer Kelekian through the Rogers Fund, 1908.



### EXHIBITION

New York, MMA, 1915–16. *A Special Exhibition of Textiles*, cat. no. 111. Called Italian fifteenth century, the drawing said to suggest the influence of Pollaiuolo.

### PUBLICATION

*MMA Annual Report 1908*, p. 64. Listed as fragment of an embroidered tapestry, with Annunciation, Italian (Florentine), fifteenth century.

## 142 Moses Striking the Rock

From a set of the *Life of Moses*

Italian (Florence); designed about 1650 by Agostino Melissi  
(fl. 1631–1680), woven by Bernardino van Asselt  
(fl. 1629–1673), 1651–57.

Weaver's name.

Wool and silk.

16 ft. x 17 ft. (4.88 m x 5.18 m).

13–15 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.

Gift of the family of Frederic W. Rhinelander, 1920 (20.63).

### DESCRIPTION

Moses, who has gray hair and beard and pale yellow horns, wears a yellow-gray robe with blue stripes, gray boots, and a long blue cloak lined with dark brown. He has just struck the rock with a stick and gray and white water gushes out. Aaron stands beside him in a dull red headdress, a yellow-gray alb-like garment edged with lace, a red-gray and yellow dalmatic, and a long pointed gray garment ending in a reddish tassel. A woman, presumably Miriam, at the left, wears a red-gray head covering, pale yellow-green dress, and dark blue cloak. The heads of several men and women in dull pale red, pale yellow-gray, and dark blue are seen behind them; one woman has a feather in her cap and a man wears a pointed dark blue turban.

On the right, a man in a dull pale red hat, pale yellow robe, and dark blue cloak bends to look at the water. The heads of three people in gray and pale yellow hats are seen behind him; one raises a brown and gray jug. A boy in pale gray has climbed the rock to look over. The gray and blue heads of spears and other weapons rise above the groups on either side. The rock is in shades of gray and brown and a brown tree trunk with brown leaves is seen in the lower right corner. Other trees in shades of blue, green, and dull

yellow appear behind the figures. The sky is gray. The foreground is brown and gray with a number of brown and blue-green plants.

The architectural border has brown and gray columns with dark blue panels decorated in yellow and gray on either side. A pair of brown-haired children with yellow-gray wings and pale yellow, blue, and red ribbons and draperies stand on each base. The upper border has an elaborate gray and blue cartouche, inscribed in dark brown: SILEX ICTIBVS MOYSI OBEDIENS / ERVBESCAT COR HOMINS / DEI BENEFICYS CONTVMAX (The rock [is] obedient to Moses' blows; [let] the heart of men, irresponsible to God's gifts, blush). Two children with yellow-gray wings hold the cartouche while perching on gray and brown swags of fruit and leaves. In the center of the lower border is a large gray and pale yellow shell with swags of gray and brown drapery falling from a mask. On either side is a pale yellow and gray female mask with a high headdress and fringed draperies on a dark blue background. At the foot of each column is a grotesque gray and brown mask with gray and pale yellow swags of fruit. The blue guard, preserved only at the sides and bottom, is inscribed in dull yellow: BERN<sup>O</sup> VANASSEL · <sup>T</sup>F (see detail).

### CONDITION

The piece has been damaged by water; large stains are visible on the right, left, and center in the upper border, the sky, and the rock, and on both sides in the lower border. The whole surface shows scattered dark spots. There is a crudely mended tear across Moses' beard. Many wefts have disintegrated in dark sections and silk passages, leaving bare warps. The reds and flesh tones have faded, giving the entire tapestry, except for the blue and yellow areas, a gray tonality.

### SUBJECT

The other pieces of the series of which examples are known show the infant Moses brought to Pharaoh's daughter, the Children of Israel after the crossing of the



SILEX ICTIBVS MOYSI OBEDIENS  
ERVESCAT COR HOMINIS  
DEI BENEFICYS CONTVMAX.



Red Sea, Moses receiving the Tables of the Law, Moses descending from Sinai with the Tables of the Law, and Moses breaking the Tables of the Law (with the worship of the Golden Calf in the distance). Overdoors with an allegorical figure of Law are also known. Two other subjects, the Children of Israel gathering manna and the elevation of the Brazen Serpent, have been listed as part of a set, but no examples have been identified.<sup>1</sup> The incident shown in 142 is described in Exodus 17:1–7. The Children of Israel, at Rephidim, had no water; Moses, at God's command, smote the rock in Horeb and water came out of it.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The main pieces of the series, with their borders, are known to be after designs by Agostino Melissi.<sup>2</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The records of the Florentine manufactory show that a panel of *Moses Striking the Rock* was woven by Pietro Fevere in April 1650. Other weavings of the series are mentioned in 1651, 1653, and 1659, without the number of pieces, or their subjects, or the name of the weaver being given. But an inventory for August 1655 describes a panel of the *Story of Moses* by "B. Van Asselt."<sup>3</sup> As there are four known examples of *Moses Striking the Rock*, it may be supposed that the series was woven at least four times.

#### RELATED TAPESTRIES

A complete set was in a pawnshop in Rome before 1878; the *Infant Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter* and *Moses Striking the Rock* had the weaver's signature.<sup>4</sup> The latter may well be identical with 142 and the former, together with the unsigned versions of the *Crossing of the Red Sea* and *Moses Receiving the Commandments*, probably make up the set of three pieces sold at Sotheby's, London, June 12, 1970 (nos. 32–34);<sup>5</sup> of these, the *Infant Moses* and the *Crossing of the Red Sea* are in the Tel Aviv Museum<sup>6</sup> and *Moses Receiving the Commandments* is in the Sir Isaac and Lady Edith Wolfson Museum, Hechal Shlomo, Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup>

Of the sets made for the grand duke, there are two

examples of the *Infant Moses* (Soprintendenza di Firenze inv. nos. 83, 90), one in the Palazzo di Montecitorio, Rome, and one in the Uffizi; two of the *Crossing of the Red Sea* (inv. nos. 85, 630) in the same locations;<sup>8</sup> three of *Moses Striking the Rock* (inv. nos. 82, 87, 174), two in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence, and one in the Museo Nazionale, Parma; two of *Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law* (inv. nos. 81, 88), one in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi and one in the Palazzo di Montecitorio; two of *Moses Descending from Sinai* (inv. nos. 80, 86), both in the Palazzo di Montecitorio; and two of *Moses Breaking the Tables of the Law* (inv. nos. 84, 89), one in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi and one in the Palazzo di Montecitorio. There are also five overdoors (inv. nos. 24, 238, 241, 242, and 244) in Florence and Pistoia.<sup>9</sup> All these tapestries are owned by the city of Florence.

The examples of *Moses Striking the Rock* in Florence differ only in very small details from 142. Inventory number 82 has no weaver's name;<sup>10</sup> inventory number 87 is inscribed "BER." The example in Parma is not signed.

#### HISTORY

Acquired in Paris by Frederic W. Rhineland. Lent to the MMA by Frederic W. Rhineland (died 1904), New York, 1895.

Lent to the MMA by Frederic W. Rhineland, Jr.

Given to the MMA by the family of Frederic W. Rhineland, through Thomas N. Rhineland, 1920.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Coles Gallery 8: Tapestries and Paintings, Malachites, Vases, Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York. [1895], p. 58. Listed as Italian, lent by Frederic W. Rhineland.

*MMA Annual Report* 1920, p. 18. Mentioned as Flemish, seventeenth century.

J.B. [Joseph Breck]. "Recent Accessions of Decorative Arts." *MMA Bulletin* 15 (1920) p. 202. Mentioned as Flemish, seventeenth century.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 394. Mentioned. Identified as Florentine. Designer, weaver, and other pieces of series named.

Standen, Edith A. "Tapisseries Renaissance, Maniéristes et baroques: nouveaux développements." *Revue de l'Art*, no. 22 (1973) p. 97, fig. 7. Account of known pieces of set.

Coffinet, Julien. *Métamorphoses de la tapisserie*. Paris, 1977, p. 173, illus.



# NOTES

1. X. Barbier de Montault, "Inventaire descriptif des tapisseries de haute-lisse conservées à Rome," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Arts d'Arras*, 11th ser., 10 (1878) p. 264. No inscription or signatures are given for these two tapestries, which perhaps belong to another series. The 1663–64 inventory of the Pitti Palace lists a set of seven tapestries with the story of Moses in the Sala di Marte, of which the only subject mentioned is "quando il Padre eterno porge la legge a Moisé." There were also "due sopraporti simili," one with "uno scudo con una femmina con un putto e un Ariete," the other with "una femmina entro a uno aovato con una spada in mano, che rappresenta la Giustizia" (Malcolm Campbell, *Pietro Cortona at the Pitti Palace* [Princeton, 1977] vol. 4, n. 37).
2. Filippo Baldinucci (1624?–1696), in his *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno* ([first published 1681–1729; Florence, 1845–47] vol. 4, p. 318), writes of Melissi:

Del 1647 diede mano a fare per l'arazzeria del sereniss. granduca più disegni e cartoni a tempera . . . storie di Moisé con lor fregi d'architettura, cioè: quando è cavato dalla cestella, lo scaturir l'acqua dal sasso, la sommersione di Faraone, il gettar

della tavole della legge; che servono per l'anticamera dello stesso serenissimo.

A number of drawings but no paintings by Melissi have been identified (Giuseppe Cantelli, *Repertorio della pittura fiorentina del seicento* [Florence, 1983] p. 114).

3. Cosimo Conti, *Ricerche storiche sull'arte degli arazzi in Firenze* (Florence, 1875) pp. 68–71.
4. Barbier de Montault, "Inventaire descriptif," pp. 263, 264.
5. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, pls. 411, 552, as in a German private collection.
6. "La Chronique des arts," supplement to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 79 (February 1972) p. 149, fig. 546 (*Crossing of the Red Sea*).
7. Information from Estelle Fink.
8. *Gli Uffizi, catalogo generale* (Florence, 1979) pp. 1071, 1072, nos. Ar. 39, 40, both illus.
9. Information from Dr. Angelica Frezza.
10. Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Arazzi italiani* (Milan, 1961) p. 44, pl. 56 (detail).

## 143 Scenes from Gerusalemme Liberata

Four tapestries from a set

- a *Aladin Hears of the Crusaders' Approach*
- b *Sophronia's Defiance*
- c *The Crusaders Reach Jerusalem*
- d *Erminia and the Shepherd*

Italian (Rome); designed by Domenico Paradisi (fl. 1691–1721), 1689–93, and woven at the San Michele manufactory under the directorship of Pietro Ferloni (fl. 1717–1770), 1732–39, for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740).

Weaver's name and date on 143b.

Wool and silk.

143a 12 ft. 2 in. x 11 ft. 6 in. (3.71 m x 3.51 m);

143b 12 ft. 4 in. x 10 ft. 6 in. (3.76 m x 3.20 m);

143c 12 ft. 5 in. x 19 ft. 6 in. (3.78 m x 5.94 m);

143d 11 ft. 11 in. x 15 ft. (3.63 m x 4.57 m).

16–18 warps per inch, 7 per centimeter.

Bequest of Elizabeth U. Coles, in memory of her son,

William F. Coles, 1892 (92.1.14[143a]; 92.1.15[143c];

92.1.16[143b]; 92.1.17[143d]).

### DESCRIPTION

The borders have basically similar designs, though the herms and the masks are all different. Each upper border has a central figure female mask in natural colors with a blue wreath, surrounded by gray and pale yellow or white foliage, with a gray and pale yellow or white cartouche below, inscribed in dark brown with the canto and stanza numbers of the subjects and two lines from the poem. Dark brown two-headed eagles with yellow crowns in the upper corners of each piece hold red ribbons and stand on blue, yellow, and gray globes held by gray and yellow stone herms in the side borders. Garlands of blue-green leaves, red ribbons, and flowers in red, white, blue, and pale yellow fill the spaces between the eagles and the central motif.

The lower borders have similar central male masks in curved pale yellow and gray frames. On three pieces, 143a, b, and d, pale yellow and brown cornucopias with red ribbons extend on either side, masses of flowers, blue-green leaves, and fruit pouring from their open ends; pale yellow and blue grapes, red and yellow pomegranates,

peaches, and apples, and green and yellow melons can be distinguished. On the widest piece, 143c, there are four cornucopias, each pair springing from a curved frame.

The herms of the side borders stand on carved pale brown and yellow supports, with red ribbons and garlands in dark green, red, white, pink, and blue; the two sides are never the same. The framelike background to the borders is in shades of brown and gray. The guards (preserved only on 143b) are blue.

### SUBJECT

Fifteen tapestries of the set are listed (with their inscriptions) in the 1740 Ottoboni inventory. The subjects of these and of 143a, which is not included in the inventory, are taken from the first seven cantos of *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Torquato Tasso. From canto 1 is the scene when the crusaders, assembled at Tortosa, choose Godfrey of Bouillon as their leader. The story of the king of Jerusalem (Aladin), the magician Ismeno, and the Christian couple, Sophronia and Olindo, from canto 2, is illustrated in five tapestries. The crusaders' first sight of Jerusalem and Clorinda saved in battle by Tancred are from canto 3. There are six pieces showing Armida's mission to the crusaders' camp and the quarrels she caused there, as described in cantos 4 and 5. Tancred fighting Argantes is from canto 6 and Erminia and the shepherd from canto 7. There was at least one other tapestry whose subject is not known.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni had an apartment at the Palazzo della Cancelleria painted with stories from Tasso by Domenico Paradisi, perhaps assisted by Michelangelo Ricciolini, a figure painter, and Francesco Borgognone, a landscape painter, between 1689 and 1693. Paradisi was paid in 1693 for "tutti li arazi di tutte le stanze in tela con l'istorie del Tasso con fregi ornati di fiori e statue inscriptioni sopra porti," showing that he painted imitation tapestries on canvas with borders of flowers and statues. Ottoboni is recorded in 1739 as having these paintings reproduced as tapestries.<sup>1</sup>

## WEAVER AND DATE

Pietro Ferloni, whose name, with the date 1739, appears on 143b, was head of the San Michele manufactory in Rome from 1717 until his death in 1770. The inventory taken after Ottoboni's death in 1740 states that twelve of the tapestries of the set had Ferloni's name, with dates ranging from 1732 to 1738;<sup>2</sup> one of the known tapestries is dated 1739.

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

The 1740 Ottoboni inventory, which quotes the lines from Tasso that are found on each tapestry, lists 143b, c, and d; 143a is not included, but a 1742 addition to the inventory mentions "due pezzi d'arazzi della istoria del Tasso esistente in mano del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Pietro Ferloni."<sup>3</sup> Of the other pieces in the inventory, the following have been identified:

*Clorinda and Tancred in Combat* (canto 3, stanza 21): In the Hamilton Palace sale, June 17–July 20, 1882 (no. 1914); the Henry G. Marquand sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 24–30, 1903 (no. 1332, illus.); the J. R. DeLamar sale, American Art Association, New York, November 20–22, 1919 (no. 447, illus.); and, as property from an eastern museum (the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh), in a Sotheby Parke Bernet sale, June 24, 1977 (no. 79, illus.). The name "Nouzou" (probably Nouzon) and the date 1735 are said to be in the lower right hand corner of the central field.<sup>4</sup>

*Godfrey Addressing the Followers of Dudone* (canto 5, stanza 2): Probably in the Hamilton Palace sale (no. 1915). In the Archduke Leopold Salvator sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, February 4, 5, 1927 (no. 283, illus.). Now in the San Francisco Opera House. It is signed by Ferloni and dated 1732.<sup>5</sup>

*Armida Prepares to Go to the Crusaders' Camp* (canto 4, stanza 27): In the Hamilton Palace sale (no. 1922). Sold at Christie's, London, July 14, 1885 (no. 3202), from the Christopher Beckett Denison collection; at the same auction house, July 17, 1952 (no. 233, illus.); and at Sotheby's, London, April 29, 1960 (no. 105, illus.). It is said to be signed "Nouzou" (probably Nouzon) and dated 1735.<sup>6</sup>

*Armida in Godfrey's Tent* (canto 4, stanza 77): Possibly in the Hamilton Palace sale (no. 1922 or 1924). In the

Leopold Salvator sale (no. 282, illus.) and now in the San Francisco Opera House. It is signed "Ferloni" and dated 1736.<sup>7</sup>

*The Crusaders Casting Lots* (to chose ten knights to accompany Armida; canto 5, stanza 73): In the embassy of the German Federal Republic, Vatican City. Signed "P. Ferloni F. Romae 1738."<sup>8</sup>

*Godfrey Chosen to Head the Crusade* (canto 1, stanza 32): In the embassy of the German Federal Republic, Vatican City. Signed "P. Ferloni F. Romae 1735."<sup>9</sup>

*Clorinda Rescuing Sophronia and Olindo* (canto 2, stanza 45): Owned by the Edward James Foundation, West Dean, West Sussex, England. Signed "P. Ferloni F. Romae. A.D. MDCCXXXIX."

*The Combat between Tancred and Argante* (canto 6, stanza 7): Owned by the Edward James Foundation. Signed "P. Ferloni F. Romae. A.D. MDCCXXXVI."<sup>10</sup>

Ten overdoor panels sold with the Tasso tapestries at the Hamilton Palace sale (nos. 1917, 1920, 1925), described as "with vases of flowers of the same" or "with groups of flowers," were made at Aubusson about 1844 for Hamilton Palace.<sup>11</sup>

The series does not appear to have been woven again.

## HISTORY

The double-headed crowned eagles in the upper corners come from the upper part of the arms of the Ottoboni family and the globes crossed by a band are reminiscent of the lower part of these arms.<sup>12</sup> The only member of this family in the 1730s was Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, a great-nephew of Pope Alexander VIII and a munificent patron of the arts. Three of the four pieces of 143 appear in his 1740 inventory: "Tre arazzi, uno rapp.te delle figure in piedi con freggio a torno di vasi di fiori con figure che sostengono una palla sbarrate con aquile di due teste sopra, con l'iscrizione seguente nel mezzo del fileto al freggio da capo: Io l'immagine tolsi. Io son colei che tu ricerchi, e me punir tu dei, d'altezza p.mi quattordici e  $\frac{3}{4}$  e largo p.mi quattordici con iscrizione a piedi del freggio: P. Ferloni f. Romae anno. 1739" [143b]; "altro largo p.mi venti quattro con la seg.te iscrizione nel P.to luogo: Ecco da mille voci unitamente Gerusalemme salutar si sente" [143c]. "Un arazzo simile alli descritti . . . alto p.mi 14  $\frac{1}{2}$  scarsi, largo diecinove scarsi con iscrizione in mezzo al freggio di sopra nel cartellone che contiene cio che segue: Ma li saluta Erminia e dolcem.te gl'affida e gl'occhi scopre e i bei crin d'oro, con altra iscrizione a piedi in un angolo della cimase: P. Ferloni f. in O.A. A.D. 1733" [143d].<sup>13</sup>

Possibly acquired in Italy by the tenth duke of Hamilton (1767–1852).<sup>14</sup>

Though not included in the 1825 inventory of Hamilton Palace, probably among the “Pieces of fine large Tapestry Work” listed in additions made between 1835 and 1840.<sup>15</sup>

Seen by Dr. Waagen at Hamilton Palace, 1850.

Sold for the twelfth duke of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace by Christie’s, June 17–July 20, 1882.

Bequeathed to the MMA by Mrs. William Coles (Elizabeth U. Coles) in memory of her son, William F. Coles, 1892.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Waagen, Gustave Friedrich. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*. London, 1854, vol. 3, p. 305. Mentioned, as “hangings representing scenes from Tasso” in the new state rooms at Hamilton Palace. “Their value, as works of art, are subordinate.”

*Drawings, Water-color Paintings, Photographs and Etchings, Tapestries, Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York, [1894], p. 59, nos. 11–14. Called “Scenes from Tasso’s ‘Jerusalem Delivered’.” Roman tapestries, by P. Ferloni, 1739.”

*Coles Gallery 8: Tapestries and Paintings, Malachites, Vases, Etc.* MMA Handbook. New York, [1895], p. 3. Listed.

Hunter, George Leland. “Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum.” *International Studio* 45 (February 1912) p. LXXXVII, illus. p. LXXXVIII [143b]. Several said to have the “woven signature of P. Ferloni, Rome, 1739.”

Hunter, George Leland. *Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance*. New York, 1912, pp. 21, 225, pl. 277b [143b]. One tapestry said to be signed.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 217. Five pieces mentioned, said to be from the duke of Hamilton’s collection, with another in the Marquand sale, 1903.

Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 425. Hamilton Palace set said to be five pieces, two (signed Ferloni and Nouzou [*sic*]) in MMA, one in Marquand [*sic*] sale, two in Leopold Salvator sale. Style, especially the borders, said to resemble work of Procaccini; contemporary Turkish costumes noted.

Michel, Geneviève and Olivier. “La décoration du palais Ruspoli en 1715 et la redécouverte de ‘Monsù Francesco Borgognone.’” *Mélanges de l’Ecole Française de Rome* 89 (1977) p. 295, n. 113, fig. 6 [143d]. Mentioned, as among the tapestries ordered by Cardinal Ottoboni.

Standen, Edith A. “Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: VI. Some Exotic Subjects.” *Apollo* 114 (1981) p. 49, fig. 10 [143a].

Olszewski, Edward J. “The Tapestry Collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni.” *Apollo* 116 (1982) p. 108, figs. 12 [143c], 13 [143d]. Account of all known pieces of set.

Standen, Edith A. “Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew: A Roman Set Illustrating Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*.” *MMA Journal* 16 (1981) pp. 147–64, figs. 3, 9, 12, 13. History of set, with discussion of patron, designer, and manufactory.

## 143a *Aladin Hears of the Crusaders’ Approach*

#### DESCRIPTION

Aladin, who has a gray-brown beard, wears a gray turban with blue and yellow stripes, a small yellow crown on top and a black plume springing from a jewel with pearls and a ruby at the side. He has a blue robe with yellow ornamentation, a fur-trimmed green coat, red stockings, and yellow slippers; he holds a yellow scepter. The messenger (a Turkish Janissary) has a tall striped red and gray headdress, a red coat, lined with blue, a dangling gray and yellow sleeve, red trousers, and yellow boots. A brown and gray sword hangs at his side. Between the two men is another in a striped gray turban, a dull yellow robe with red and blue stripes, a yellow-gray coat, lined with blue, blue leg coverings, and yellow-brown slippers. On the left is another man, holding a spear, wearing a gray striped turban with a yellow plume, a blue robe ornamented in dull yellow, a red and yellow coat, yellow leg coverings, and brown slippers. A soldier in a gray turban, blue fur-trimmed coat, and red sleeves, holding a spear, is partly visible behind him.

The five figures stand on a platform covered with a green carpet. Beyond this, on the right, are three Janissaries with tall striped headdresses, one in a blue coat and red trousers, the others in pale yellow coats and yellow-brown trousers. Behind them is a low pale brown wall and, in the distance, a camp with armed men on horseback in shades of gray and brown. Behind Aladin is a large green and yellow cushion, with green material thrown over a support at the back. Above this rises a brown ro-coco stand with a gray crescent. Between the two sara-cenic twisted brown columns is a large blue curtain with dull yellow decoration. Part of a gray and brown building with an arch forms the background. The sky is blue and gray; the foreground on the right is pale brown.





The inscription reads: C I / S 82 / MA IL VECCHIO RE NE GIA / VICIN PERIGLI / VOLGE NEL DVBIO COR FERI / CONSIGLI (Canto 1, stanza 82. But the old king, in these immediate perils, revolves savage plans in his dubious heart).

#### CONDITION

Repairs are visible in the sky at the upper right corner. Some yellow silk areas, especially in the herms, have partly perished. The piece has been slightly cut at the sides.

#### SUBJECT

The poem deals with the crusaders' campaign of 1099. In the first canto, Gabriel is sent by God to encourage Godfrey of Bouillon to attack Jerusalem. The news of his approach is brought to the ruler of the city, whom Tasso called Aladin, King of Jerusalem.

The designer has shown the figures in contemporary Turkish costumes; the distinctive headdress of the Janissaries and their wide sleeves are noticeable.<sup>16</sup> Aladin's costume here and in 143b is reminiscent of that worn by the Turkish sultan.<sup>17</sup>

#### HISTORY

Possibly one of the two tapestries in the set still held by Ferloni in 1742, as it is not listed in the 1740 Ottoboni inventory.

About a hundred pages of this are, however, missing but these probably dealt with books.<sup>18</sup>

Probably number 1916 or 1919 in the Hamilton Palace sale, 1882. The eight pieces in this sale were described as showing subjects from Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," with borders "with caryatid figures, masks, flowers and fruits." Number 1916 measured 12 feet by 10 feet, 4 inches, and was bought by H. E. Kidson for £215 5s. Number 1919 was 12 feet by 10 feet, 3 inches, and was bought by the same buyer for £246 15s.

## 143b *Sophronia's Defiance*

#### DESCRIPTION

Sophronia, wearing a yellow-green dress, with a dull yellow head covering and a yellow-red cloak, is held by a Janissary in red, with a blue and yellow striped hat, a

yellow-gray sleeve, and yellow boots. A man in a dull yellow turban and blue leggings, holding a coil of rope, is partly visible between them. Aladin, in the same costume that he wears in 143a, stands on the steps above. A Janissary, dressed like the first mentioned, with a brown and yellow sword hung from a yellow belt, is seen from the back at the foot of the steps. On the right is a high dignitary (possibly Ismeno, the sorcerer), wearing a cap with blue and yellow-gray plumes, a blue and yellow robe, a wide-sleeved gray fur-lined coat, gray sleeves, and dull yellow boots; he holds a gray ax. A man in a gray turban, red robe, and yellow cloak stands beside him, and a Janissary in blue holds a spear with a red tassel on the other side. The heads of two men in red and gray turbans appear behind them.

The architectural background is gray and brown with dark blue vertical bands and a pale blue-gray curtain looped around a pillar. An arch on the right opens on a high gray-brown wall, over which the tops of dark green cypresses and yellow-green palm trees are visible, with a brown steeple crowned by a crescent against a gray sky. The foreground is in tones of brown and gray.

The inscription reads: C 2 / S 2 [for 21] / IO L'IMAGINE TOLSI. IO / SON COLEI / CHE TV RICERCHI, E ME PVNIR / TV DEI (Canto 2, stanza 21. I took the statue, I am the one thou seekest and thou shouldest punish me). The lower guard is inscribed in pale yellow: P. FERLONI. F. ROMAE. A.D. MDCCXXXIX.

#### CONDITION

Many yellow or originally white silk areas, such as the cartouche in the upper border, the herms, and the band above the lower mask, are in poor condition or have been rewoven.

#### SUBJECT

Aladin, at the advice of the sorcerer Ismeno, took a statue of the Virgin from the Christian church to the chief mosque, but overnight it disappeared. Aladin then ordered all the Christians to be slaughtered, but one of them, Sophronia, confessed that she had removed and burned it.

#### HISTORY

Probably number 1916 or 1919 in the Hamilton Palace sale.



## 143c *The Crusaders Reach Jerusalem*

### DESCRIPTION

Two of the Christian leaders kneel in the foreground, both in classical armor, one with a yellow, the other with a red cloak. The younger man nearer the spectator, has

elaborately decorated armor with red and blue jewels and is presumably Godfrey of Bouillon. A helmet with a red plume lies on the ground. Behind them, a man in yellow and blue with slashed sleeves and breeches, holds a gray, brown, and yellow rearing horse by its red reins. Another warrior is dismounting from his brown horse, which has a red and yellow harness; he wears a yellow helmet with



blue and yellow plumes, yellow-gray armor, and a blue cloak and sandals. On the left, a mounted crusader extends both arms in prayer; he has a red-plumed helmet, yellow and gray armor, and a red saddlecloth. His horse is gray and brown, with red harness. Other mounted men in gray armor are seen behind; one has red and gray plumes on his helmet. Of the three warriors to the right behind the

rearing horse, the foremost has a gray plume and gray armor, worn over blue clothing; the man beside him has a red plume.

Above the troops rise weapons and standards of the classical Roman type, but topped with dull yellow crosses. One dull red banner has a similar cross and another shows gray and white stripes. In the background on the right are the walls of Jerusalem in tones of pale brown, gray, and dull yellow, with the roofs of the round Temple and other imposing buildings rising above them. Some of the defenders in red, blue, and brown are seen on the walls. A clump of blue-green trees forms the background in the center and others are seen below the city walls. An expanse of blue-gray and pale yellow water, reflecting the pale brown rocks on which the city stands, lies in the middle distance on the right. The sky is dark blue-gray above, yellow-gray below. The foreground is in tones of blue, gray, brown, and green.

The inscription reads: C 3 / S 3 / ECCO DA MILLE VOCI / VNITAMENTE / GIERVSALEMME SALVTAR / SI SENTE (Canto 3, stanza 3. Lo! From a thousand united voices, "Hail Jerusalem!" is heard).

#### CONDITION

The upper border has been slightly cut, so that two eagle heads have lost their crowns. There are a number of small holes in the upper left part and some bare warps in dark passages on the horses.

#### SUBJECT

The crusaders come in sight of Jerusalem at dawn and hail the city. As related in stanza 7, the commander takes off his helmet and his followers do the same.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The designer must have known the illustration by Bernardo Castello that was engraved for the edition of the poem published in Genoa in 1617 by G. Pavoni. It shows two kneeling figures in classical armor, with their helmets on the ground, mounted horsemen behind them, and the walled city of Jerusalem, with the round Temple, in the distance on one side.<sup>19</sup> The resemblance, however, is not close enough to consider this print as the source of the tapestry design.



## HISTORY

Probably number 1918 in the Hamilton Palace sale, 1882. This is described as "An Oblong panel of Tapestry, with a subject from Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered', in border, with caryatid figures, masks, fruits, and flowers—by Ferloni—in carved and gilt frame—12 ft. by 19 ft. 4 in." It was bought by D. Sherrat for £351 15s.

## 143d *Erminia and the Shepherd*

### DESCRIPTION

Erminia wears blue and yellow classical armor over a pale yellow dress, with a red cloak; she has taken off her white and gray helmet, lined with red and with red plumes, as she greets the gray-haired old shepherd and his three sons. He is dressed in pale yellow with red drapery and holds a yellow-gray pipe. One boy, in the foreground on the right, is in pale yellow and green; he places a garland of red, yellow, and white flowers over the head of a gray-brown ram. A sheep of the same color appears to the right. The child in the center, seen from behind, has a brown dress with a blue belt, and the one farthest away is in pale yellow, with a red ribbon around his neck and a blue sleeveless jacket. Three empty blue baskets lie on the ground. Erminia's gray horse with blue harness crops the grass behind her. A dark brown goat and a gray-brown sheep are seen between her and the shepherd family, with two gray and brown goats in the central middle distance.

On the right, absurdly small, is a brown and dull yellow thatched lean-to shed with a woman in gray, blue, and dull yellow, a brown cow, and some yellow-gray sheep. On the far left are three large trees with brown trunks and dark green leaves. The background shows a gray and yellow lake with palm trees on the far bank, low gray-green hills on the left, and a grove in the center in tones of green and brown. The sky is gray-blue above and yellow-gray below. The foreground is in shades of green and brown, with some green plants.

The inscription reads: C 7 / S 7 / MA GLI SALVTA ERMINIA / E DOLCEMENTE / GL AFFIDA, E GL OCCHI SCOPRE / E I BEI CRIN D'ORO (Canto 7, stanza 7. But Erminia saluted them and sweetly trusted them and uncovered her eyes and her beautiful golden hair).

## CONDITION

A few bare warps are visible in dark areas. The tapestry may have been cut slightly at the top, where the eagle on the right has lost a crown, and at the sides.

## SUBJECT

Erminia, daughter of the king of Antioch, fell in love with Tancred while she was his prisoner. She escaped to Jerusalem, but, when he was wounded in a fight with Argantes, she decided to join the Christians. She borrowed armor from Clorinda, a warrior-maiden who had come from Persia to help Aladin, and left the city. After spending a night on the banks of the Jordan, she heard a shepherd's pipe and came upon an old man, weaving baskets among a flock of sheep and goats, with his three young sons playing around him. They were frightened of her until she took off her helmet and showed them she was a woman.

## HISTORY

According to the 1740 Ottoboni inventory, the original guard was inscribed in one corner with the name of P. Ferloni and the date 1733.

The dimensions do not correspond with any piece in the Hamilton Palace sale, but possibly 143d is number 1923 or 1924. Number 1923, "an Upright Piece, with another illustration to Tasso . . . by P. Ferloni—in carved and gilt frame—12 ft. square," was bought by J. J. Duveen for £267 15s; number 1924, "The Companion Piece" was 12 feet by 11 feet. Parts of either of these pieces may have been turned under at the time of the sale.

## NOTES

1. Michel, "La décoration," pp. 292–95, 326.
2. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," pp. 148, 149, 152–57, with transcriptions of the inventory entries provided by Olivier Michel.
3. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 159.
4. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," pp. 149, 152, fig. 4.
5. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 154, fig. 8.
6. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 148, fig. 2.
7. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," pp. 153, 154, fig. 7.
8. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," pp. 152, 153, fig. 6.
9. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 155, fig. 11.
10. *The Edward James Foundation* (n.p., 1981) pp. 37, 39. Both mentioned, detail of second tapestry illus.
11. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 164, n. 38.
12. The Ottoboni arms are "Troncato: nel 1° d'oro all'aquila bicipite





143d

di nero, coronata del campo sulle due teste; nel 2° trinciato d'azz. e di verde da una banda d'argento" (Vittorio Spreti, *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana* [Bologna, (1969)] vol. 4, p. 952).

13. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," pp. 148, 149, 155, 157-59.
14. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 164.
15. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," p. 164, n. 36.
16. The Janissaries' headdress remained unchanged until 1826; a sev-

enteenth-century example is in the Badesches Landesmuseum, Orangerie, Karlsruhe (*Der Türkenlouis*, exh. cat., 1955, no. 400, pl. 45).

17. Remmet van Luttervelt, *De "Turkse" Schilderijen van J. B. Vanmour en zijn School* (Istanbul, 1958) pls. 4, 10 (Janissaries), 9 (sultan).
18. Information from Edward J. Olszewski.
19. Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew," fig. 10.

## 144 Bust of the Virgin

Italian (Rome); woven at the San Michele manufactory, mid-eighteenth century.

Silk and wool.

1 ft. 2 1/4 in. x 11 1/2 in. (36 cm x 29 cm).

28–29 warps per inch, 10–11 per centimeter.

Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888 (88.3.107).

### DESCRIPTION

The Virgin wears a pink dress and blue drapery over what is apparently a pale brown head covering. The background is brown in the upper corners, with a cream and pale brown aureole behind the Virgin's head. The face and hands are wool, as are the brown areas of the background. The costume is largely silk.

### CONDITION

Small holes are apparent in the blue drapery.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is close to that of the Guido Reni (1575–1642) *Madonna Addolorata* in the Salina Brazzetti collection, Bologna,<sup>1</sup> and may be derived from this or from one of the many later versions of this painting. It has also been attributed to Francesco Trevisani (1656–1746).<sup>2</sup>

### MANUFACTORY

The hands are very like those of a bust of the Virgin woven at the San Michele manufactory, Rome, now in the Vatican.

### HISTORY

Given to the MMA by Coudert Brothers, 1888.<sup>4</sup>

### PUBLICATION

Viale Ferrero, Mercedes. "Arazzi e pittura." *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 11 (Turin, 1982) p. 151, pl. 235. Compared to Guido Reni painting in Brazzetti collection, dated mid-eighteenth century.

### NOTES

1. Edi Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Guido Reni* (Milan, 1971) p. 107, no. 155 illus.
2. In a private communication from Anthony Clark.
3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 425; vol. 2, pl. 460. Tentatively identified with a tapestry given by the pope to the Venetian ambassador in 1747.
4. The Coudert Brothers were a law firm, and their gifts had belonged to a former client in Florence (Philippe de Montebello, Director's note, *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 40 [1982] p. 2).



## 145 The Virgin Annunciate

Fragment

Italian (probably Rome); woven probably at the San

Michele manufactory, mid-eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 5 1/2 in. x 1 ft. 1 in. (44 cm x 33 cm).

26–29 warps per inch, 10–11 per centimeter.

Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888 (88.3.108).

### DESCRIPTION

The Virgin has brown hair and a gray-green veil; the outline of her halo is the same gray-green. She wears a crimson and pink dress and blue drapery and holds a book with bright red covers. In front of her is a dark blue and black table supporting a gray-green vase with a white lily, pink and white roses, and blue and green leaves. In the upper left corner is a gray-brown cloud with a streak of light breaking through it. The Virgin sits on a chair with a red back, ornamented with a yellow-brown finial and nailheads; the lower part of the chair is brown. In the upper right corner is a green curtain. The background is in shades of dark green and blue-green. Silk is used for highlights only.

### CONDITION

There are very few small areas with bare warps. The panel has apparently been cut on the left and at the bottom.

### HISTORY

Given to the MMA by Coudert Brothers, 1888.



## 146 Head of the Virgin (Mater Dolorosa)

Italian (Rome); woven at the San Michele manufactory, mid-eighteenth century.

Wool and silk.

1 ft. 6 1/4 in. x 1 ft. 3 1/4 in. (46 cm x 39 cm).

19–20 warps per inch, 8 per centimeter.

Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888 (88.3.8).

### DESCRIPTION

The Virgin has a pale brown and tan head covering, a red dress (seen at the throat), and a blue cloak over her shoulders. There are tears on her cheeks. Her halo is cream outlined in pale brown. The background is the same cream within an oval border in dark brown and tan. The



FIG. 95. *L'Addolorata*, after Guido Reni. Oil on canvas. Galleria Corsini, Rome. Photo: Alinari-Scala.

four corners are brown. The remains of a blue guard are seen at the top, the bottom, and the right side. The flesh portions are in wool, but the tears and the white of the eye are silk. The veil and the background inside the oval are silk.

### CONDITION

There are holes and bare warps below the mouth and in the blue cloak.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is taken from the Mater Dolorosa after Guido Reni (1575–1642) in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Palazzo Corsini), Rome (fig. 95), or from one of the several other similar paintings known.<sup>1</sup>

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The head is very close to that of the Virgin in the *Crucifixion* woven at San Michele and now in the Vatican. This has the arms of Pope Clement XII (1730–40), and is similar in design to the *Cappuccini Crucifixion*.<sup>2</sup>

### HISTORY

Said to have been in the collection of Mme d'Oliviera.<sup>3</sup> Given to the MMA by Coudert Brothers, 1888.

### PUBLICATION

Viale Ferrero, Mercedes. "Arazzi e pittura." *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 11 (Turin, 1982) p. 151, pl. 233. Compared to Guido Reni painting in the Corsini Gallery, dated mid-eighteenth century.

### NOTES

1. Edi Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Guido Reni* (Milan, 1971) p. 97, no. 79<sup>1</sup>, illus. These paintings are related to the *Cappuccini Crucifixion* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, which was also reproduced in tapestry at the San Michele manufactory (Viale Ferrero, "Arazzi," pl. 237).
2. Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, pl. 449.
3. Possibly Mme Dolivera de Carcassone, of New York and Paris.







# 147 Mantle

Probably for a statue of the Virgin

Polish (Cracow); woven probably by Franciszek Glaize (fl. 1743–1758), perhaps for Andreas Stanislaus Kostka Zaluski, bishop of Cracow (1694–1758), about 1755.

Silk and silver-gilt thread.

4 ft. 9 in. x 7 ft. 11 in. (1.45 m x 2.41 m).

22–28 warps per inch, 10–12 per centimeter.

Rogers Fund, 1957 (57.94).



Detail of 147

## DESCRIPTION

The ground is white. Basically the design is symmetrical, but the two sides vary in detail. In the center is a vase in shades of pink, light brown, and tan, and gold thread, filled with red, yellow, blue, lavender, and white flowers, with leaves in shades of green and yellow. The scrolling forms that surround it are in three shades of blue inside, two shades of pink, tan, and gold thread on the outside. Similar scrolling forms, mostly in blues and gold, extend above and below. From these spring flowers in red, yellow, pink, and white, with green and yellow leaves, and, above the vase, red berries.

Around the edges of the mantle are similar forms interspersed with irregularly shaped medallions in dark and light pink, tan, and gold thread. These show symbols of the Virgin in the same colors. Immediately to the right of the neck opening is an indistinct symbol, perhaps the Ark of the Covenant. Farther to the right is the sun, shown as a rayed face; this medallion is tied to a scroll with a ribbon. Below the top right corner and continuing down the right side are a city gate, a tower, a rose on a twig with leaves, and a mirror. In the center at the bottom is a palm-like tree in an oval medallion. The medallions at the top of the left side show a star and the crescent moon with a face; this medallion is tied to a scroll with a ribbon. Below the top left corner is a fountain, then an indistinct symbol, perhaps a ship, a lily plant with three flowers, and a pine-like tree. Among the pink, blue, and gold scrolling forms are curving sprays of green and yellow leaves and many flowers in red, blue, white, yellow, pale and dark brown, lavender, and pink. The guards are yellow. The warps are vertical.

## CONDITION

There are a few small holes, but no significant damage and a minimum of repairs.

## USE AND SYMBOLISM

The semicircular indentation at the neck and the lack of a hood and of any remains of a method of fastening the garment across the chest suggest a mantle for a church image rather than a cope. All the identifiable symbols are



those of the Virgin; she is “*Electa ut sol*,” “*Porta coeli*,” “*Turris davidica cum propugnaculis*,” “*Plantatio rosae*,” “*Speculum sine macula*,” “*Stella matutina*,” “*Pulchra ut luna*,” “*Fons Hortorum*,” “*Sicut lilium*,” and “*Quasi cipressus*” (or, “*Sicut cedrus exaltata*”).<sup>1</sup>

#### WEAVER AND DATE

The attribution to the workshop of Franciszek Glaize at Cracow in the mid-eighteenth century is based on the resemblance in technique, design, and coloring of 147 and a

chasuble in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> The rococo scrolls and medallions, leaves, roses, and ribbons on both pieces are closely related. The chasuble has inscriptions indicating it was made in Cracow, for Andreas Zaluski. The eagles in its design are very like those on five altar frontals in the Czartoryski Museum, which are signed by F. Glaize; they were made for Zaluski just before his death in 1758.<sup>3</sup> Very similar flowers are also found on two hangings with grisaille figures of statues in the castle of Pieskowa Skala, owned by the National Museum, Cracow, which are probably Polish.

## HISTORY

Acquired for the MMA in London by means of the Rogers Fund, 1957.

## EXHIBITION

Chicago, Art Institute, 1975–76. *Raiment for the Lord's Service: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments*. Catalogue by Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, pp. 246, 247, illus. Called Polish, first half of the eighteenth century; symbols identified as Ark of the Covenant, Sun, Gate of Heaven, Tower of David, Rose of Jericho, Mirror of Justice, Palm Tree, Cedar of Lebanon, Lily among Thorns, Ship, Fountain of the Garden Enclosed, Moon, and Morning Star.

## PUBLICATIONS

*MMA Annual Report 1957–1958*. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 17 (1958–59) p. 64. Listed as cope, probably Italian, first half of the eighteenth century.

Standen, Edith A. "Few but Choice: Some Recent Accessions of European Textiles." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 18 (1959–60) pp. 337–38, fig. 4. Called Italian or French, 1700–50.

## NOTES

1. Harold E. Wethey and Alice Sunderland Wethey, "Herrera Barnuevo and His Chapel in the Descalzas Reales," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966) p. 24, n. 44: fifteen symbols of the Immaculate Conception (not all of which are found on 147) and other symbols connected with the Virgin. The indistinct symbol on the left side of 147 may be intended to represent the "Arca translata," as a reliquary with horizontal handles (Wethey, "Herrera Barnuevo," p. 34).
2. Mayer-Thurman, *Raiment for the Lord's Service*, pp. 243–45, no. 121, illus.
3. Julian Pagaczewski, *Gobliny Polskie* (Cracow, 1929) p. 126 (of French summary). The designs are attributed to the Polish artist Tadeusz Koniecz (1731–1793).



## 148 Table carpet with a hunting scene

Polish (?), about 1760–75.

Wool.

7 ft. 10 in. x 12 ft. 9 in. (2.39 m x 3.89 m).

15–16 warps per inch, 6 per centimeter.

Gift of Lady Maud E. Marriott, Mrs. Margaret D. Ryan,  
Roger W. Kahn and Gilbert W. Kahn, children of the late  
Otto H. Kahn and Addie W. Kahn, 1956 (56.54.2).

### DESCRIPTION

The dark blue ground has an irregular central medallion surrounded by rocaille scrolls in shades of dull yellow with details in red and blue; green and blue leaves and red and

yellow flowers spring from them. A landscape fills the medallion. In the foreground is a man in red and blue on a white horse, firing a gun at a fleeing brown stag, which is bleeding from the attack of two brown dogs with red and brown collars. On the left, behind a tree, another man also shoots at the stag. Above this group, two men in blue and yellow standing on a yellow bridge aim their guns at a spotted brown and tan leopard. On the right is a white building with brown windows and red and yellow roofs; on the left are yellow and blue houses with red and yellow roofs. Large green trees with brown trunks rise on both sides through the framing scrolls. A small gray rabbit is





Detail of 148

half visible below the horse. Cypresses and other trees in shades of blue and green form a wood on the left and four green palm trees with brown trunks rise above the men shooting at the leopard. The undulating ground in the center is in shades of pale brown and gray, with some small green plants and red flowers. The sky is the same dark blue as the ground of the complete tapestry, with a lighter streak at the top.

In the field outside the central medallion are four smaller medallions, framed by similar rocaille scrolls in red, blue, and dull yellow. Each shows a landscape with small green trees and a plumed hat or crown with a scepter on a cushion in the center in red, blue, and yellow, all slightly different. In the four corners and the center of each side are similarly framed medallions, each with a symbolic object or scene. In the center of the lower border, the medallion shows two palm trees with a river between them in shades of blue, green, yellow, and brown; the lower left medallion has a brown phoenix amid red and yellow flames; the central medallion on the left, a white

swan swimming in a blue stream between brown banks; the upper left medallion, a brown and gray pelican tearing her breast to feed her young; the central medallion at the top, a tree with pale yellow fruit in a landscape; the upper right corner medallion, a red heart in a brown boat on a stormy blue sea, with dark clouds above; the central right medallion, a brown eagle with its fledglings gazing at a yellow sun; the lower right medallion, a bird entering a red, blue, yellow, and white cage. The medallions are connected by rocaille scrolls in red, blue, and dull yellow. A dull yellow band surrounds the whole, with blue and yellow scallops at the corners. The guard, visible on the left side only, is brown. Slits have been very freely used in the rocaille scrolls.

#### CONDITION

There are small worn areas at the edges and some spots and small holes in the background; one of the latter has been filled in with a piece of cloth.



## SYMBOLISM

As there are no inscriptions, the representations in the medallions are not true emblems. Most of them, however, are frequently found in emblem books, where they have a number of meanings, depending on the mottoes they illustrate. But the two palm trees of the lower central medallion have only one; they symbolize married love.<sup>1</sup> Given the central position of this medallion, it can be considered as establishing the meaning of the others, all of which can refer to love, marriage, and children. The phoenix, which dies in fire and is born again, can be an emblem of love;<sup>2</sup> the swan, of chastity;<sup>3</sup> the pelican, of mother love;<sup>4</sup> the fruit tree, of fecundity;<sup>5</sup> the heart in a boat in a stormy sea has not been identified, but may well represent love secure among troubles; eaglets, like eagles, can look straight into the sun, illustrating the resemblance of children to their parents;<sup>6</sup> and the bird entering a cage of its own free will is an emblem of the willing subjugation of love.<sup>7</sup>

No interpretation of the four inner medallions has been discovered.

## MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The clumsy handling of the rocaïlle scrolls indicates a designer far from the centers of fashion and, probably, a date later than the height of the rococo style in France. The exotic character of the landscape with its palms and the slight upward tilt of the eaves of the houses has suggested an attribution to Portugal,<sup>8</sup> but no such tapestries are known to have been made there. On the other hand, a tapestry with very similar rocaïlle and medallions was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 15, 1969 (no. 162; the dimensions are erroneously given as 4 ft. x 3 ft. 3 in., but are actually 5 ft. 10 in. x 14 ft.); it belonged to the Lugano dealer Adriano Ribolzi in 1972.<sup>9</sup> It has the arms of two Polish families and is dated October 20, 1778 (presumably a marriage date). An attribution of 148 to Poland is at least possible.

## PUBLICATIONS

MMA Annual Report 1955-1956. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 15 (1956-57) p. 44. Listed as probably Portuguese, eighteenth century.

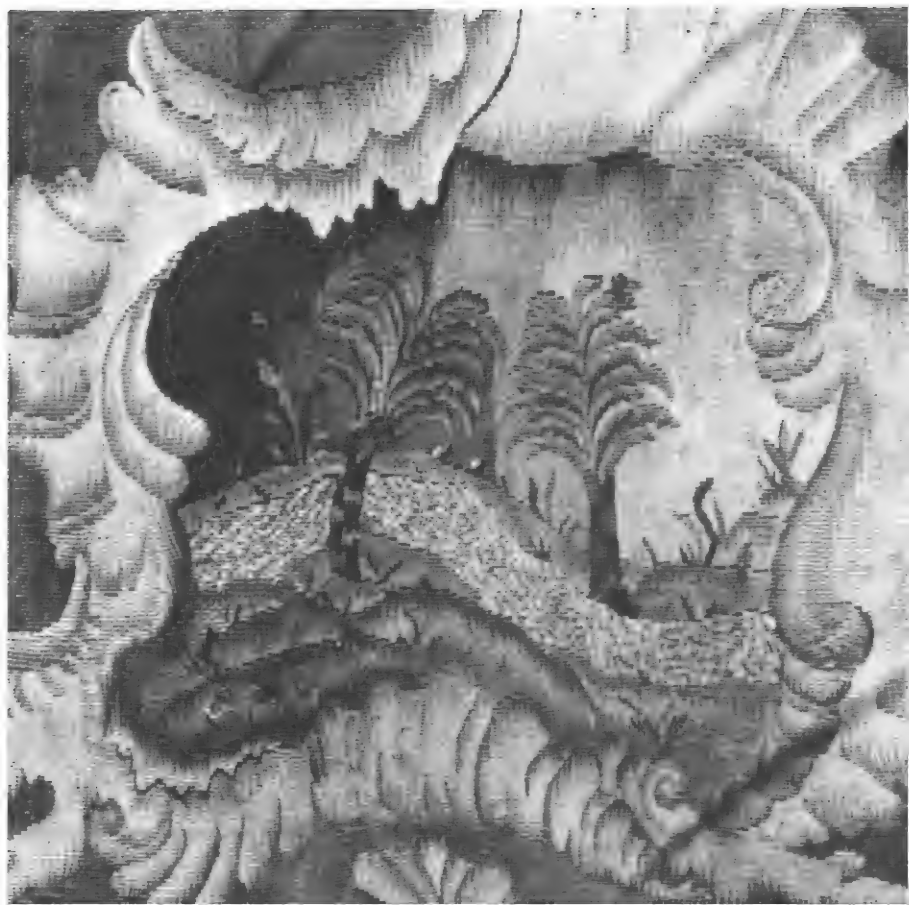
Standen, Edith A. "A Portuguese Tapestry?" *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 42 (1958) pp. 32-43, pls. 1-9. Called perhaps Portuguese, mid-eighteenth century.

Standen, Edith A. "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520-1790: VI. Some Exotic Subjects." *Apollo* 114 (1981) pp. 49-51, figs. 11, 12. Called probably Polish, 1760-75.

## NOTES

1. *Emblems for the Entertainment and Improvement of Youth* (R. Ware, London, [18th century]) pl. LXI, no. 6, "Two Palm-Trees joining across a River. *Un meme penchant nous unit*. By our inclining towards each other we are united"; Mario Praz, *Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Rome, 1964) p. 224, with quotation from Webster's *Duchess of Malfy*, "the loving Palmes (Best Embleme of a peaceful marriage) That nev'r bore fruit devided"; Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata* (Stuttgart, 1967) col. 199.
2. Praz, *Studies*, p. 85.
3. *Emblems*, pl. I, no. 8, "A Swan in the Water. *Nil purius ille est*. Nothing is purer than Chastity."
4. *Emblems*, pl. IV, no. 3, "A Pelican bleeding for her young ones. *Pro Grege*. I bleed for my Offspring."
5. Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, col. 170, with motto "Propria stat gloria prole."
6. Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, cols. 773, 774, with mottoes such as "Te ipsum, de te ipso."
7. Praz, *Studies*, p. 97, with the motto "Perch'io stesso mi strinsi" from Petrarch. A French version, "Plus heureux en prison qu'il n'est en liberté" (from C. F. Menestrier, *Philosophia Imaginum* [Amsterdam, 1695]), is quoted in Ella Snoep-Reitsma, "Chardin and the Bourgeois Ideals of His Time," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973) p. 228.
8. Standen, "Portuguese Tapestry," p. 34.
9. 7<sup>a</sup> Biennale: *Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell'Antiquariato*, exh. cat., Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1971) p. 599, illus. The caption is erroneously on p. 594.

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## 149 The Story of Troy

Three embroidered hangings from a set

- a *The Rape of Helen*
- b *The Prophecy of Calchas*
- c *The Sacrifice of Polyxena*

Chinese, late sixteenth century, after European designs.  
Silk and gilt paper thread on cloth.

Embroidered in stem, split, and long-and-short stitches, with couched thread, sometimes over padding, on cotton twill. Details are worked in flat or wrapped gold and silver yarns, couched or applied in shapes of embroidered satin backed with paper. All flesh tones painted in what appears to be encaustic, with gray and brown shadows.

149a 12 ft. 3 in. x 16 ft. 3 in. (3.73 m x 5.10 m);

149b 12 ft. x 16 ft. 8 in. (3.66 m x 5.08 m);

149c 12 ft. 6 in. x 17 ft. 2 in. (3.81 m x 5.23 m).

149a Gift of Louis E. Seley, 1979 (1979.282);

149b Bequest of Eleanor Cross Marquand, in memory of her husband, Allan Marquand, 1950 (50.97.2);

149c Bequest of Roderick Terry, Jr., 1951 (51.152).

### DESCRIPTION

The borders have dark blue grounds. At the corners are coats of arms in yellow and white, with blue outlines (possibly intended for barry of eight, argent and gules). The blue and yellow helmet above each shield is topped by a yellow lion, sometimes with a pink tongue. In an oval medallion on each side border is a nude man, the lower part of whose body is a scaly white tail. He holds a blue-green and yellow serpent. In the center of the upper border are two elaborate Chinese birds confronting a rayed gold face, perhaps the sun (not preserved on 149a and c). In the lower center are a yellow griffin and lion; both have white claws. The griffin has a pink, blue, white, and yellow wing and crest. The remaining portions of the main border are filled with scrolling foliage, floral forms, and tendrils in tones chiefly of green, blue, white, and yellow, with some red and pink (most noticeably on 149a) and with much gilt paper thread (largely missing on 149a). Many small flying or perched birds and winged snakes in the same colors with black are scattered among them. The frames of the medallions with the arms and figures have small three-dimensional scrollwork protrusions at top and bottom. The bands on either side of the main borders are in yellow, blue, and white.

### CONDITION

The gold thread has largely disappeared especially from 149a, leaving the canvas visible in many areas; traces of underlying drawings or painting can be seen.

### SUBJECT

The three scenes of 149 and two other pieces of the set show episodes from the Trojan War. *Ajax and Ulysses Disputing over Achilles's Armor* is an incident mentioned in the *Odyssey* (book 11) and the post-Homeric cyclic epics.<sup>1</sup> *Aeneas Escaping from Troy* is represented as described in the *Aeneid* (book 2). An interior with women attacking a man in a turban has been identified as a scene from the life of Hecuba.<sup>2</sup> A seventh hanging shows Hero and a group of women mourning over the body of Leander, with the Hellespont in the background.

The arms are possibly an erroneous rendering of those of the Portuguese family Mascarenhas, which should be: gules, three bars or; crest, a lion gules, armed or. No Portuguese family bears barry of eight.<sup>3</sup>

### MANUFACTURE

The use of gilt paper and many details of the designs show that the hangings were made in China. The compositions are clearly derived from European sources, probably sixteenth-century prints.<sup>4</sup> A possible place for such a set to have been commissioned is Macao, controlled by the Portuguese from 1557,<sup>5</sup> though it may have been made at Canton or elsewhere. If the arms can be accepted as those of Mascarenhas, the set may have been made for Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Governor of Macao from 1623 to 1626;<sup>6</sup> it seems unlikely, however, that he would have accepted such an inaccurate version of them.

### RELATED PIECES

The four other known pieces of the set have identical borders. *Ajax and Ulysses Disputing* was in the Leopold Benguiat sale (Museo di Palazzo Davanzati), Galleria Bellini, Florence, June 25–30, 1934 (no. 66, illus., called



149a

French, late sixteenth century).<sup>7</sup> *Aeneas Escaping from Troy* was in the B. Hochon sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 11, 12, 1903 (no. 196, illus., called Spanish, sixteenth century), and was sold again at the Nouveau Drouot, March 19, 1982 (no. 96, illus.). The scene from the life of Hecuba and *Hero and Leander* are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.<sup>8</sup>

#### HISTORY

Henry G. Marquand sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 24–30, 1903, nos. 1333 [149c], 1335 [149a], and 1336 [149b], illus. 1336. With *Ajax and Ulysses* (no. 1334, called *Achilles and the Arms of Patroclus*). Called Indo-Portuguese, sixteenth century, the flesh parts appearing to have been painted by Portuguese artists, the embroideries executed in the East.



V. and L. Benguiat sale, American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, November 30, 1929, no. 56, 149a illus. Called Sino-Portuguese, possibly Macao, seventeenth century. Described as a scene from the siege of Troy, with Menelaus seizing Helen, and Achilles and Agamemnon among the combatants.

V. and L. Benguiat sale, American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, November 10, 1932, no. 358, illus. Called Indo-Portuguese, late seventeenth century.

149b bequeathed to the MMA by Eleanor Cross Marquand, in memory of her husband, Allan Marquand, 1950.

149c bequeathed to the MMA by Roderick Terry, Jr., 1951.

149a given to the MMA by Louis E. Seley, 1979.

Detail of 149a



## PUBLICATIONS

MMA Annual Report 1950. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 10 (1951–52) p. 36. 149b listed as a representation of a sacrifice, Sino-Portuguese (possibly Macao), seventeenth century (?).

MMA Annual Report 1951. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 11 (1952–53) p. 38. 149c listed as Sino-Portuguese (possibly Macao), seventeenth century.

Scherer, Margaret R. *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*. New York, 1963, p. 248. 149b and c mentioned, as *Calchas Sacrificing* and the *Sacrifice of Polyxena*.

Boccara, Dario. *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie*. Zug, 1971, p. 133. Mentioned, as four pieces, a little earlier than the two in Lyon.

Le Corbeiller, Clare. *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange*. New York, 1974, p. 11, n. 67. 149b and c mentioned.

MMA Annual Report 1978–1979, p. 30. 149a listed, called Macao?, first half seventeenth century.

J. M. [Jean Mailey]. “The Abduction of Helen: From a Set of Hangings of the Trojan War.” *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1979–1980*, pp. 34, 35, illus. [149a]. Called Chinese for the Western market, probably Portugal or Spain, late sixteenth century. Chinese details listed, technique described.

MMA Annual Report 1981–1982, p. 27. 149a listed, called probably Colonial Portuguese (Macao), first half seventeenth century.

## 149a *The Rape of Helen*

### DESCRIPTION

Helen, who raises her arms in the center of the composition, wears a dress that was originally entirely gold but is now dark green. The man who seizes her on the right is in yellow, with lion heads at his shoulders; the man on the left, who also holds her, is in blue. The confused mass of fighting warriors that covers the lower half of the embroidery is rendered in shades of blue, yellow, orange, green, and white. On the right is a boat with dark blue and yellow stripes. Other ships, some with furled sails, are seen amid blue and yellow waves above. A city in the same colors as the fighting men fills the upper left side of the panel. Men fire arrows from the battlements of a large gate upon the struggling crowd below.

### CONDITION

The gold thread has almost entirely disappeared.



149b

#### SUBJECT

Helen being carried to a boat in the midst of fierce fighting is not the classical account of her abduction, but represents a later version, followed in Marcantonio Raimondo's engraving and other works of art.<sup>9</sup> The scene has also been said to represent the seizure of Helen by Menelaus after the fall of Troy, but there is no indication in the embroidery that the Greeks have taken the city.

#### 149b *The Prophecy of Calchas*

#### DESCRIPTION

The altar in the center is gray, white, pale brown, pale green, yellow, and blue; it has yellow and white horned animal masks and yellow swags. Rising from it are yellow and brown flames, from which a white ram's head with



black horns protrudes. A semicircle of armed men are on their knees around it. They have blue, yellow, and brown helmets with lion heads or plumes, breastplates, and classical skirts, all in similar colors. Some carry dull yellow spears and one on the left has his blue, yellow, and brown shield slung at his back. The man nearest the altar on the right (presumably Calchas) has seen what is occurring in the upper left corner, where a blue and white serpent, curled around a pale brown tree trunk, is attacking some birds in a nest. A gray, yellow, and white bird flies toward it.

In the sky on the right are three very small figures, one blowing two yellow trumpets, seated on blue, yellow, gray, and white clouds. In the striped blue, yellow, gray, and white sea below are three brown ships with furled white sails, blue and yellow flags, and yellow and white shields hung over the sides. The sky consists of clearly defined areas of light blue, dark blue, white, and dull yellow. The foreground is made up of similarly colored areas, with spears and three shields lying on the ground; two of these have yellow, blue, and brown lion-masks, the third, a Portuguese-type double-headed eagle in yellow, blue, and gray.<sup>10</sup>

#### CONDITION

There are holes in some dark brown painted areas, the underlying cloth being destroyed along the lower edges of some costumes. There is a dark stain below the altar. No reds or pinks have survived. There are abraded areas in the dark blue ground of the borders. An irregular section just above the lower border is apparently an addition made at the time the piece was embroidered, perhaps to correct its dimensions.

#### SUBJECT

The event is described in the *Iliad* (book 2) as occurring when the Greeks were gathering in Aulis in preparation for the attack on Troy. Ulysses recalls that "we round about a spring were offering on the holy altars unblemished hecatombs to the immortals, beneath a fair plane-tree whence flowed bright water, when there was seen a great portent: a snake blood-red on the back, terrible, whom the god of Olympus himself had sent forth to the light of day, sprang from beneath the altar and darted to

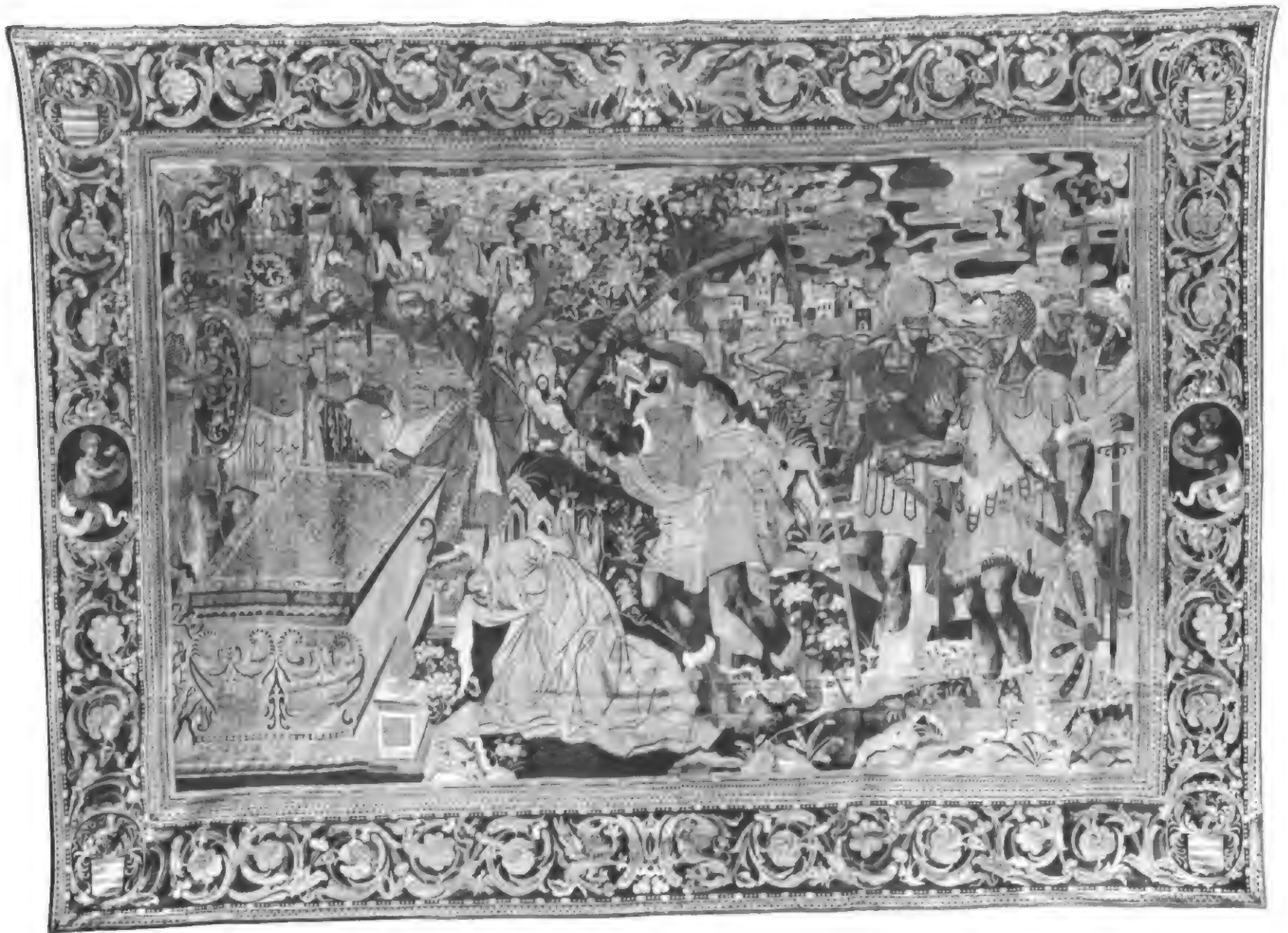
the plane-tree. Now there were there the brood of a sparrow, tender little ones, upon the topmost branch, nestling beneath the leaves; eight were they and the mother of the little ones was the ninth, and the snake swallowed these cheeping pitifully. And the mother fluttered around wailing for her dear little ones; but he coiled himself and caught her by the wing as she screamed about him. . . . So when the dread portent brake in upon the hecatombs of the gods, then did Kalchas forthwith prophecy, and said: 'Why hold ye your peace, ye flowing-haired Achaians? To us has Zeus the counsellor shown this great sign, late come, of late fulfillment, the fame whereof shall never perish. Even as he swallowed the sparrow's little ones and herself, the eight wherewith the mother that bare the little ones was the ninth, so shall we war there so many years, but in the tenth year shall we take the wide-wayed city.'"<sup>11</sup> The figures in the sky are presumably two of the gods, with Fame blowing trumpets.

### 149c *The Sacrifice of Polyxena*

#### DESCRIPTION

The woman kneeling in front of a yellow, blue, and brown chest or sarcophagus has a pale brown cap with a blue feather, a pink, blue, and white jewel, and a blue, white, and yellow fillet over her yellow curls. She wears a white scarf, a yellow and blue necklace, and a yellow dress. Her arms are tied behind her back. Behind her, the executioner in dull yellow, pale green, and pale blue raises above his head a brown sword with a gold hilt. A king with a gold crown and brown scepter places one hand on the sarcophagus; he has a yellow and blue robe and a blue cloak. Behind him is a group of men carrying spears; they have brown, blue, and yellow helmets and armor. One carries a dark blue shield, decorated in brown, yellow, and gold; he wears a dark blue and yellow helmet and blue, yellow, white, and brown armor.

In the background, behind the kneeling victim, is a tree with a brown trunk, blue, green, and yellow leaves, and white and yellow flowers of a Chinese type, with rocks and hills in the same colors. There are two very small monkeys in the branches and a butterfly below one of them. There are two brown, blue, and yellow butterflies between the executioner and his victim. To the right is a



149c

blue, white, and yellow sea, with a city inside a pale blue wall on the shore. The sky is in clearly defined areas of light and dark blue, white, and yellow, with clouds in the same colors. There are some small flying birds. In the foreground, in front of the sarcophagus, are two yellow and blue pedestals supporting small yellow cones. The ground is dark blue with plants and flowers in pale blue, yellow, green, white, and dull pink.

#### CONDITION

A small fraction of the gold has survived on the weapons, costumes, flowers, and outlines of all the forms. Two vertical cuts in the lower border have been rather coarsely sewn up. There are small holes in the cheek and right arm of the executioner.



## SUBJECT

The subject has been described as the sacrifice of Iphigenia, or as the sacrifice of Polyxena. If the victim is Iphigenia, the king, turning his face away with a sorrowful expression, would be her father, Agamemnon. But the object in front of which she kneels is more like a tomb than an altar, the Greek ships are not shown becalmed in the sea, and no indication is given that Diana will rescue the maiden. It seems more probable that she is Polyxena, about to be sacrificed before the tomb of Achilles. This story is not in Homer, but is given, in several versions, by other classical authors.<sup>12</sup> In some accounts, Agamemnon tried to spare her, but was overruled, so that the king in the embroidery may well represent him in this scene.

## NOTES

1. Scherer, *Legends of Troy*, pp. x, 104.
2. Information from Madeleine Rocher-Jauneau.
3. Information provided by Jorge de Moser. The Mascarenhas arms are shown correctly on a tapestry in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (Jorge de Moser, "Acerca de uma tapeçaria," *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* 1 [1949] pl. facing p. 178).
4. Flemish prints reached the Far East in the sixteenth century (J. Jennes, "De uitstraling van de Vlaamse prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVI<sup>e</sup> en XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuw," *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger* [Gent, 1968] pp. 481–85).
5. Peter Munday, visiting Macao in 1637, saw hangings in the houses; the women's dresses were "Costly Made here by the Chinois off Ritche embroidery off coloured silk and golde" (Charles Ralph Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770* [The Hague, 1948] pp. 126, 128).
6. Boxer, *Fidalgos*, p. 94.
7. Marquand sale, no. 1334. Called *Achilles before the Arms of Patroclus*.
8. Boccara, *Belles Heures*, pl. 133. Both pieces were sold at Sotheby's, January 20, 1967, no. 46, when they were described as Sino-Portuguese and said to be dated 1878.
9. Edward S. King, "The Legend of Paris and Helen," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 2 (1939) p. 70, n. 45; Guy de Tervarent, *L'Héritage antique* (Paris, 1946) pp. 21–26.
10. Similar eagles are seen on Macao woven silks of the second half of the sixteenth century (G. F. Wingfield Digby, "Some Silks Woven under Portuguese Influence in the Far East," *Burlington Magazine* 77 [1940] pp. 52–60).
11. *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, and Ernest Myers (London, 1895) bk. 2, lines 305–33. Robert Graves states that Calchas knew that the birds represented years rather than months because snakes cast their skins and plane trees their bark every year (Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* [Baltimore, 1955] vol. 2, p. 289, no. 11).
12. Graves, *Greek Myths*, vol. 2, p. 340; Scherer, *Legends of Troy*, pp. 124–26.

# 150 Countess Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontsova

Russian (Saint Petersburg); woven by Jean Baptiste Rondet (fl. 1740–1764) in 1762.

Place of origin and weaver's name.

Wool and silk.

3 ft. 6½ in. x 2 ft. 10 in. (1.08 m x 86 cm).

22–24 warps per inch, 10 per centimeter.

Gift of Alice E. Van Orden, 1962 (62.105).

## DESCRIPTION

The sitter has dull yellow hair and earrings, a blue ornament at the top of her head, and black lace around her neck. Her dress is in shades of blue, with a yellowish brown stomacher and lace sleeve ruffles. Over it she wears a brown fur scarf, lined with red. She holds pink carnations in her left hand and a pale brown fan in her right. The background is in shades of brown, with blue lines on the base of the column on the right. The inscription is in red on the lower right corner: *fait par / Rondet M<sup>t</sup> [maître tapissier] a / Petersbourg · / 1762.*

## CONDITION

There are a few small areas of repair in the background.

## SUBJECT

Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontsova (1739–1792) is shown at the age of twenty-three. She was the mistress of Czar Peter III and lady-in-waiting to his wife, Catherine, later empress.<sup>1</sup>

## SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The design is copied from a painting by an unknown artist, formerly in the collection of Countess E. Vorontsova-Dashkova (fig. 96).<sup>2</sup>

## WEAVER AND DATE

J. B. Rondet was an haute-lisse weaver at the Gobelins, described as “one of the best” in 1752, and as an *officier de têtes* in 1756, the year in which he left France. He was

in Saint Petersburg in 1759 and became *maître tapissier* at the Imperial Manufactory there. He left a daughter aged twenty-two when he died in 1764.<sup>3</sup> 150 must have been made before June 29, 1762, when Peter III was deposed and the countess sent home to her father.<sup>4</sup> A Jean Rondet, “chef et conducteur des ouvriers,” at the Gobelins in 1731, may have been J. B. Rondet's father.<sup>5</sup>

## RELATED TAPESTRIES

A three-quarter-length tapestry portrait of Peter III, signed “Rondet Fit,” is in the Russian Museum, Leningrad. The design is derived from a painting by F. S. Rokotov.<sup>6</sup> A tapestry of David with the head of Goliath, signed by Rondet and dated 1759, was in the Oscar Hainauer collection, Berlin, in 1897.<sup>7</sup> An unsigned tapestry portrait of Princess Dashkova in the Sir Hercules Read sale, Sotheby's, London, November 5–9, 1928 (no. 729, illus.), and sold again at the same auction house July 1, 1977 (no. 3, illus.), said to be after Pietro Rotari, is so similar in style to 150 that it was probably also woven by Rondet.<sup>8</sup>

## HISTORY

In the James A. Garland sale, American Art Galleries, New York, March 19, 20, 1909, no. 125, illus., called *Portrait of a Lady*, Russian, 1770. Bought by E. Einstein.

Lent to the MMA by Miss Alice Einstein, 1917.

Given to the MMA by Mrs. T. Durland Van Orden (Alice Einstein), 1962.

## PUBLICATIONS

Spilioti. “Contributions to the History of the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory” (in Russian). *Art Treasures in Russia* 3 (1903) p. 244. Listed in manufactory records as woven in 1762.

*MMA Bulletin* 12 (1917) p. 255. Listed as a Russian eighteenth-century tapestry lent by Miss Alice Einstein.

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 277. Mentioned as portrait of the empress Elizabeth, 1760.

Göbel. *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 241. Mentioned.

*MMA Annual Report* 1961–1962. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 21 (1962–63) p. 89. Listed as tapestry with portrait of the empress Elizabeth.





Standen, Edith A. "The Mistress and the Widow." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 25 (1966-67) pp. 185-91, frontispiece, pls. 1, 2, 4. Sitter and source of design identified, date read as 1762.

Onassis, Jacqueline, ed. *In the Russian Style*. New York, 1976, p. 61, illus.

#### NOTES

1. Standen, "Mistress and the Widow," pp. 188-91.
2. Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhailowitch, *Portraits russes des XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Saint Petersburg, 1906) vol. 2, no. 54, illus. The identification was made by Dr. Nina Biriukova of the State Hermitage Museum.
3. Standen, "Mistress and the Widow," pp. 185-88; Jean Mondain-Monval, *Correspondance de Soufflot avec les directeurs des Bâtimens concernant la manufacture des Gobelins (1756-1780)* (Paris, 1918) pp. 31, 173; E. Veulin, "Quelques artistes français passés en Russie sous Pierre le Grand et Catherine II," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départemens* 17 (1893) p. 490.
4. Mikhailowitch, *Portraits russes*, vol. 2, no. 54.
5. Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700-1750)*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1971) p. 1079 (inventory taken at death of Jean Jacques Jans, April 24, 1731).
6. T. T. Korshunova, *Russkie shpalery: Peterburskaia shpalernaia manufaktura* (Russian Tapestry: Petersbourg Tapestry Factory) (Leningrad, 1975) pls. 69, 70.
7. Wilhelm von Bode, *Die Sammlung Oscar Hainauer* (Berlin, 1897) p. 134, no. 457.
8. A. A. Polovtsoff and V. E. Chambers, "A Tapestry Portrait of Princess Dashkoff," *Burlington Magazine* 34 (1919) pp. 243-46, illus.



FIG. 96. Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontsova, by an unknown artist. Painting formerly owned by Countess E. Vorontsova-Dashkova. From a reproduction in *Portraits russes des XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, by Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhailowitch, Saint Petersburg, 1906. MMA, Thomas J. Watson Library.

## 151 Copies of old-master paintings

- a *Hannah and the Infant Samuel*
- b *Dr. Lazarus Markijzus*
- c *Anthony van Dyck, Self-Portrait*
- d *Seated Woman*
- e *Woman with a Mirror*
- f *Young Woman with a Pink*
- g *Jan Malderus, Bishop of Antwerp*
- h *Old Woman with a Book*
- i *Man with a Lute*
- j *Girl Playing a Recorder*
- k *A Polish Nobleman*
- l *Old Woman*

Russian (Saint Petersburg), late eighteenth century.  
Wool and metal thread.

- 151a 4 ft. 8 in. x 3 ft. 7 in. (1.42 m x 1.09 m);
  - 151b 4 ft. x 3 ft. 7 in. (1.22 m x 1.09 m);
  - 151c 4 ft. 2 in. x 3 ft. 6 in. (1.27 m x 1.07 m);
  - 151d 3 ft. 7 in. x 3 ft. 10 in. (1.09 m x 1.17 m);
  - 151e 3 ft. 5 in. x 3 ft. 9 in. (1.04 m x 1.14 m);
  - 151f 4 ft. 1 in. x 3 ft. 7 in. (1.24 m x 1.09 m);
  - 151g 4 ft. 3 in. x 3 ft. 7 in. (1.3 m x 1.09 m);
  - 151h 4 ft. 10 in. x 3 ft. 9 in. (1.47 m x 1.14 m);
  - 151i 4 ft. x 2 ft. 10 in. (1.22 m x 86 cm);
  - 151j 4 ft. x 2 ft. 11 in. (1.22 m x 89 cm);
  - 151k 4 ft. 1 in. x 3 ft. 2 in. (1.24 m x 97 cm);
  - 151l 4 ft. x 2 ft. 11 in. (1.22 m x 89 cm).
- 20–25 warps per inch, 8–10 per centimeter.  
Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.12–23).

### DESCRIPTION

Each piece has a separately woven border in yellow-gold, tan, and cream, with metal thread, inscribed at the top with the name of an artist in Russian.

### CONDITION

The metal thread has blackened.

### SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

All the paintings that have been identified as the models for these tapestries were acquired by Empress Catherine II

of Russia (1729–1796), most of them in 1772. The compositions of the tapestries are not reversed.

### MANUFACTURE AND DATE

The Imperial Manufactory at Saint Petersburg made over a hundred copies of old-master paintings, mostly now in the Hermitage Museum, in the last third of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Tapestry copies of paintings with similar borders and the artists' names in Russian include *Pancakes* after Jan Miel, the *Repentant Magdalen* and the *Young John the Baptist* after Pompeo Battoni, *Venus and Juno* after Carle van Loo, and *Shepherd* and *Shepherdess* after Diaz Brandi, all in the Swedish National Collection, Stockholm.<sup>2</sup> A *Finding of Moses* after Le Sueur and a *Saint John the Evangelist* after Barbieri were in the E. B. Schley sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, November 7, 8, 1947 (nos. 385, 386, one illus.), and are now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Still lifes of game and dogs with the same borders, but without artists' names, were on the Paris art market in 1934.<sup>3</sup>

### HISTORY

In the E. J. Berwind collection, 1925.  
Given to the MMA by Julia A. Berwind, 1953.

### PUBLICATION

Hunter. *Practical Book of Tapestries*, p. 227, pls. XVI,e and ea [151g, a]. Said to be in the collection of Mr. E. J. Berwind.

## 151a *Hannah and the Infant Samuel*

### DESCRIPTION

Hannah has a dark brown head covering and a deep red dress with white drapery over her breast. The fair-haired Samuel is in green and brown. The background is in shades of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: REMBRANDT.



151a

#### CONDITION

Repaired areas are visible on the white part of Hannah's costume and in the background.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting (now called school of Rembrandt) was acquired by Catherine II in 1772, and is now in the Hermitage.<sup>4</sup>

### 151b *Dr. Lazarus Markijzus*

#### DESCRIPTION

Dr. Markijzus is dressed in dark red-brown and green,



151b

with collar and cuffs. His chair is light brown with red upholstery. The background is gray and brown, with red at the far left. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: VAN DYCK.

#### CONDITION

There are repaired areas in the background, especially on the left, and on the forehead of the figure.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by van Dyck was acquired by Catherine II in 1772 and is in the Hermitage.<sup>5</sup>



### 151c *Anthony van Dyck, Self-Portrait*

#### DESCRIPTION

Van Dyck has light red-brown hair and is dressed in shades of brown. The background is brown with some blue and gray-green tones. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: VAN DYCK.

#### CONDITION

There are areas of repair on the chin and right hand, as well as in the background.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by van Dyck was acquired by Catherine II in 1772 and is in the Hermitage.<sup>6</sup>



### 151d *Seated Woman*

#### DESCRIPTION

The woman is dressed in light brown, with a dark brown head covering. Her chair has red upholstery. The background is in shades of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: J. B. SANTERRE.

#### CONDITION

There are repaired areas on the right side of the head and in the upper right background.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Jean Baptiste Santerre was acquired by Catherine II in 1772 and is in the Hermitage.<sup>7</sup>



### 151e *Woman with a Mirror*

#### DESCRIPTION

The woman has a brown dress with a cream-colored shawl over her head. The flowers in her hair and on her bodice are yellow, red, pink, blue, white, and lavender. The background is in tones of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: N. LANCRET.

#### CONDITION

There are repaired areas in the upper left background.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

No such painting by Nicolas Lancret has been identified and none is known to be in the Hermitage under another name.



### 151f *Young Woman with a Pink*

#### DESCRIPTION

The young woman wears a dress in shades of brown, with a red lining visible at the wrists. Her cap, cuffs, and collar are light cream. She holds a red flower. The chair in the background on the right has red upholstery with a brown cushion. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: VAN DYCK.

#### CONDITION

There are areas of repair on the cap, collar, and cuffs.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Rembrandt (not van Dyck) was acquired by Catherine II in 1772 and is in the Hermitage.<sup>8</sup>





### 151g *Jan Malderus, Bishop of Antwerp*

#### DESCRIPTION

The bishop wears a black biretta, gray-brown cape, and cream-colored robe. His ring has a blue stone. The chair is upholstered in red; the studs are in metal thread. The background is in shades of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: VAN DYCK.

#### CONDITION

There are areas of repair on the gown.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting, a contemporary copy of van Dyck, was acquired by Catherine II in 1772, and is in the Hermitage. The original is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.<sup>9</sup>



### 151h *Old Woman with a Book*

#### DESCRIPTION

The old woman wears a cream-colored head covering and blouse, and a brown dress with red on the sleeves; her skirt is dark green and brown. The book is tan, the background is in shades of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: REMBRANDT.

#### CONDITION

Small areas of repair are visible.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Rembrandt was acquired by Catherine II in 1772 and is in the Hermitage.<sup>10</sup>



### 151i *Man with a Lute*

#### DESCRIPTION

The man is dressed in dark green, with a brown cloak, cream-colored and yellow scarf, and a brown hat; red is used in the shadows around the neck and on the garments. The lute and the background are in shades of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: GERARD HONTHORST.

#### CONDITION

Some small areas of repair are visible.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting, now attributed to an unknown seven-teenth-century Dutch artist, is on exhibition at Peterhof.<sup>11</sup>



### 151j *Girl Playing a Recorder*

#### DESCRIPTION

The girl has light brown hair, shaded in black, and wears a cream-colored dress, with fur in shades of brown. A wreath of green ivy encircles her brown hat. The recorder is in yellow and brown, the chair has light peach-colored upholstery. The background is in shades of brown, blue, and green. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: J. LIEVENS.

#### CONDITION

There are small repaired areas on the face and skirt and in the background.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting is on exhibition at Peterhof.



## 151k *A Polish Nobleman*

### DESCRIPTION

The man has a deep red garment, with light yellow-gray showing at the cuff, and brown fur. His hat is brown. The chains and the tip of the cane are yellow with some metal thread. The background is in shades of brown. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: REMBRANDT.

### CONDITION

Some small areas of repair are visible. The fur areas have suffered some loss of dark brown wefts, leaving exposed warp threads.



### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Rembrandt was acquired by Catherine II and remained in the Hermitage until 1930. It is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.<sup>12</sup>

### RELATED TAPESTRIES

Another example is in the Hermitage.<sup>13</sup>

## 151l *Old Woman*

### DESCRIPTION

The woman has a crimson head covering lined with yellow and white, a dark brown cloak over a light brown

and gray dress, and red cuffs. Her yellow ring has a green stone. The background is in shades of brown and dull green. In the upper border is the inscription in Russian: REMBRANDT.

#### CONDITION

Small areas of repair are visible.

#### SOURCE OF THE DESIGN

The painting by Rembrandt was acquired by Catherine II in 1779 and is in the Hermitage.<sup>14</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, p. 243.
2. John Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af Vafda Tapeter* (Stockholm, 1898) vol. 3, pp. 62, 63, pls. LXIX–LXXII.

3. Göbel, *Wandteppiche III*, vol. 2, pls. 200b, c.
4. Nicolas Wrangell, *Les Chefs-d'oeuvre de la Galerie de Tableaux de l'Ermitage Impérial à St-Petersbourg* (Munich, n.d.) pl. 116.
5. *Katalog zhivopisi* (Catalogue of Paintings), Hermitage Museum (Leningrad, 1958) vol. 2, fig. 49.
6. *Katalog*, Hermitage, vol. 2, fig. 50.
7. *Katalog*, Hermitage, vol. 1, fig. 266.
8. A. Somof, *Catalogue de la Galerie des Tableaux* (Saint Petersburg, 1901) vol. 2, no. 819; A. Bredius, *Rembrandt Gemälde* (Vienna, 1935) fig. 390.
9. Somof, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, no. 638; Max Rooses, *Fifty Masterpieces of Anthony van Dyck*, trans. Fanny Knowles (London, 1900) pl. facing p. 24.
10. Wrangell, *Chefs-d'oeuvre*, pl. 128.
11. Information from Dr. Tamara T. Korshunova.
12. Wrangell, *Chefs-d'oeuvre*, pl. 111.
13. T. T. Korshunova, *Russkie shpalery: Peterburskaiā shpalernaia manufaktura* (Russian Tapestry: Petersburg Tapestry Factory) (Leningrad, 1975) pl. 152.
14. Wrangell, *Chefs-d'oeuvre*, pl. 123.

## 152 Scenes from the Story of Galcerán de Pinós

Two embroidered hangings from a set

- a *The Ransom for Galcerán de Pinós Put on Board Ship at Salou near Tarragona*  
b *Galcerán de Pinós Preventing the Shipment of the Ransom*

Spanish (Catalan); made probably for the fourth duke of Híjar and his wife, in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Wool, silk, and metal thread on canvas.

Embroidered in tent stitch (*petit point*); details in silver and silver-gilt thread in plaited Gobelin stitch, couched in basket-weave pattern, or over padding.

152a 11 ft. 3 in. x 8 ft. 5 in. (3.43 m x 2.57 m);

152b 10 ft. 10 in. x 10 ft. 11 in. (3.30 m x 3.33 m).

About 400 stitches per square inch, 81 per square centimeter.

Gift of Charles Zadock, 1947 (47.72 [152a]) and 1948 (48.1 [152b]).

### DESCRIPTION

Each piece has an extra band above the upper border. Below this, in the upper right and lower left corners, are half-length figures of Judith. She has dull orange or pale yellow hair and wears a close-fitting cap of nearly the same color, with silver-gilt and pink ornaments, outlined in dark green. Her collar is pink and blue and her necklaces silver and silver gilt. Her dress is pink or dull red, pale brown, and tan, with much silver-gilt embroidery. She holds a silver sword in her right hand (entirely replaced in the lower left corner of 152a) and with her left supports a striped bag in dull red, pale brown, and tan; the severed head of Holofernes, with a large, curled tan moustache, protrudes from it. In 152a the cut across his neck has dull red markings. Behind Judith is a landscape with a blue and pale tan sky, hills, and fields, with the city of Bethulia on the left and Holofernes's tent on the right in shades of brown, gray, dull yellow, and tan. The buildings and other details are different in all four representations; in the lower left corner of 152b, the buildings are battlemented, with a flag flying from a tower and spiral clouds above; in the upper right corner is a single large structure with a flag

on the left, and the tent also has a banner. In the lower right and upper left corners is a Guardian Angel with dull yellow or orange hair and red, yellow, blue, pale brown, and tan wings, the edges nearest the head outlined in silver-gilt thread. He wears a dull pink, pale brown, blue, and pale gray costume ornamented in silver-gilt thread, and blue and pale tan leggings, with gold, that leave the toes bare. He embraces a small child with orange hair in a pale tan and brown dress and bare legs and points to a red and pale tan star, variously rendered. In the center of the upper border is a coat of arms surmounted by a coronet, with (on 152a) a bat above it, in shades of pale pink, green, gray, and tan. The arms are interpreted as:

1. Per pale, paly of eight, or and gules (Aragon); gules, a chain or (Navarre). Combined, Híjar.
2. Argent, three pinecones proper. Pinós.
3. Per pale, a bull rampant or (unidentified); quarterly en sautoir, Aragon and France. Prades.
4. Argent, a mound with 3 sprigs of fennel proper. Fenollet.<sup>2</sup>

The shields are bordered by large green and yellow leaves on three sides with white and gray lilies flanking them. The remaining spaces on the borders are filled with green, blue, and yellow leaves, with flowers and fruit in shades of white, gray, red, yellow, pale brown, tan, and blue; lilies, roses, daffodils, grapes, pomegranates, and pinecones can be distinguished. The ground is silver-gilt thread in basketwork design. Inside and outside the main borders are narrow bands of red, pale brown, tan, gray, and silver-gilt thread. The band above the upper border has, in each corner, a bat in gray and pale brown or dull pink, in an elaborate cartouche. In the center is an oblong in shades of blue with an inscription in Catalan in metal thread. The remaining spaces are filled with leaves and flowers like those of the main borders. The blue guards are modern.

In the central scenes, the figures are outlined in dull red, brown, dark blue, orange, and tan. All the flesh tones are pale gray. Metal thread is lavishly used as embroidery on costumes and for many details.



## CONDITION

Both pieces are extensively repaired. The gilt has largely worn off the metal thread and the silver has tarnished.

## SUBJECT

Ten pieces of the set, including 152, illustrate the story of the twelfth-century nobleman Galcerán de Pinós; he was captured fighting against the Moors during the conquest of Granada, but was freed by Saint Stephen and returned home in time to prevent the shipment of the ransom his father had collected for him. The subjects are:

1. Galcerán receiving a baton as admiral of the Catalan fleet from Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona, before the conquest of Almeria in 1148.

2. Galcerán winning the battle of Almeria.

3. The combat between Galcerán and Aben Gumada, emir of Granada.

4. The Moors taking Galcerán prisoner.

5. Envoys from Galcerán's father agreeing to pay the emir of Granada the huge ransom he demands (100 maidens, 100 white horses, 100 milch cows, 100 pieces of silk, and 100 gold doubloons).

6. 152a.

7. Saint Stephen and Saint Saturninus, first bishop of Toulouse, freeing Galcerán and his companion, Sacerní de Suil.

8. The saints taking the prisoners in a boat without mast or sails to Salou, seven and a half miles southwest of Tarragona, where the ransom has been assembled.

9. 152b.

10. Galcerán bidding farewell to his father as he leaves to fulfill his vow to give thanks to Saint Stephen in the church dedicated to the saint at Vaga.

To these must be added a *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* with a border of the same type, but lacking the corner figures, and with the coat of arms in the lower center.

The Guardian Angel with a child, pointing to star, is frequently found from late in the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> All the identified arms are those of Catalan families. A bat is often used as a badge in the south of Spain, as, according to a legend, one rested on the helmet of King Jaime I during the conquest of Valencia.<sup>4</sup>

## MANUFACTURE AND DATE

As the inscriptions are in Catalan, it can be assumed that the set was designed and made in Catalonia. The date can be determined from the coat of arms, which is that of a duke of Híjar married to a Pinós. Cristóbal Fernández de Híjar y Fernández de Heredia married as his second wife Francisca de Pinós y Castro; her father was Pinós Castro y Fenollet, accounting for the Fenollet arms shown with those of Pinós. He became the fourth duke of Híjar in 1594 and a grandee of Spain in 1614; she was a widow in 1660. A date of about 1600 is, however, too late for the costumes; these, especially the very fashionably dressed Galcerán in number 1 of the set, are from the 1580s at the latest. The designs may well be earlier than the execution of the panels.

It is noticeable that the hero of the story, Galcerán de Pinós, does not appear on 152a nor on number 5 of the set, and he is shown as a small distant figure in 152b and number 8 of the set. His vassals, on the other hand, are conspicuous in these pieces and are mentioned in both inscriptions of this entry; in 152a they are described as those of the barony of Vaga. Vaga is mentioned again in the inscription of number 10. This is the village now called Baga in the province of Barcelona, whose church is dedicated to Saint Stephen. Possibly the set of embroideries was commissioned, or made, by the inhabitants of Vaga, either for their church or for presentation to the duke and duchess of Híjar, perhaps at the time of their marriage.

## RELATED HANGINGS

Six pieces of the same set were in the Dreyfus de Gonzales sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 1-4, 1896 (nos. 279, 284, all illus.). They are numbers 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, and 10 of the subjects. The borders are basically similar to those of 152, but have considerable variations in detail, especially the landscapes behind the figures of Judith. On number 1, the band with the inscription is at the bottom. All the flowers are different in every border. Numbers 3 and 4 were with 152 in the A. Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 22, 1937 (nos. 13, 15, illus.), as well as a *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* (no. 16, illus.); this, though smaller and without figures in the floral borders, has the same coat of arms and style. Numbers 3 and 4 and the *Martyrdom* are shown without the

band containing the inscriptions at the top, but 152b is illustrated as in the same condition; since the band on this piece was found folded back when the embroidery was acquired, it is possible that the other pieces in the Clément-Bayard sale had been similarly treated. Number 4 and the *Martyrdom* were in a private collection in Buenos Aires in 1939;<sup>5</sup> the *Martyrdom* was still there in 1984. A modern embroidered copy of number 3, the design enlarged at both sides to make a horizontal panel, was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, October 27, 1973 (no. 359, illus.).

#### HISTORY

S... sale, Paris, December 7, 1906. Acquired by the Paris dealer Romeuf.

Adolphe Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 22, 1937, nos. 12 [152b], 14 [152a], both illus. Called Flemish, end of the sixteenth century.

Given to the MMA by Charles Zadock, 1947, 1948.

#### EXHIBITION

Paris, Petit Palais, 1965. *Trois Millénaires d'art et de marine*, cat. no. 168, illus. [152a].

#### PUBLICATIONS

Miret y Sans, Joaquín. "Tapicerías del siglo XVI con episodios del cautiverio de Galcerán de Pinós, en el año 1147" (in Catalan). *Revista de la Asociación Artístico-Arqueológica Barcelonesa* 14 (1910) pp. 336–38. Description of the five tapestries in the S... sale (152a and b with nos. 3 and 4 of the set and the *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen*), said to have been bought by Romeuf and sold by him to an unknown purchaser. Subject of the set identified; said to have been made for a member of the Pinós family in the sixteenth century, perhaps for the parish church at Baga.

"Recent Accessions of European Decorative Arts." *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 6 (1947–48) p. 231, illus. [152a]. Called Galcerán de Piños embarking for Granada, Spanish, late sixteenth century.

*MMA Annual Report* 1947. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 7 (1948–49) p. 18. Both pieces mentioned, 152a as gift, 152b as loan.

*MMA Annual Report* 1948. In *MMA Bulletin*, n.s. 8 (1949–50) p. 30. 152b mentioned as gift, called Galcerán de Piños on the beach at Tarragona.

Wilson, Erica. *Erica Wilson's Embroidery Book*. New York, 1973, illus. (detail of 152b).

## 152a *The Ransom for Galcerán de Pinós Put on Board Ship at Salou near Tarragona*

#### DESCRIPTION

A boat in shades of brown, dull red, and tan is being loaded by six men. On the far right, a seated man with fair hair and beard holds a pale tan and brown pole; his costume is dark blue, dull red, pale gray, and pale tan. Next to him, a man leans over the side holding the end of a pale brown and tan rope; he is dressed in the same colors with metal-thread embroidery in high relief. The head of a man in a dull yellow and brown cap is seen behind him; he stretches out an arm to take a pale tan and gray sack from the shoulders of a bare-legged man in dark blue and pale tan, with high-relief metal-thread embroidery, standing in the water beside the boat. To the left, a stooping man has a brown and pale tan cap, and a pale brown, tan, gray and blue costume. Behind him, a man seen from the back holds a pale brown pole; he is dressed in dull red, pale brown, and pale tan. Two men on the far left are engaged in lifting a gray, brown, and tan coffer with a curved lid onto the boat. The man in the boat is dressed in dull yellow, dull red, and tan; the one on land is in shades of blue.

Behind the group on the right are three ships in dull yellow and white; the sails are white and gray, the masts, banners, and other details in metal thread. The nearest ship has six protruding white cannon. The background landscape on the left includes a large tree with a green and yellow trunk, and green, yellow, and blue leaves; it bears bunches of green, yellow, and blue grapes. Behind it are fields and hills in shades of green, yellow, and pale tan, with trees and plants; there are two small figures in the middle distance. The sky is dark blue at the top with stripes of pale blues and grays. The sea is in shades of blue and pale gray. In the lower corners are pieces of land in shades of green, brown, gray, yellow, and tan, with flowering plants; one on the right is a strawberry, with white and pale pink flowers and fruit.

The inscription on the band above the upper border reads:





QUANT LOS VASSALS DE LA VARONE / DE VACA PORTARE LO  
RESCAT PER A TRAU / RER DE CAPTIVERI AL NOBLE D.  
GALCERÀ / GALCERÀ DE PINOS SON SENIOR Y LĒBAR / CABN  
EN TARRAGONA AL PORT DE SALOU

(How the vassals of the barony of Baga carried the ransom to deliver from captivity the noble Don Galcerán Galcerán de Pinós their lord and loaded it on the ship in Tarragona at the harbor of Salou).

#### CONDITION

Substantial areas in the costumes and landscapes have been replaced. The band with the inscription, turned under when the piece was received, is in markedly better condition than the similar section of 152b.

## 152b *Galcerán de Pinós Preventing the Shipment of the Ransom*

#### DESCRIPTION

In the left center are eight of the hundred maidens about to be shipped as ransom for Galcerán de Pinós, with three men, presumably their fathers or brothers. All the figures have pale orange hair or head coverings. The man on the far left has a small white ruff, and a strong, bright blue costume, with much metal thread; the hilt of his sword is visible. Behind him is a man in gray and tan. The maiden next to them in the foreground has a dull yellow, pale

Detail of 152a









brown, and tan dress, embroidered with S-shaped ornaments in metal thread in high relief, white sleeves decorated in blue, and blue shoes. The head of a woman in a bright blue dress is visible behind her, with another maiden, seen in full length, wearing a striped dress in two shades of blue and metal thread. A woman seen from the back has pulled up her tan dress with gold embroidery in high relief to show the blue lining and her patterned red and dull yellow petticoat; she has gray shoes and holds a pale gray bundle under her arm. The heads of two maidens are seen above her and there are two more, wearing necklaces, on the right. A man stands on the right of the group; his costume is pink, tan, and dull yellow, with details in red and blue and much high-relief gold embroidery. His shoes are white, ornamented with pale pink circles; the shadows by his feet are in very dark blue.

In the middle distance on the right, Galcerán and his companion are walking away from the shoreline; one is in red, the other in blue. They greet three men with dark brown hats, dressed in gray, dull yellow, blue, and tan. In the foreground, below them, are two boys with long poles, in the same colors. Most of these small figures have dark blue shadows at their feet. Above the maidens are some of the cattle about to be shipped as part of the ransom; they are gray, dull yellow, tan, and red. A herdsman in a striped blue and tan costume, holding a pole, stands at the far left, and another, in white ornamented in brown, is on the right.

Farther to the right is the walled city of Tarragona in gray, white, and dull yellow; many of the house roofs are red, but that of the tallest tower is blue (see detail). An isolated gray tower stands at the shoreline. The sea is in shades of blue, with ships in pale brown, gray, tan, dull red, and metal threads. The two nearest have oars and furled sails. A man is visible in a rowboat between two of the more distant ships. The sky is blue above, white and gray below. A pale yellow comet with a long tail is seen over the city and a flying blue bird on the far right. Pale yellow and green trees, some with fruit, rise above the cattle. The coastline is edged in green, with pale green plants; beside the two boys with poles are some seashells. In the lower left are two coffers in tan, gray, pale brown, and metal thread, with, beside them, a corded bundle in the same colors. The landscape background is in shades of green, dull yellow, tan, and gray, with many flowering plants, some red and yellow, small trees, and rocks. A

strawberry plant can be seen just below the city and in the center foreground is a blue and white iris.

The inscription in the band above the upper border reads:

QVÂT LO NOBLE D. GALCERÂ GALCERÂ DE PINOS DESPRES Q̄  
LO GLORIOSO SÂT / LO DEXA AB LA PLAJA DE TARRAGONA  
PROP LO PORT DE SALOU A LA VISTA DE LA CV / TAT  
CONEGVE SOS VASSALLS Q̄ ESTABÂ AB LOS Q̄ SÊ ANABÂ  
ËBARCÂT YS DES / PEDÂ DE SAS FILLAS ILS DIGVE: YO SO LO  
FILL DE VOSTRÔ SENIOR Y AXI / AQ̄ST RESCAT NO SE ËBARC  
Q̄ LO GLORIOSO SÂT ME A PORTAT ASSI Y AXI HO FERÊ

(How the noble Don Galcerán Galcerán de Pinós, after the glorious saint left him on the beach of Tarragona near the harbor of Salou in view of the city, recognized his vassals, who had gone to put the maidens on board and to take leave of them, and said to them, "I am the son of your lord and so do not put the ransom on board, because the glorious saint has brought me here"; and so they did).

#### CONDITION

There are extensive areas of repair throughout.

#### SUBJECT

The two small figures in the middle distance must be Galcerán de Pinós and his companion in captivity, as they are shown similarly dressed in number 7 of the set. The three men they greet and those in the foreground must be the vassals accompanying the maidens. Some of the cattle, with their herdsman, and the city of Tarragona are seen in the background.

#### NOTES

1. The basic research for 152, including the identifications of the subject and of the coat of arms and the transcription and translation of the inscriptions, was carried out by Marion Bowles, Jean Misrahi, Monserrat Blanch, and the Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico, Barcelona.
2. Félix Doménech y Roura, *Nobiliari general catalá de llinatges*, vol. 2 (Barcelona, 1925) pls. XXV (Fonollet [sic]), LIII (Hijar), CLI (Pinós), CLXI (Prades).
3. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2nd ed., rev. and corr. (Paris, 1951) p. 307. A small seventeenth-century Spanish embroidery, showing the angel raising a lighted candle, with the inscription "Custodio del hombre," was sold at the American Art Association, New York, April 28, 29, 1922, no. 260, illus.
4. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (Barcelona, n.d.) s.v. "Murciélagos."
5. *Exposición de tapices*, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo (Buenos Aires, 1939) nos. 22, 23, both illus. Called Flemish, sixteenth century, made for the marqués de las Piñas; owned by Señor X.

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